

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY



3 1761 02742639 4



*Presented by
Bishop Wordsworth's family.*



FROM THE LIBRARY OF
TRINITY COLLEGE TORONTO



[July 1884 in #41 \$20.00]
Edward Charles Harington

[1804 - 1881].

Chancellor of Exeter Cathedral.

Four pamphlets and two sermons

C
1

THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS
IN
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNBROKEN ;
OR,
THE NAG'S HEAD FABLE REFUTED.

WITH

A Postscript

ON THE ORDINATION SERVICES OF EDWARD THE SIXTH,
IN REPLY TO THE NINTH LETTER OF THE
REV. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE.

First edition

BY

E. C. HARRINGTON, M.A.

PREBENDARY OF EXETER AND INCUMBENT OF ST. DAVID ;
AUTHOR OF "THE OBJECT, ETC. OF THE CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES,"
"TWO ORDINATION SERMONS," ETC.

LONDON :
FRANCIS AND JOHN RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE.
EXETER :
HANNAFORD.
1846.

37
8

LONDON:
Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, & FLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

218124

PREFACE.

“The objection sometimes advanced, that the Succession was broken in the sixteenth century, is too weak to require refutation.”—HARINGTON’S Ordination Sermons.”*

Unhappily the Author, when he wrote the above paragraph, was unacquainted with the extent of human credulity, and the influence of popular prejudice. He has been informed that the *Nag’s Head Fable* is still believed by many, who therefore deny the fact of the *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*. He learns, likewise, that those who question the *unbroken succession of English Bishops*, propagate their opinions with much assiduity. He has therefore been induced to reprint (with considerable additions) this little

* Published at the request of the Lord Bishop of Exeter, in 1845.

treatise, which has already appeared in the *British Magazine*, in order to elucidate the fact of Archbishop Parker's Consecration. The Author neither has nor claims any merit whatever, save that of enabling every class of readers to ascertain facts and to peruse arguments in a small compass, which are now dispersed throughout various works, not always accessible to those who may be anxious for information on subjects of such deep interest as the one in question. To any reader who may complain of brevity, or may require additional information, the Author would suggest a careful perusal of the works of *Bramhall*, (with the *Preface*, *Notes*, and *Appendix* of the edition in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*,) of *Courayer*, *Mason*, and *Browne*: to them he is chiefly indebted for the subject-matter contained in the following pages.

ST. DAVID'S, EXETER.

September 7, 1846.

THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS
IN
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNBROKEN;
OR,
The Nag's Head Fable refuted.

THE question as to the "*Validity of English Ordination*," is one of vital consequence to every member of the Anglican branch of the Church Catholic ; it is, therefore, not a matter of wonder that any doubt which may be cast on the "*succession of English Bishops*," or the "*validity of ordination in the Church of England*," should create a deep interest in the mind of every member of that Church. It may, indeed, excite surprise, that, with such advocates as *Bramhall*,¹ *Mason*,² *Williams*,³ *Browne*,⁴ and *Courayer*,⁵ any doubt

¹ *The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified ; and that infamous Fable of the Ordination at the Nag's Head clearly confuted.*

² *Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*

³ *Succession of Protestant Bishops asserted.*

⁴ *The Story of the Ordination of the Nag's Head Tavern thoroughly examined.*

⁵ *A Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations ;—a Defence of the Dissertation on the validity, &c.*

should still remain unanswered to the candid inquirer; much more must it create astonishment that modern *Romanists*⁶ on the one hand, and *Dissenters*

⁶ The following testimonies of eminent *Romish* writers in favour of the validity of *English ordination* will be read with interest.

“In the beginning of the last century, *Cudseuius*, a learned Catholic, having taken a journey into England on purpose to examine the truth of the first ordinations made in the beginning of the Reformation, and having probably consulted the registers—before *Mason* thought of producing them,—acknowledged, in a book written against the Calvinists, that the *English* had preserved the succession of the Hierarchy in their Church.

“We find the same confession in many other Catholic writers later than he. *Peter Walsh*, a *Franciscan*, called, amongst us, *Valesius*, or *de Valois*, expresses himself upon that head in the strongest terms, in an advertisement prefixed to his ‘History of the Irish Remonstrance,’ printed in 1664. ‘In that place,’ says that father, ‘where I seem (p. 438) somewhat too severe on ‘*Matthew Parker*, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury ‘under Queen Elizabeth, you must not persuade yourself *I do at all reflect upon his ordination*,* as if indeed that had been not ‘only uncanonical or unlawful, but really void and null, or (as the ‘schoolmen speak) invalid. Were I to deliver my opinion of this ‘matter, or were it to my purpose to speak thereof, I would certainly hold myself obliged in conscience, (for any thing I know yet,) to ‘concur with them who *doubt not the ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Protestant Church of England, to be* (at least) ‘*valid*. And yet I have read all whatever hath been to the contrary objected by the *Roman Catholic* writers, whether against ‘the matter or form, or want of power in the first consecrators, ‘by reason of their schism and heresy, or of their being deposed

* “*Ordination* is used generally to signify what we peculiarly call *Consecration*, as well as the conferring Priest’s or Deacon’s orders.”—Dr. Elrington on the *Validity of English Ordination*.

on the other, should still be bold enough to ridicule the claim, on the part of the Clergy of the Church of England, to *Apostolical succession*. Who would

‘formerly from their sees, &c. But I have withal observed nothing of truth alleged by the objectors, which might in the least persuade any man who is acquainted with the known divinity or doctrine of our present schools, (besides what *Richardus Armachanus* long since writ,) and with the annals of our *Roman Church*; unless, peradventure, he would turn so frantic at the same as to question even the validity of our own ordination also in the said *Roman Church*, on pretence, forsooth, either of the form of the Sacrament altered at the pleasure of men, or succession of Bishops interrupted by so many schisms,’ &c

“The same author being informed that some Catholics were displeased, because in a letter wrote to the Bishop of *Lincoln* in defence of the Church of *Rome*, he had called that prelate ‘Right Reverend:’ ‘For the same end of preventing,’ says he, ‘the offence or admiration of any *Roman Catholics* where they shall meet the titles of Right, or Most Illustrious, and Most Reverend, given by me to the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, I desire them to consider my reasons: — 1st. I had, about twelve years since, (in the Preface to my History of the *Irish Remonstrance*,) publicly in print acknowledged my own opinion to be, that the *Ordination of the Protestant Church of England is valid*; meaning it undoubtedly to be so, according both to the public doctrines of the *Roman Catholic* schools themselves, and the ancient rituals of all the Catholic Churches, Latin and Greek; nay, and to those rituals of all the Oriental heterodox churches too, as *Morinus*, the learned Oratorian, has recorded them.’

“Father *Davenport*, (called *Santa Clara*,) another writer of the same Order, in his opinion upon the 36th Article of the Church of England, passes the same judgment upon those ordinations as his brother *Peter Walsh*; at least, according to the testimony of

have anticipated that the exploded fable of the *Nag's Head consecration*, as nullifying the Episcopal functions of *Archbishop Parker*, would have been

Dr. Prideaux, for I have not seen the book quoted by him. But the reputation of *Dr. Prideaux* is so well established, that he may be credited upon so public a fact.

“ ’Tis upon the same authority that I shall further allege another fact, better known, and mentioned by Father *Le Quien* himself in his work. Mr. *Goffe*, who had been of the *Church of England*, turning Catholic, was admitted into the *Oratory*; and there was a talk of making him a Priest. He had already been ordained in *England*, which occasioned a difficulty. The matter was proposed to many doctors of the *Sorbon*, who, after having examined it, declared in favour of the ordination.* But, that affair appearing too important to be left to the decision of a few divines, *Rome* was consulted, which, according to her practice, enjoined the ordination, upon account that the doubt still remained for want of clearly stating the fact.† This is related by *Dr. Prideaux*, who says, that he had it from a celebrated Catholic, namely, *Obadiah Walker*,‡ who told him so, and to whom that fact was very well known, because he was at Paris when that affair was transacted. It was therefore at that time the prevailing opinion of the doctors of the *Sorbon*, that the ordinations of the English were valid; and why should it be thought extraordinary that I should think as those learned men did, and maintain an opinion grounded upon evident facts and solid reasons?

“ But what I am going to say comes nearer our times, and

* *Prideaux's* words are, “ gave in their opinion that our orders were good.”

† *Prideaux* adds, “ yet the *Sorbonists* still stuck to their opinion that he was a good Priest by his first ordination.”—See a note in the new edition of *Bramhall's Works*, vol. iii. page 114.

‡ *Walker* was master of University College in Oxford, and apostatized to Popery in the reign of James II.

adduced, in the middle of the nineteenth century, as a prominent argument against the *Episcopal succession in the Church of England?* Or, who would

is more direct to the point. In 1684 Cardinal *Casanata*, of known learning and probity, and to whom the practice of *Rome*, about the re-ordination of the English, did not probably appear sufficient to determine him, writ to the Bishop of *Castoria*, in order to know what he thought of those ordinations: 'That great Cardinal,' says that Prelate, in a letter of the 21st of December 1684, 'desires to know whether the ordinations of the 'Bishops of England were valid. He is afraid their ordination 'does not come from Bishops duly ordained. I believe 'tis for 'very important reasons that he desires to know of me what the 'Catholics and Protestants think of that ordination.' That Cardinal, 'tis likely, believed that the Bishop of *Castoria* being near England, and among the Protestants, must be very well informed of that matter. But he was mistaken. The Bishop of *Castoria* was perfectly ignorant of those facts, and did upon that subject what is done by all those who are ignorant of them; that is, he began by denying the validity of those ordinations. It was with such a prejudice that he writ at first to Cardinal *Casanata*, but without giving his thoughts decisively. In the mean time, to be better informed, he consulted two learned friends, whom he thought might be more acquainted with that matter than he was, and who really were so; and the opinion of both of them was contrary to his. The first was *Mr. Arnaud*, whose learning is well known, and to whom the Jesuits themselves do not deny the justice of having been one of the most learned writers of his age. The other was the celebrated *Dr. Snellaerts*, at that time Professor of History at *Louvain*, whose judicious commentary upon St. John's Gospel has been newly published. The letter of *Mr. Arnaud* to the Bishop of *Castoria* is dated February 4th, 1615. He does not at all hesitate about the fact, and looks upon the *Lambeth ordination as undeniable*. 'My Lord,' says he to that

have imagined that the clerical as well as lay members of our Church would have been stag-

Prelate, 'I have seen your last letter to *Dr. Snellaerts*; but 'give me leave to tell you, that *the fact, viz. that the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's time were consecrated by true Bishops, appears to me undeniable, whatever Sanders, and other controversialists, have said to the contrary.*'

"*Dr. Snellaerts*, who, being Professor of History, had probably studied that matter more to the bottom, did also treat it much more largely in the letters he writ to the Bishop of *Castoria*, whose objections gave him occasion to search into that question. He observes, in the first place, as *Mr. Arnaud* does, that *the fact is out of dispute.* Afterwards, he confutes at large the objections of the Bishop of *Castoria*, and says, among other things, that the testimony of *Sanders* and the rest, in this present case, is of no weight. After having confirmed this at large, he comes to the last objection of the Bishop of *Castoria*, and maintains, that the form made use of in King Edward's Ritual contains all that is necessary for ordination; and he does not doubt that such a ritual would be sufficient, if it was used by the Catholic Church. This is a decision of the whole question; since a ritual which is sufficient in the Catholic Church may be sufficient in any other.

"'Tis no surprising thing that, in imitation of those learned men, the illustrious *Mr. Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, should have acknowledged the validity of the English ordinations, as it appears by his letter to Father *Mabillon*.

"But this is not all. *Mr. Bossuet* did not only acknowledge then the validity of the English ordinations, but also *never changed his opinion upon that head.* I will give you two new proofs of it, above all cavil. In 1699 the late *Mr. Marcell*, Curate of *St. Jaques du Haut-Pas*, at Paris, in company with a Priest of the Oratory, now Chantor of the church of *Montferrand*, making a visit to the Bishop of *Meaux*, and the conversation falling upon the Church of England, that Prelate fetching a great

gered by this *Roman forgery*? Yet so it is; and, therefore, a brief review of the controversy may be interesting.

sigh, told them, that ‘if God would give the English grace to renounce their errors and their schism, their clergy would want only to be reconciled to the Church, and rehabilitated;’ and he added, that he ‘had said as much before the King.’

“But here is a stronger one still. The R. F. *de Riberolles*, who before he was Abbot of *St. Genevieve*, and Superior-General of his Congregation, lived a long time with Mr. Bossuet as superior of his seminary, and had his entire confidence a great many years, while he was continually about him, certifies by a declaration, which shall be inserted in the Appendix, that he had the honour to hear that Prelate frequently say, that if the Episcopal Succession in England under the government of Cromwell was well proved,—which he had not sufficiently examined,—*there was no difficulty about the validity of the English ordinations, and that their Bishops and Priests were as truly ordained as ours.* These two declarations, much later than the history of the *Variations*, and the advice given to Mr. *Le Grand*, shew that the Bishop of *Meaux* did always persist in the same opinion which he entertained when he writ to Father *Mabillon*,—*that he had no difficulty about the ordinations in the time of Queen Elizabeth*; and, what is more essential, that, notwithstanding the pretended suppression of the Sacrifice and Priesthood among the English, he always looked upon King *Edward's Ritual* as containing whatever is necessary and sufficient for the validity of ordination, since *he had no difficulty about the ordinations made in the time of Edward and Elizabeth.*”—*Courayer's Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations*; *Prideaux's Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*; and *Williams's Succession of Protestant Bishops asserted.*—See also note, page 114 of the third volume of *Bramhall's Works*, in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.*

The "*relation*," as given by Popish writers—viz. *Sanders, Le Quien, Constable, Sacrobosco, Fitz-Simon, Wadsworth, Kellison, &c.*, may be given in the words of *Champney*. His statement in his *Treatise on the Vocation of Bishops*, is as follows:—In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Catholic Bishops being deprived and committed to prison, others were to be made and placed in their sees. They who were nominated and elected to that dignity met by appointment in London, at an inn, at the sign of the *Nag's Head*, in the street called *Cheapside*. Thither also came, upon invitation, the Bishop of *Landaff*, very ancient and decrepit, and a weak and timorous man. By him the new candidates expected to be ordained; which *Bonner*, Bishop of London, then in prison for religion, having some intimation of, threatened *Landaff* with excommunication if he ordained them. He, being frightened with this message, and being also possibly touched with the checks and pricks of his own conscience, drew back, and, pretending that his eyes were too weak, refused to lay hands upon them. The expectants, therefore, being disappointed of what they hoped for, and looking upon it as his putting a trick and abuse upon them, began to load the old man with reproaches, whom before they had treated with great honour and respect, some of them saying, 'This doting old fool thinks we shall not be bishops, unless we be *greased*;' ridiculing both

the ancient Bishop and the Catholic ceremony of Consecration. But being thus disappointed of a consecrator, they were forced to take new measures, and addressed themselves to *Scory*, an apostate monk, (who, under Edward VI., had, without any consecration, unlawfully possessed himself of a bishopric,) to be ordained by him. He, who with his religious habit had laid aside his conscience, soon did the business, making use of this ceremony:—They all kneeling before him, he laid the Bible upon each of their heads, and said, ‘*Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely;*’ and so they rose up all *bishops*. This whole relation I had, more than once, from the mouth of a reverend priest, *Mr. Thomas Bluett*, a very grave, learned, and prudent man, who said he heard it from *Mr. Neale*, a person of great reputation and learning, formerly Professor of the Hebrew tongue in the University of Oxford, and who, at the time when all this was done, was an inmate of *Bonner* the Bishop of London’s family, who sent him to the Bishop of *Landaff*, to require him under pain of excommunication not to proceed in that sacrilegious consecration, and, besides, to see what was done there; so that he was an eye-witness of what was done. And of the truth of this relation, there are at this day as many witnesses as are alive of the priests, who were prisoners with *Bluett* in the castle of Wisbich; in which place also I

had it from him. (See *Champney's* Latin and English Treatises.)

Here the reader has a view of the whole legend from the first groundwork of it in *Sanders*, till it came to its full height and proportion in *Fitz-Simon* and *Champney*.⁷ From the narrative of the latter, *Le Quien*⁸ takes the *relation* (as he calls it) of his *Catholic writers*; as, half a century before him, the author of the *Treatise of Catholic Faith and Heresy* takes his account from *Champney*. (See *Browne on the Nag's Head Fable*, ch. 1.) *Fitz-Simon's* version, where it differs from *Champney's*, is as follows:—"They make choice of *Scory*, an apostate monk. He

⁷ See *Bramhall's* Works in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, vol. iii. page 39, *note*.

⁸ The value of *Le Quien's* assertions may be learnt from the following extract :

"Of all the testimonies that have been produced in favour of the story of the Tavern, none has been insisted on with greater ostentation than that of the Lord *Audley*, and afforded a more chimerical triumph. The reader will see whether it be with reason and success

" To set the matter at rest, the following *protest* of Bishop *Morton*, inserted in his will by way of codicil, was read publicly in the church at the end of his funeral sermon, and published by Dr. *Barwick* with the funeral sermon, and an historical account of that Bishop's life : — ' I do therefore solemnly ' profess in the presence of Almighty God, that, by His grace pre- ' venting and assisting me, I have always lived, and purpose to ' die, in the true Catholic faith, wherein I was baptised, &c. . . . ' . . . If I had not believed upon sufficient evidence that the ' succession of bishops in the Church of England had been legally

bids them all fall down upon their knees; then, taking *Parker* by the hand, he says, '*Up! rise Lord Bishop of Canterbury;*' and again, in like manner, to *Grindall*, '*Up! rise Lord Bishop of London;*' and so to *Horn*, '*Up! rise Lord Bishop of Winchester;*' and then to *Sands*, '*Up! rise Lord Bishop of Worcester;*' and so to the rest." Any one who compares the account of the Irish Jesuit with that of the Doctor of the Sorbonne, must at once see that they differ in that which is of the greatest importance in an ordination, viz. the two essential parts of it, the *matter* and the *form*. Such, however, is the version of the *Papists*.

' derived from the Apostles, I had never entered into that high
' calling, much less continued in it thus long. And therefore I
' must here expressly vindicate myself from a most notorious un-
' truth which is cast upon me by a late *Romish* writer (*Le Quien*),
' that I should publicly in the House of Peers, the beginning of the
' last parliament, assent to that abominable fiction which some
' *Romanists* have devised concerning the consecrating *Matthew*
' *Parker*, at the *Nag's Head* tavern, to be Archbishop of Canter-
' bury. For I do here solemnly profess that I have always
' believed that fable to proceed from the Father of lies, as the
' public records still extant do evidently justify; nor do I re-
' member that ever I heard it mentioned in that or any other
' parliament that ever I sat in,' &c. 'THOM. DURESME.'

' Sealed, published, and declared, this 15th day of April 1658,
' in the presence of *Thom. Sanders jun.*, *John Barwick* cler.,
' *Jos. Draper* cler., *R. Gray*, *Evan Davies*.' "

—Courayer's *Dissertation and Defence*.

See also '*The Attestation of the Bishop of Durham*,' in *Courayer's Defence*, &c. page 367.

The account of Archbishop Parker's consecration, as recorded by historians of the Church of England, may be given in the words of *Le Neve*,⁹ *Courayer*,¹⁰ and *Camden*.¹ Cardinal Pole surviving Queen Mary but a few hours, (November 1558,) "Queen Elizabeth, at her coming to the crown, found the archbishopric of Canterbury at her disposal,—a post of great consequence with respect to the situation in which she found the Church of England; nor could she think of a man more proper to fill that see than *Matthew Parker*. This Doctor had very reputably filled several stations in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; but, being despoiled of all his dignities in the time of Queen Mary, he led a private life, and shut himself up amongst his books for study and reflection. As soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne, he was recalled to court, and employed in the Reformation; for she thought *Parker* a fit person to further her designs. She had, moreover, her eyes upon him to raise him to the see of *Canterbury*; so that, after finishing the first measures which she was obliged to take at the beginning of her reign, she hastened a *cong   d'eslire* to the Chapter of *Canterbury* on the 18th of July 1559." The Chapter did on the 1st day of August choose *Matthew Parker* for

⁹ *Lives of all the Protestant Bishops*, vol. i. page 10.

¹⁰ *Defence*, &c. chap. ii. page 26.

¹ *History of Elizabeth*, An. 1559.

their archbishop, and certified this *election* to the *Queen*, which she *confirmed* by her *letters patent*. (See *Rymer's Records*.) Having done this, on the 9th of September she directed a *commission* to six Bishops for the *consecration* and *confirmation* of *Parker*. This commission was never executed; and, consequently, the Queen, on the 6th of December, caused another commission to be directed to seven Bishops, requiring that all, or at least *four* of them, should proceed to the consecration and confirmation of Parker. The consecration was delayed for some days, but, in fine, it was performed on Sunday the 17th of December 1559, at *Lambeth*, by the same Bishops who, on the 9th, had confirmed the election. The instrument is to be found in several eminent historians; (*Bramhall*, page 1051; *Burnet*, vol. i. Appendix; *Courayer*,² Appendix.) By this record we may plainly see that the *ordinal* of *Edward the Sixth* was exactly observed: for, first, "they began with the *morning prayers*; after which the Bishop of Hereford *preached a sermon* before the ceremony began; then Parker was presented to Barlow, and when he had taken the oaths to the Queen, and the prayers prescribed in the *new ordinal* had been made use of, they laid their hands on him,

² *Peter Francis Courayer*, the author of *A Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations, and of the Succession of Bishops in the Church of England*, was a learned divine of the Church of Rome, and librarian of the Abbey of *St. Genevieve*.

saying in English, '*Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands,*' &c. They afterwards *delivered the Bible into his hands*; and, having partaken of the Lord's Supper together, the ceremony ended." The original acts are still preserved in the *Registers of Canterbury* and in *Corpus Christi College Library at Cambridge*, to which college Parker belonged; and we may perceive that the whole account agrees with the *public Records* which are in *Rymer's Collection*, as well as with those in the *Registers of Canterbury*, against which nothing ought to be objected without valid reasons. (See *Courayer's Defence*, *Camden's History of Elizabeth*, and *Strype's Life of Matthew Parker*.)

"Such (to quote the language of *Bramhall*) is the controversy between the Romanists and ourselves. *They* say that Archbishop *Parker* and the rest of the Protestant Bishops, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, or, at the least, sundry of them, were consecrated at the *Nag's Head* in *Cheapside* together, by Bishop *Scory* alone, or by him and Bishop *Barlow* jointly, without sermon, without Sacrament, without any solemnity, in the year 1559, (but they know not what day, nor before what public Notaries,) by a new fantastic form. And all this they say, upon the supposed voluntary report of *Mr. Neale*, (a single malicious spy), in private to his own party, long after the business pretended to

be done. We say that Archbishop *Parker* was consecrated *alone*, at *Lambeth*, in the Church, by *four*³ Bishops, authorized thereto by commission under the Great Seal of England, with sermon, with Sacrament,, with all due solemnities, upon the 17th day of December 1559, before four of the most eminent public Notaries in England, and particularly the same public Notary who was principal actuary both at Cardinal *Pole's* consecration and Archbishop *Parker's* ;⁴ and that all the rest of the Bishops were consecrated at *other times*, some in the same month, but not upon the same day; some in the same year, but not in the same month; and some the year following. And, to prove the truth of our relation and the falsehood of theirs, we produce the *Register of the see of Canterbury*, as authentic as the world hath any; the *Registers of the other fourteen sees* then vacant, all as carefully kept by sworn officers as the records of the Vatican itself. We produce *all the commissions* under the Privy Seal and Great Seal of England. We produce *the rolls or records of the Chancery*; and, if the records of the Signet Office had not been unfortunately burned in King James' time, it might

³ *Will. Barlow, John Scory, Mil. Coverdale, and John Hodgkins.*

⁴ "It is remarkable that the four Notaries who attested Cardinal *Pole's* consecration signed also the act of consecration of *Parker*; the comparison of their hand-writing affords a decisive proof of the authenticity of the act."—Dr. Elrington's *Validity of English Ordination*. *Bramhall*, p. 455.

have been verified by those also. We produce an *act of Parliament* express in the point, within seven years after the consecration. We produce *all the controverted consecrations* published to the world in print anno 1572, three years before Archbishop Parker's death, whilst all things were fresh in men's memories."

The *first* reason⁵ to be adduced against this ridiculous fable is taken from the *palpable contradictions* and *gross absurdities* and *defects* of those Roman Catholic writers who have related this silly tale; who, in fact, agree in nothing but in their common malice against the Church of England. The only semblance of agreement is respecting the *consecrator*; yet, even in this, they disagree one from another. The common opinion is, that *Scory* alone consecrated them. But *Mr. Constable*,⁶ one of their principal authors, supposes that Bishop *Barlow* might have joined *Scory* in the consecration. And *Sanders*,⁷ whose pen was ready enough, and whose malice was undoubted, and who, moreover, was perfectly cognizant of the affairs of that particular period, leaves it doubtful, *when*, or *where*, or *by*

⁵ The following arguments, which are chiefly expressed in the language of the authors themselves, may be seen more at large in Bramhall's *Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated*, pages 435—458; Courayer's *Defence and Dissertation*; and Browne on the *Nag's Head Controversy*.

⁶ MS. *An Answer to a Question about the Vocation and Consecration of the English Bishops*.

⁷ *History of the English Schisms*.

whom they were consecrated. But they disagree much more among themselves, *who* they should be who *were consecrated*. First, *Mr. Wadsworth* does not say that any of our Bishops were actually consecrated there, but only that *there was an attempt to consecrate the first of them, viz. Archbishop Parker*. But that which destroys the credit of this fiction is this, that *Parker* was not *personally present* at his *confirmation*⁸ in Bow Church on the 9th of December, or at his *confirmation dinner* at the *Nag's Head Tavern*, (which gave occasion to the story,)⁹ but was confirmed by his proctor, *Dr.*

⁸ That *Parker* was confirmed by *proxy*, see the record of his confirmation, &c., with the *Notes*, in the new edition of *Bramhall's Works*, vol. iii. p. 175.

⁹ Thus writes *Dr. Lingard* in a note in the last edition of his *History of England*. "I ought, perhaps, to mention a story which was once the subject of acrimonious controversy between the divines of the two communions. It was said that *Kitchen* and *Scorey*, with *Parker* and the other Bishops elect, met in a tavern called the *Nag's Head*, in Cheapside; that *Kitchen*, on account of a prohibition from *Bonner*, refused to consecrate them, and that *Scorey*, therefore, ordering them to kneel down, placed the Bible on the head of each, and told him to rise up bishop." Of this tale, concerning which so much has been written, I can find no trace in any author or document of the reign of *Elizabeth*. It is not improbable that the Commissioners, having confirmed the election, dined together at the *Nag's Head*, the inn chiefly frequented by the clergy at that period; and that this circumstance may have given rise to the story. Vol. vii. page 380, edit. 1844.

Nicholas Bullingham.¹⁰ A man may be *confirmed* by proxy, but cannot be *consecrated* by proxy. If, therefore, there was an attempt to *consecrate* any one at the *Nag's Head*, it must have been *Dr.*

¹⁰ The following extract from Archbishop Bramhall will tend to elucidate the subject before us :—

“ When any Bishop’s see becometh void, there issueth a writ out of the Exchequer to seize the temporalities into the King’s hand, as being the ancient and well-known patron of the English Church ; leaving the spiritualities to the Archbishop, or to the Dean and Chapter, according to the custom of the place.

“ Next, the King granteth his *cong   d’eslire*, or his licence to choose a Bishop, to the Dean and Chapter. Upon the receipt of this licence the Dean and Chapter, within a certain number of days, choose a Bishop, and certify their election to the King, under the common seal of the Chapter.

“ Upon the return of this certificate, the King granteth out a commission, under the Great Seal of England, to the Archbishop, or, in the vacancy of the archbishopric, to so many Bishops, to examine the election ; and, if they find it fairly made, to confirm it, and after confirmation to proceed to the consecration of the person elected, according to the form prescribed by the Church of England. This commission or mandate must pass both through the Signet Office and Chancery, and be attested by the clerks of both those offices, and signed by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Privy Seal, and be enrolled. So as it is morally impossible there should be any forgery in it.

“ Upon the receipt of this mandate, the Bishops who are authorised by the King do meet first at Bow’s Church in London, where, with the assistance of the chief ecclesiastical Judges of the realm, the Dean of the Arches, the Judges of the Prerogative and Audience, with their Registers to actuate what is done, they do solemnly in form of law confirm the election. Which being done, and it being late before it be done, the Commissioners

Nicholas Bullingham ; it could not have been *Archbishop Parker*. Others say, that there was more than an attempt ; that one or more were actually consecrated there ; but they name none. Other

and Judges were and are sometimes invited to the *Nag's Head*, to a dinner, as being very near Bow's Church, and in those days the only place of note. This meeting led Mr. Neale, (a man altogether unacquainted with such forms,) into this fools' paradise ; first, to suspect, and upon suspicion to conclude, that they were about an ordination there ; and, lastly, to broach his brain-sick conceits in corners, and, finding them to be greedily swallowed by such as wished them true, to assert his own drowsy suspicion for a real truth. But the mischief is, that Dr. Parker, who was to be consecrated, was *not present* in person, but by his proxy.

"After the confirmation is done, commonly about three or four days, (but, as it happened in Archbishop Parker's case, nine days,) the Commissioners proceed to the consecration — for the most part, out of their respect for the Archbishop, in the chapel at Lambeth ; with sermon, Sacrament, and all solemnity requisite according to the form prescribed by the Church of England ; in the presence of public Notaries or sworn officers, who reduce everything that is done, with all the circumstances, into acts, and enter them into the register of the see of Canterbury ; where they are carefully kept by the principal officer in a public office, as records ; where every one who desireth, may view them from time to time, and have a copy of them if he please. And it is to be noted, that at any consecration, especially of an Archbishop, great numbers of principal courtiers and citizens are present ; so as it is no more possible to counterfeit such a consecration than to walk invisible upon the Exchange at noonday.

"After the consecration is done, the person consecrated is not presently admitted to his bishopric. First, the Archbishop maketh his certificate of the consecration, with all the circumstances of it, under his archiepiscopal seal ; thereupon the King

writers name some, but they accord not in their enumeration. Some say *Jewel, Sands, Horn, Grindall*, but not *Parker*; others give the names of *Parker, Grindall, Horn, and Sands*. Lastly, other writers say that *all* who were appointed to the vacant Bishoprics were *consecrated* there, and enumerate fifteen. These writers speak indefinitely—“*Parker, and his fellows* :” but they seem to extend this word “*fellows*” as far as *Champney*, viz. to fifteen; for they tell us that “they all kneeled down before him, and he laid the Bible upon every one of their

taketh the new Bishop’s oath of fealty, and commands that he be put into the actual possession of his bishopric; then he is introned; and at his inthronization his ordination is publicly read; then he enjoyeth his spiritualities; then issueth a writ out of the Exchequer to the sheriff to restore him to the temporalities of his bishopric. This custom is so ancient, so certain, so general, that no Englishman can speak against it.

“Here we see evidently how all things do pursue one another, and what a necessary and essential connection there is between them. So as the stealing of an election, or the stealing of a consecration, can get no man a bishopric; as Mr. Neale dreamed. He that would advantage himself that way, must falsify all the records, both ecclesiastical and civil. He must falsify the records of the Chancery, of the Signet Office, of the Exchequer, of the Registries, of the Bishop, of the Dean and Chapter. He must counterfeit the hands and seals of the King, of the Archbishop, of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, of the Clerks and public Notaries; which is not imaginable. If Mr. Neale, who first devised this drowsy dream, (or somebody for him,) had had more experience of our English laws and customs, he would have feigned a more probable tale, or have held his peace for ever.”—Archbishop Bramhall’s *Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated*.

heads or shoulders." Again, the *time* is a principal circumstance in all *consecrations*, and is invariably most punctually recorded by the Actuaries or public Notaries. But in this fabulous relation the *time* is concealed. It would seem that the inventor was no good actuary, and either did not know how material that circumstance was, or had forgotten it. *Dr. Champney* alone tells us that it was before the 9th of September 1559. But this is not precise enough for an Act; and, moreover, it is most apparently false and impossible. For, whereas there are *two* commissions under the Great Seal of England, for the confirmation and consecration of Archbishop Parker, both recorded in the Rolls,—the one which was not¹ executed, the other which was; the former dated this very *ninth* day of *September*, and the other, which was executed, dated the succeeding *sixth* day of *December*,—it follows, that if *Dr. Champney* said true, Archbishop Parker was *consecrated* before he was *confirmed*; nay, more, before there was any commission issued, either for his consecration or confirmation. Moreover, every consecration must be performed before one or more public Notaries; and Notaries enough of great eminence are proved to have been present at Archbishop *Parker's* consecration at *Lambeth*. Now what Notary recorded the *Nag's Head* consecration? Who drew it up into acts? Who certified it? *Nobody!* Because the silly inventor did

¹ See *Bramhall's Works*, vol. iii. *note*, page 73, new edition.

not understand what things were necessary for a consecration.

A *second* reason against this senseless fable is, the *late discovery of it to the world*, and its long concealment before the inventors had the presumption to publish it. Can any man in his right senses imagine that the *Nag's Head consecration* happened in the year 1559, and, if the Popish writers say truly, was *notoriously known to all the world*; and that it should never once have been published, or even hinted at, or almost a whole age after the supposed transaction—that is, till the year 1600? We can appeal to the Romanists themselves, whether it be credible that this story should be “notoriously known to all the world” in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign,² and yet neither *Stapleton*, nor *Harding*, nor *Bristow*, nor *Alan*, nor *Reynolds*, nor *Parsons*, nor any one of the Roman Catholic writers, should so much as allude to it for *forty* years ensuing?

A *third* reason against this ridiculous libel is, the

² It may be remarked, as showing the absurdity of such a supposition, that, “for the first ten years of Queen Elizabeth, a great part of the Roman Catholic laity came frequently to church. This Sir Edward Coke declared in his charge at Norwich assises, and in his speech against Garnet and other conspirators, in the Powder Plot. And this he affirmed upon his own certain knowledge, and gave an instance in Beddenfield, Cornwallis, and several others of the Roman Catholic persuasion. And, to fortify Coke's evidence, the same thing is averred by the Queen herself, in her instructions to Sir Francis Walsingham;

strictness of our laws, which allow no man to consecrate, or be consecrated, but in a *sacred place*, with due *matter* and *form*, and all the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Church of England. No man can be *consecrated* by fewer than four Bishops, or *three* at the least, and that after the *election* of the Dean and Chapter has been duly *confirmed*, and upon the mandate or *commission* of the King under the Great Seal of England, under the pain of a *præmunire*—that is, the forfeiture of lands, and goods, and livings, and liberty and protection.³ They allow not consecration in a tavern, without due matter and form, without the ceremonies and solemnity prescribed by the Church, without election, without confirmation, without letters-patent, by one single Bishop, or rather, by no Bishop at all, as they feign to have been the case in the *Nag's Head* consecration!

Again, a *fourth* reason is, that there was *no need of all this illegality*. There could be no necessity why they should have a *clandestine* consecration, without a *Register* or public *Notary*, when there

here, with reference to the principal persons of that party, it is expressly affirmed that they '*did ordinarily resort, from the beginning of her reign, in all open places to the churches, and to divine services in the church, without contradiction, or show of misliking.*'"—See Collier's *Eccl. Hist. an.* 1559.

Heylyn also says, that "the learned amongst the Papists conformed to it, (the new service,) and that it differed little from what it was before."

³ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. sec. 7.

were abundance at hand, out of the Courts of *Arches*, and the *Audience*, and *Prerogative*. There was no necessity why they should anticipate the *Queen's letters-patent* for their consecration, by whose commission they had been *elected*, and of the accomplishment whereof in due time they could not doubt. There could exist no reason why they should select a *common tavern* for the place of their consecration, when the keys of all the churches in the province were at their command. Lastly, there could be no necessity why they should desert the *form of consecration prescribed by law*, which was agreeable alike to their judgments, to their desires, and to their duties; and should omit the essentials of consecration, both matter and form, which they knew well enough, and be consecrated by a new fantastic form! The only necessity that can be pretended is the want of a competent number of Bishops; and, to answer this objection, we bring no vain rumours, no uncertain conjectures, but the evident and authentic testimony of the *Great Seal of England*, affixed to the *Queen's letters-patent*, for authorizing the consecration and confirmation of *Matthew Parker*, dated the sixth of December 1559, directed to *seven* Protestant Bishops—viz. *Anthony Kitchen*, Bishop of Landaff; *William Barlow*, sometime Bishop of Bath and Wells and then elect of Chichester; *John Scory*, Bishop (elect) of Hereford, and formerly Bishop of Chichester; *Miles Coverdale*, sometime Bishop of Exeter; *Richard*

(or *John*) *de Bedford* and *John de Thetford*, Suffragan Bishops; and *John Bale*, Bishop of Ossory.

A *fifth* reason, in proof of the falsity of the story in question, is derived from the diametrical opposition between this fabulous relation of the *Nag's Head* consecration, and *all the Records of England, both ecclesiastical and civil*. First, As to the *time*. The Romanists say that this consecration was *before the ninth of September 1559*: but it is apparent, by all the Records of the Chancery, that all the distinct letters-patent, or commissions, for their respective confirmations and consecrations, whereupon they were consecrated, were issued *long after*;—viz. Archbishop *Parker's* letters-patent, which were the first, upon the *sixth day of December* following; next, the commissions for *Grindall*, *Cox*, and *Sands*, who were consecrated together 21st of December 1559; then for *Bullingham*, *Jewel*, and *Davies*, who were consecrated 21st of January 1560; then for *Bentham* and *Barclay*, who were consecrated 24th of March 1560; and, in the year following, for *Horn*, consecrated 16th of February 1560; *Alley*, consecrated 14th of July 1560; *Scambler*, consecrated 16th of February 1560; and *Pilkington*, consecrated 2nd of March 1560. Copies of these commissions are to be seen recorded *verbatim*,⁴ both in the rolls of

⁴ See *Records and Instruments* in Courayer's *Defence*, Appendix; and the *Table of Consecrations and Confirmations*, A.D. 1559—1561, vol. iii. of *Bramhall's Works*, in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*.

the Archbishop's Register, and in the rolls of the Chancery. To what end were all these letters-patent to authorize so many confirmations and consecrations, if the consecrations had been effected long before? No man's *election* can be *confirmed* in England but by the King's *letters-patent*; therefore the letters-patent must precede the confirmation and consecration — not follow, after a period of three, six, or even twelve months.

And as by the *records of the Chancery*, so also by *all the ecclesiastical records*, is the story proved to be fabulous. First, by the records of their several and distinct *confirmations*, which followed their commissions in due order; next, by those of their several and distinct *consecrations*, which duly followed their confirmations. The authentic records, both of these confirmations and consecrations, may be seen in the registry of the Archbishop of Canterbury. *One* forgery will not suffice; either *all* these records are forged, or the *Nag's Head* story is a silly senseless fable. Lastly, after the consecration, follows the *installation*, or *enthronization*, the record of which is to be found in the register of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; and the restitution of the new Bishop to his temporalities by virtue of the King's writ, mentioning the confirmation and oath of fealty to the King, as being temporal things. Now, how duly, according to these instruments, does one act follow another in regular succession. Archbishop Parker's *commission*

issued December 6th; his *confirmation* followed December 9th; his *consecration*, December 17th; his *enthronization*, immediately afterwards; and the *restitution to his temporalities*, the (twenty⁵)-first of March ensuing—that is, at the latter end of the very next term. But, by their relation, the consecration was long *before* the election was confirmed, which cannot be: the letters-patent to license the confirmation and consecration were issued three months *after* the consecration had been effected, which is incredible: as for the *confirmation*, *Mr. Neale*, the inventor of the story, knew not what it was: the installation followed, three months after the consecration; and the restitution to the temporalities, six months subsequently;—all of which is out of the pale of probability. So far as regards *the time*.

And now as to the *place*. The story propagated by the Romanists says, that the elected Bishops were consecrated at the *Nag's Head Tavern*. All the ecclesiastical records say that they were consecrated at *Lambeth*. The King's commission enjoins a legal consecration, according to the form prescribed by law; such a legal consecration ours at *Lambeth* was; such a legal consecration theirs at the *Nag's Head* was not; neither as to the *place*, nor the *rites*, nor the *essentials of consecration*. And, without good assurance that the consecration was legal, neither the person consecrated

⁵ See note in the new edition of *Bramhall's Works* (1844), in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, vol. iii. p. 69.

could have been enthroned, nor made his oath of fidelity to the King, nor have been restored to his temporalities; and yet Archbishop *Parker* was enthroned, did take the oath of fidelity, was restored to his temporalities, or, in other words, his consecration was *legally performed at Lambeth—not illegally at the Nag's Head*.

Then, again, as regards the *consecrator*. The fabulous relation feigns that there was *one* consecrator, or at the most *two*. The authentic records of the Church of England testify that there were *four* consecrators; the letters-patent require that there should be four consecrators, and, without an authentic certificate that there had been four, the King's writ of restitution would not have been issued. The Romanists feign that they imposed hands mutually, *Scory* upon them, and they upon *Scory*; the Records testify that *Scory* was solemnly consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in *King Edward's time*, the 13th (30th)⁶ day of August 1551, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and the Suffragan Bishop of *Bedford*, and therefore did not require re-consecration at the *Nag's Head*.

Lastly, as to the *persons consecrated*. Some writers feign that *all* the elected Bishops, and others say that *many* of them, were consecrated together *at one time with Archbishop Parker*. But all the records, both civil and ecclesiastical,

⁶ See note, *ibid.* p. 70.

testify the contrary;—that they had several commissions, several confirmations, several consecrations, upon several days, in several months, in several years, and had several consecrators, as appears clearly, not only by the authentic Records of the see of Canterbury, but also by the Records of the Chancery, and particularly by the *several commissions* directed expressly to *Archbishop Parker*, as a Bishop actually consecrated, for the consecration of all the rest; the first three of which commissions or letters-patent bear date the 18th of December 1559—(that is, the very next day after Archbishop Parker's consecration)—for the confirmation and consecration of *Grindall*, *Cox*, and *Sands*, three of those elected Bishops. If any doubt exists as to these letters-patent, they may be examined both in the Archbishop's Registry, and in the Rolls. If these Bishops were confirmed and consecrated *by* Archbishop *Parker*, then they were not consecrated together *with him*, as is affirmed in the *Nag's Head* relation; and with this their subsequent *installations* and *restitutions* exactly agree. Either, we repeat, *all* the records in England connected with these consecrations must be false, or the silly fable of the *Nag's Head* is a lying forgery.⁷

⁷ “ These records, as well as the *Act of Consecration*, are all inconsistent with the *Nag's Head* story; and, if that be true, they must all have been forged. Yet further :—In the Registry of the Metropolitan Chapter of *Canterbury* the vacancy of that see is

But not only do the Records of England *refute* the Nag's Head story, but the same Records *confirm* and *establish* our relation. We say, first, that, the see of Canterbury being void by the

noticed from November 1558, when Pole died, until the 8th of December 1559, in the several commissions to the officers of the province and diocese of Canterbury ; the inhibitions on account of visitations, the probates of wills, the administrations to the goods of persons dying intestate, the vacancies of the different sees in that province which happened during that period, the commissions to Vicars-General ; the institutions to ecclesiastical benefices, and entries of collations by the Queen to ecclesiastical benefices in the vacant dioceses ; forming a long train of legal acts, and occupying 106 leaves in the Registry ; and amongst these we must have another set of forgeries, and that of entries affecting the property of individuals, and legal rights of various kinds, if the *Nag's Head* story be true, for it fills the see in the beginning of September, and the form of these entries is '*sede vacante*' for three months beyond that time. Again, the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury contains the probates of thirty-seven wills, between the 15th of September 1559, and the 9th of December following, all entered as having been made before *Walter Haddon*, commissary of the court *during the vacancy of the see* ; and on that day *the form is changed*, and the entries, until the 15th of December, are in the name of *Walter Haddon*, acting under the authority of Archbishop *Parker*, *elected* and *confirmed* ; and the whole of this legal record must also be forged, if the *Nag's Head* story be true* But, after pronouncing all the works usually regarded as of classic antiquity to be forgeries, except four or five, some forty or fifty books and public records more were easily disposed of ; and he (*Hardouin*) appears in this Ordination controversy quite in his element. Adduce, as an argument in support of *Parker's* Regis-

* See Dr. Elrington's *Appendix*, nos. 14, 15, 16.

death of Cardinal *Pole*, the Queen granted her *congé d'eslire* to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to choose an Archbishop. This is clearly proved by the authentic copy of the *congé d'eslire*

try, the edition of the *Antiquitates Eccles. Brit.* in 1572, *Hardouin* replies, *It is a forgery.* But it was reprinted in 1605 at Hanau? *A forgery.*—It is confirmed by the Catalogue of English Writers, printed in Germany? *A forgery.*—*Cujas* quotes the Antiquities in a work printed in 1594? *A forgery.*—*Hollingshead's* Chronicle, printed in 1586, and containing the date of *Parker's* consecration? *A forgery.*—*Camden's* *Britannia*, published in 1586? *A forgery.*—It was reprinted at Frankfort in 1590? *A forgery.*—The Life of *Parker*, with Notes, by a *Puritan*, printed in 1574? *A forgery.*—*Humfrey's* Life of *Jewell*, in 1573? *A forgery.*—*Godwin, de Præsulibus Angliæ*, printed in 1601? *A forgery.*—The History of London, by *Stow*, printed in 1605? *A forgery.*—There are many copies of the *Antiquitates Eccl. Brit.* with MS. Notes in them? *All forgeries.*—The Records published by *Rymer* in his *Fœdera*? *All forgeries.*—The Registry of Lambeth? *A forgery.*—The Register of the Prerogative Court? *A forgery.*—The Registry of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury? *A forgery.*—The Registry of the Bishop of Salisbury? *A forgery.*—Of the Bishop of Worcester? *A forgery.*—Of Winchester? *A forgery.*—Of Cranmer? *A forgery.*—Of Bonner? *A forgery.*—The Letters of *Jewell*, authenticated by the public seal of *Zurich*? *A forgery.*—Barely to state such assertions is to refute them; and yet, whoever contends for the *Nag's Head* story has no means of maintaining his opinion but by adopting the whole of *Hardouin's* system; for every book, and paper, and registry that I have named must be a forgery, if that story be true.”—Dr. *Elrington's* *Validity of English Ordination established*, pp. 103 and 108. See also the *Preface* to the third volume of *Bramhall's* Works, in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*.

itself in the Rolls. (Rot. Par. 6, 1st Eliz.) We say, secondly, that the Dean and Chapter, having received this licence, did choose *Dr. Matthew Parker* for their Archbishop. This, again, is apparent by the Queen's *commission* for his confirmation and restitution, wherein there is this clause, "*and the said Dean and Chapter, by virtue of our licence, have chosen our beloved in Christ, Matthew Parker, Professor of Theology, for Archbishop and Pastor to them and the aforesaid Church, as by their letters-patent directed to us thereupon it appeareth more fully,*" &c. Again, the Queen, accepting this election, was graciously pleased to issue out two commissions for the legal *confirmation* of the said election, and *consecrating* of the said Archbishop. The first, dated the 9th of September 1559, directed to six Bishops, (Rot. Par. 2, 1st Eliz.) was not executed; the second commission, which was executed, was dated the 6th of December following, directed to the seven Bishops,⁸ whose names and sees are given in the commission in question. *Fourthly*, we say, that, by virtue of these letters-patent of December 6th, four of the commissioners therein named did meet in *Bow Church* upon the 9th day of the said month, and then and there, with the advice of the chief

⁸ The names and sees are given above, p. 24. On the *Consecration* of the *Consecrators* of Archbishop Parker, see *Preface* to *Bramhall's Works*, vol. iii. of the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, and note page 78.

ecclesiastical lawyers of the kingdom, the Dean of Arches, and the Judges of the Prerogative and Audience, did solemnly *confirm* the election: this is proved by the records of the confirmation or definitive sentence itself. (See the record in full in *Courayer's Appendix*, and *Bramhall, edit.* 1844, *App.* p. 185.) *Fifthly*, we say, that eight days after the confirmation—that is to say, the 17th of December 1559,—the same commissioners did proceed to the *consecration* of Archbishop Parker in the archiepiscopal chapel at Lambeth, *according to the form prescribed by the Church of England*, “with solemn prayers and sermon, and the holy Eucharist, at which great numbers of grave persons communicated with him at the time:” this is proved evidently by the authentic records of the consecration, as they are still and always have been to be seen in the public Registry of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.⁹

“As the case stands, (writes the Editor¹⁰ of *Bramhall's Works*¹ in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*,) I may be permitted to say, that the result of a tolerably minute examination of the evidence upon the subject is, in few

⁹ See records, &c. in the *Appendix to Bramhall's Works*, edit. 1844, pp. 174—215; in the *Appendix to Dr. Elrington's Validity of English Ordination established*; and *Courayer's Appendix of Records and Instruments*.

¹⁰ The Editor, to whom every member of the Church of England is so much indebted, is the Rev. A. W. Haddan, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Trin. Coll. Oxford.

¹ Vol. iii. *Preface to the Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated*.

words, this: that, if any one is disposed to question the truth of the account given in the Lambeth Register, he must be prepared to assert the forgery not only of that Register itself,—and the first volume of Archbishop Parker's Register, which is the volume in question, consists of 411 pages containing a mass of circumstantial entries upon a great variety of subjects,—but of the Registers also of the several Sees and Chapters throughout the kingdom for the period referred to (so far as they are preserved or as it has been found possible to consult them); of many pages of entries in the Registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; of thirty or forty documents in the Rolls; of a mass of contemporary letters and other documents preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with the existence of which Mason, an Oxonian, (who is the person accused, most absurdly, of forging the Register in 1613,) was unacquainted; of other also contemporary documents, preserved in the State Paper Office, likewise unknown to Mason; of others, (which are by themselves enough to prove the case,) preserved at Zurich, and unknown in England until 1685, seventy-two years after Mason's book was published; of Archbishop Parker's book "*De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*," as privately printed by him in 1572, a work of which twenty-two copies were known to exist (out of fifty originally printed) in 1724; of a Puritan translation of a Life of Parker (the original of which is in C. C. C. Library, Cambridge,) containing a table of the Consecrations in question, according mainly with the Register, and printed in 1574, of which several copies exist; of pp. 1490-1491 in the middle of vol. iii. of Holinshead's Chronicle as first published in 1586; and, lastly, of at least three other printed authorities prior to 1613, all of which evidences are independent of each other, bear no signs whatever of want of genuineness,

.

and tally to a very minute degree of accuracy: and he must be prepared to do this, upon the testimony of two, or, at the most, three, obscure controversialists, the earliest forty-four years after the event, writing in foreign countries and avowedly upon mere hearsay, whose evidence is in itself rendered absolutely unworthy of credit by the undisguised virulence and palpable ignorance of the writings in which it is found. Such is in brief the balance of testimony upon which he must be prepared to surrender a consistent, probable, and rational narrative, and to adopt in its stead a supposition at once incongruous, improbable, and absurd."

We may conclude the testimony above given, in favour of Archbishop Parker's due consecration, with an extract from *Mason's Vindication*. "The consecration of Archbishop *Parker*, which was solemnized sixty years ago and more, is beyond the memory of most men now alive; and yet it hath pleased God to preserve for us one witness, venerable for his great age, and every way above the reach of exception; I mean the most noble and renowned Lord *Charles Howard*, Earl of Nottingham, and late Lord High Admiral of England: who, in the year 1616, being asked by a friend, *Whether or no he was invited* (since he was of age sufficient) *to honour the consecration of Archbishop Parker, and the solemnity thereof, with his presence?* answered, *That he was indeed invited, and earnestly entreated to be present at it.* Being again asked, *To what place he was invited?* and

² See the Editor's notes, k. m. u. pages 97, 101.

particularly *whether it was to the Nag's Head?* his lordship replied, *By no means, but to the palace at Lambeth; whither he also declared he went on the day appointed, for that very purpose.* He, moreover, positively averred that *he was also present, with many other noble lords, at the entertainment, (which is wont to be very magnificent,) on the very same day of the consecration.* All which he affirmed that he *remembered perfectly well.* And being likewise asked, *Why Parker was so very earnest in inviting him, and he so punctual in gratifying Parker?* his lordship gave this particular and remarkable reason: *Because they were related the one to the other.* Thus you see the testimony of this famous nobleman exactly agrees both with the acts of Parliament and the venerable records of the Church of England."

And thus, (to adopt the reasoning of *Courayer*,) as the arguments which support the *consecration of Parker at Lambeth* are all founded upon evident facts and authentic documents, and the opposite arguments are founded only upon mere possibilities, and upon suspicions destructive to the most solemn acts, it does not appear that there is any comparison to be made of the one with the other. And it may be added, that doubts, which have no foundation but presumptions and prejudices, can never decide about the validity or invalidity of an act, when these prejudices or these presumptions are destroyed by proofs, which are convincing to all those

who search less for dispute than instruction. The *consecration* being once ascertained, the *succession* is easy to be established; the same principles concurring to prove the validity of the one, consequently prove the other. All depends upon *Parker's consecration*, which, *taking its source in the ancient Episcopacy, reunites it in his person to the new, and leaves no space to fill, which can give suspicion of the least interruption.*³

³ "The consecration of Parker" (writes *Carwithen*) "is an event which demands something more than a minute and accurate statement of its circumstances; it cannot be dismissed without some reflections. Its validity has been impugned, from a design of invalidating the Episcopal Succession of the Church of England. The Romanists have objected, that our Priesthood has no divine authority, and is therefore incapable of performing the administration of divine offices with effect. They pretend that our Holy Orders have not been derived as they ought to have been, and as those in the Church of Rome are, by an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles, from Christ himself; and that the Apostolical Succession, so essential to a Christian ministry, was broken in the English Church on the consecration of Parker. This consecration was uncanonical, because the persons engaged in it had been legally deprived by Queen Mary, and had not been legally or canonically restored; and their episcopal authority was derived only from the Great Seal of England.

"To this allegation it has been sufficiently answered, that, the persons engaged in the consecration having been once invested with the episcopal character, that character was indelible; and that their deprivation under Queen Mary took place before a reconciliation was effected with the See of Rome, and by no other than a commission instituted by royal authority. The episcopal character remained in these deprived Bishops even during their exile, and they had the power of communicating it before they

regained temporal possession of their sees. The episcopal power of Coverdale and Hodgskins was not less valid because they never exercised it afterwards ; nor that of Scory and Coverdale, because they were consecrated by an ordinal different from that of the Church of Rome ; nor that of Hodgskins, because he was only a Suffragan Bishop. The assistance of Coverdale and Hodgskins in the present consecration was a voluntary act, and their ceasing afterwards to perform any other episcopal function was equally voluntary. The Ritual of Edward the Sixth retained all which was necessary to confer the episcopal character, all which was practised in the primitive ages, and all which had been retained by the Greek Church.* The institution of Suffragan Bishops is known to the Church of Rome, and their power is recognized as rightful and sufficient.

"It has been also answered, that when a Church is overrun with error, or otherwise unsettled in its constitution, it cannot be bound by those rules to which it may rigidly adhere in a pure and settled state. When the Arian Bishops were dispossessed of some of the chief sees on account of their heresy, the orthodox Bishops ordained others in their room, without a strict attention to the canons usually and properly observed.

"Neither has the objection of the Romanists any weight, that the Bishops of a province cannot, according to primitive custom and the canon law, consecrate their own superior, and invest him with an authority over themselves. Such was the course anciently adopted in the isle of Cyprus, where the Suffragan Bishops always consecrated their own Metropolitan, and were maintained in that right by the council of Ephesus."—*History of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 25. See also Palmer's *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. i. p. 487-91.

The reader who may require the solution of other difficulties will do well to consult *Bramhall*, *Courayer*, or *Browne*, and the *Preface* and *Notes* to the third volume of Archbishop *Bramhall's* Works, in the *Library of the Anglo-Catholic Theology*.

* The reader is referred to the extracts from Prideaux, Bramhall, &c. in the *Postscript*.

A POSTSCRIPT,

BEING

A REPLY TO THE REV. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE'S

NINTH LETTER

ON THE

FOURFOLD DIFFICULTY OF ANGLICANISM.

A POSTSCRIPT ;

Being a few words to the REV. J. SPENCER NORTH-
COTE, on his Ninth Letter on the *Apostolicity* of
the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

MY attention has been called to some remarks in the Ninth letter¹ of the Rev. *J. Spencer Northcote*, relative to the claim on the part of *the Church of England* to the *Apostolical Succession*. I shall consider these remarks seriatim. In giving “a brief history of the origin of the present English Episcopate,” Mr. Northcote tells us, (speaking of King *Edward's Ordinal*,) that, “in the consecration of a Bishop, the form of words which accompanied the laying on of hands was such as might have served with equal propriety for the ordination of a priest, or deacon, or even for the confirmation of a layman ; and no mention was made, in any part of the service, of conveying to the candidate the power of conferring orders.” Again, Mr. N. speaks of the new service for the consecration of Bishops

¹ *The Fourfold Difficulty of Anglicanism ; in a Series of Letters, &c.* The author is a Priest of the Church of England, and has lately joined the Church of Rome.

as "a form of words not even irreconcilable with Presbyterianism," and as "giving some ground to suspect that Episcopacy was retained only for form's sake ; or, at least, with a very different design from that hitherto entertained by the Church; and rather as a civil than an ecclesiastical dignity." The same objection has been often raised by Papists² and by Puritans,³ and been often and ably answered. As, however, Mr. Northcote seems to imply that to the "experienced eye" of *Rome* "some flaw"⁴ may be

² The reader will see the objection more fully stated in Dodd's *Church History*, Part IV.

³ See Neale's *History of the Puritans*, page 63, &c.

⁴ That Rome's "experienced eye" had not discovered this "*flaw*" in the reign of Queen *Mary* may be learnt from the following facts :

"That the forms in King *Edward's* Ordinal were not considered as invalid at the very time when the question was most important, in the reign of Queen *Mary*, appears plainly from the case of *Scorye*, who had been consecrated by those forms, and was, as I have already observed in proving him to have been a Bishop, restored to the exercise of his office by Bishop *Bonner*, *without any new consecration*; the act of restoration, taken from *Bonner's* Registry, is given in the Appendix, No. 45. And that *Bonner* conceived it only to be necessary to *reconcile* those who had been ordained by the Protestant Ritual, appears from the 29th Article, set forth by him to be enquired into at his general visitation in 1554, which ran thus : ' *Whether any such as were ordered schismatically, and contrary to the old order and custom of the Catholic Church BEING NOT YET RECONCILED NOR ADMITTED BY THE ORDINARY, have celebrated the Mass,*' &c. Here we find that they were only to be *reconciled*, not *reordained*. And that this of *Scorye* was not a solitary instance in which

discernible in the English succession," through the medium of the *new Ordinal* (that of 1549), I subjoin the following replies.

Orders conferred by the Ritual of *Edward* were admitted as valid in the reign of *Mary* appears decisively from the complaint made by *Sanders*, one of the earliest and most violent opposers of those ordinations, '*that many ordained in the time of the Schism of Henry and of Edward were permitted to exercise their ecclesiastical functions without enquiring into the manner in which they were ordained.*'* *Sanders*, indeed, disapproves of this having been done, and says plainly, that this *supina et irreligiosa negligentia* was the cause why the favour of Divine Providence was withdrawn from England, and the triumph of the Catholic faith so soon terminated by the death of *Mary*; but the opinion of Cardinal *Pole*, of Bishop *Gardiner*, Bishop *Bonner*, and, by necessary inference, of the Council which directed the ecclesiastical affairs of England during that reign, may fairly be considered as the opinion of the *Roman Catholic Church*, particularly as the whole was conducted under the especial direction of the Pope.

"The objection made by *Sanders* obviously indeed goes farther than any Roman Catholic will now support him in, reaching to the Orders conferred during the latter part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, against which no objection lay as to the *forms* used, for they were those of the Church of *Rome*, but merely to the *Schism*; and this erroneous opinion it was which led him to deny *Barlow* and the Suffragans of *Bedford* and *Thetford* to be Bishops, and thus to maintain that there was no Bishop at *Parker's* consecration. But this is a point that need not now be argued; for *Schism*, it is universally acknowledged, does not render Orders conferred during it *invalid*.

"The authority given to Cardinal *Pole* by Pope *Julius* the Third, to enable him to perform all the acts necessary for reconciling England to the See of Rome, proves beyond a doubt that reordination

* *De Schism. Angl.* l. ii. p. 293. ; Colon. Agripp. 12mo. 1610.

The first is from the pen of Dean *Prideaux*, in his work on "*the Validity of the Orders of the Church*"

was not considered as necessary in the case of those who had been ordained by the Protestant Ritual; for it empowers the Cardinal, or those commissioned by him, so to give dispensations, even to Archbishops and Bishops, that they may '*per eos jam licet minus recte susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, necnon munus consecrationis suscipere et illo uti libere et licite valeant.*' These *ordines minus rite suscepti* are evidently those—indeed they can be no other than those—received under the Protestant forms of Ordination. A *Dispensation* was necessary, because the Orders had been irregularly conferred, and not according to *consuetam et legitimam formam*, to use the words of *Stapleton*;* but if they had not been in substance *valid*, no dispensation could have been sufficient; and it is for this *validity* merely that I contend, *perfectly indifferent as to the irregularities which the Roman Canonists may be able to find out in them*, or the censures which their *Regulations* and *Decretals* might justify them in bestowing upon the Bishops who conferred them.

"There is a still further argument which may be derived from this commission, for it joins, as under the same irregularity, the Bishops appointed in *Henry's* time, and in *Edward's*; thus making no distinction between the deficiency arising from *Schism* in the reign of *Henry* and the former part of *Edward*, and that which some writers have since contended to have been occasioned by the *change in the forms of Ordination* made in the latter part of *Edward's* reign. Now, the fair inference from this union of the different classes of Bishops under one censure is, that *Julius* the Third considered both classes as only *irregular*, and did not condemn those made by the new Ordinal as *invalidly* ordained.

"And to complete our proof, we find, in Act 1 & 2 *Ph. & Mary*, c. 8, a dispensation from Cardinal *Pole* inserted in the

* Tom. ii. p. 838.

of England made out against the objections of the Papists."

body of the Act, in which he expressly states, that many persons ordained under the pretended authority of the English Church had been *confirmed* in the exercise of their Orders and the possession of their benefices.

"The general practice of England will, I am confident, be found to have been conformable to the Bull of Pope *Julius*, and to have consisted not in reordaining, but in *rehabilitating*. We have already seen what *Bonner's* conduct was, and he surely will not be reckoned *over-liberal* in his sentiments. An examination of the Diocese of Norwich * did not produce a single instance of reordination; and, what is decisive on the question, Cardinal *Polé's* Registry for the Diocese of Canterbury affords also no instance of reordination.

"It appears, indeed, that for an hundred and fifty years no settled rule as to reordination had been established in the Church of Rome; for, so late as the year 1704, we find *John Clement Gordon*, a Scotch Bishop, who apostatized to the Church of Rome, petitioning the Pope to be reordained, and stating at length the motives of his application. This very curious document is given by *Le Quien*;† and as it proves the decision of the Church of Rome to have been made without due examination, upon the bare assertions of an individual, it will serve to show to Roman Catholics how little that determination is entitled to respect; and when it appears that some of the most important statements made in that petition are false, and the theological principles, in some instances, such as no Roman Catholic is bound to acknowledge, the little respect that it could have claimed will be totally annihilated."‡ — *Elrington's Validity of English Ordination*, p. 140.

* See Courayer, *Defence of the Dissertation*, &c. vol. ii. p. 253.

† *Nullité des Ordin. Anglic.* tom. ii. App. p. 68.

‡ See a very interesting note in *Bramhall's Works*, vol. iii. p. 114, edit. 1844.

“The grand objection brought against the *validity* of our *English Orders* was from the alteration made in our Ordinal *anno* 1662; as if that were a tacit consent on our side that, before this alteration was made, our Ordinal was not sufficient, and therefore no Orders could be conferred thereby; and, consequently, that neither they which were ordained by it, or we that have derived our Orders from them, have received any legal and sufficient ordination thereby.⁵ To which I answer: 1st. That the putting in of explanatory words to make things clearer, and render them more free from cavil and objection, cannot be well termed an alteration. 2nd. That supposing really there had been any such alteration made as to the whole substance of the form, yet this is no more than what the Church of *Rome* hath often done, there being scarce an

⁵ Notwithstanding this objection on the part of the Romanist, “we are assured that Pius IV. made an overture to Elizabeth of approving the Book of Common Prayer, and consequently the *Liturgy* and the *Ordinal*, which were parts of it, provided that Princess would return to the obedience of the Holy See. This was at least the common report, as the famous *Camden* informs us,—‘Fama obtinet Pontificem fidem dedisse sententiam ‘contra matris nuptias tanquam injustam rescissurum, *Liturgiam* ‘*Anglicam sua auctoritate confirmaturum, et usum Sacramenti sub* ‘*utraque specie Anglis permissurum, dummodo illa Romanæ* ‘*Ecclesiæ se aggregaret, Romanæque Cathedræ primatum agnos-* ‘*ceret.*’ The thing is very certain as to the first article, and I see no reason for doubting of the rest more than that.”—Coulter’s *Defence of the Dissertation*, vol. ii. p. 360.

Camden adds, “*imo et hæc curantibus aliquot aureorum millia fuisse promissa.*”—*Annales Rerum Anglicarum, &c.* p. 51, edit. 1677.

Again, Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, in a charge at the assizes held by him at Norwich, August 4, 1606, three years only after Queen

age in which she hath not considerably varied from herself herein; as may be seen by comparing those many different forms of Ordination used in the Church of Rome, which are collected together by *Morinus*, a learned Priest of that Church, in his book "*de Ordinationibus*." 3rd. The alterations, or rather explanatory additions, made in our Ordinal in the year 1662, were not inserted out of any respect to the controversy we have with the Church of *Rome*,⁶ but only to silence a cavil of the *Presbyterians*, who, from the old Ordinal, drew an argument to prove that there was no difference between a Bishop and a Priest, because (as they say) their offices were not at all distinguished in the words whereby they were conferred on them when ordained, or any new power given a Bishop which he had not afore as a Priest. For the words of ordination in King Edward's Ordinal are for a Priest

Elizabeth's death, publicly affirmed that "*the Pope wrote a letter to Elizabeth, in which he consented to approve the Book of Common Prayer, as used among us, as containing nothing contrary to the truth, and comprehending what is necessary to salvation, though not all that ought to be in it, and that he would authorize us to use it if her Majesty would receive it from him and upon his authority. And this is the truth touching Pope Pius V., which I have often heard from the Queen's own mouth. And I have frequently conferred with noblemen of the highest rank in the state who had seen and read the Pope's letter on this subject, as I have related it to you. And this is as true as that I am an honest man.*"—See *Charge*, p. 28. After all, it is a matter of small moment whether Pope Pius V. recognised our orders and approved our Liturgy, or not: "can any man doubt (asks *Bramhall*) that they which make no scruple of taking away our lives, will make conscience of taking away our Orders?"

⁶ See a very interesting note in Dr. Cardwell's *History of Conferences connected with the revision of the Common Prayer*, p. 385.

as followeth; "*Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained; and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Sacraments; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:*" and for a Bishop; "*Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God which is in thee, by imposition of hands; For God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and Soberness.*" And they so continued till the review of our Liturgy, anno 1662; and, then to obviate the above-mentioned cavil of the *Presbyterians*, those explanatory words were inserted, whereby the distinction between a Bishop and a Priest is more clearly and unexceptionably expressed. So that now the words of ordination for a Priest are; "*Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God now committed to thee by imposition of our hands: whose sins thou dost forgive,*" &c. And for a Bishop; "*Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;—and remember that thou,*" &c. But 4th. Having thus stated the case, and laid before you the differences between the new Ordinal and the old; now to come to the main of the objection, I assert, that had the old Ordinal been continued without any such addition, although it might not so clearly have obviated the cavils of adversaries, yet the Orders conferred by it would have been altogether as valid. And as to the objection made by the gentlemen of the Church of *Rome*, that the words of our old Ordinal do not sufficiently express the office conferred thereby, this must be understood either in reference to the Priestly ordination, or the Episcopal, or both. And 1st. As to the *Priestly* ordination, there

seems not to be the least ground for it, because the form in the old Ordinal doth as fully express the office, power, and authority of a Priest as need be required, in these words: "*Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and His Sacraments;*"—wherein the whole of the Priestly office is expressed. But 2nd. As to the *Episcopal* ordination, the whole pinch of the argument seems to lie there; because, in the old form of the words spoken at the imposition of hands, the office and authority of a Bishop (they say) is not so particularly specified. To this I answer, first, that I think this sufficiently done in the words of the form; "*Remember that thou stir up the Grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and Soberness.*" For they are the very words of *St. Paul* to *Timothy* Bishop of *Ephesus*, (*Epist. 2. c. i. ver. 6, 7,*) whereby he exhorts and stirs him up to the execution of his *Episcopal* office, and they have been always understood to refer thereto; and, therefore, I think they may be also allowed sufficient to express the same *Episcopal* office when spoken to any other, and fully determine to what office the Holy Ghost is given by imposition of hands in the form mentioned, and properer for this purpose than any other, because of the greater authority which they must have, in that they are taken out of the Holy Scripture. But if men will cavil on, and still object that the name of *Bishop* is not expressed in the form, or the duties and power of that office with sufficient clearness specified in the words mentioned, the objection lies much more against the *Roman Ordinal* than ours, as being much more defective herein. For the whole form used therein at the consecration of a *Bishop* is no more than

this, "*Receive the Holy Ghost*;" that being all that is said at the imposition of hands, and asserted by them to be the whole form of Episcopal ordination.⁷ And, therefore, *Vasques*, a learned Jesuit, and most eminent schoolman, makes the same objection against the Roman Ordinal that the Romanists do against ours. For in *Tertiam Thomæ Disp.* 240, c. 5, n. 57, his words are, "*Illa verba* "*(‘accipe Spiritum Sanctum’)* quæ a tribus Episcopis simul "*cum impositione manuum dicuntur super Ordinandum,* "*usque adeo generalia videntur, ut proprium munus aut* "*gradum Episcopi non exprimant, quod tamen necessarium* "*videbatur pro forma;*" i. e. "These words, '*Receive the Holy Ghost*,' which are spoken by three Bishops together with imposition of hands over the person to be ordained, seem to be so general that they do not express the proper office and degree of a Bishop, which yet did seem necessary for the form of his Ordination." But to this he himself gives a solution (n. 60 of the same chapter) in these following words: "*Neque obstat id quod supra dicebamus* "*verba illa ‘accipe Spiritum Sanctum’ admodum generalia* "*esse; nam quamvis in illis secundum se consideratis non* "*denotetur munus aut gradus peculiaris Episcopi, et pro* "*quocunque alio ordine dici possent, tamen prout proferun-* "*tur (adhibita a tribus Episcopis in unum congregatis ma-* "*nuum impositione pro materia) recte quidem denotant* "*gradum Episcopi ad quem electus ordinatur. Sic enim* "*simul imponentes per verba illa denotant se eum in suum* "*consortium admittere, et ad hoc Spiritum Sanctum tribuere,* "*ac proinde in eodem ordine Episcopali secum ipsum consti-* "*tuere. Cum tamen manuum impositio ab uno tantum Epi-* "*scopo adhibita, et eadem verba ‘accipe Spiritum Sanctum,’*

⁷ See Courayer's *Defence of the Validity of English Ordinations*, pages 110—17.

“*paucis aliis additis ab eodem in ordinatione Diaconi, pro-*
 “*lata, neque secundum se neque prout ab ipso Episcopo dicta*
 “*et huic materiæ applicata, peculiare munus aut gradum*
 “*Diaconi denotent, neque enim prout dicta ab uno Episcopo*
 “*cum tali materia denotare possunt ordinatum admitti ad*
 “*consortium Episcopi in hoc potius ordine quam in alio,*
 “*cum unus Episcopus tam sit minister ordinis Sacerdotii et*
 “*Subdiaconatus quam Diaconatus; e contrario vero tres*
 “*Episcopi solius ordinis Episcopalis ministri sint; ideo*
 “*autem existimo Christum voluisse ut Ecclesia illius tantum*
 “*verbis, quæ secundum se generalia sunt, in hac ordinatione*
 “*uteretur, ut denotaret abundantiam gratiæ Spiritus Sancti,*
 “*quæ Episcopis in ordinatione confertur. Plus enim vide-*
 “*tur esse dari Spiritum Sanctum absolute, quam dari ad*
 “*hunc vel illum effectum peculiarem :”* i. e. “Neither doth
 that hinder, which I have said before, that these words,
 ‘*Receive the Holy Ghost,*’ were too general. For al-
 though by these words, considered in themselves, the
 office or peculiar degree of a Bishop cannot be denoted,
 and they may be also said for any other order; but as they
 are pronounced, (the imposition of hands of three Bishops
 joined together being also had therewith for the matter of
 Ordination,) they do truly denote the degree of a Bishop,
 to which the person elected is ordained. For they after
 this manner, laying on their hands all together, by those
 words do denote that they do receive him into their fellow-
 ship, and to this end do give the Holy Ghost, and there-
 fore do place him in the same *Episcopal Order* with them-
 selves; whereas the imposition of hands made use of by
 one Bishop only, and the same words, ‘*Receive the Holy*
Ghost,’ with a few others added to them spoken by the
 same Bishop in the Ordination of a Deacon, do not, either
 as considered in themselves, or as spoken by the Bishop,
 and applied to this matter, denote the peculiar office

or degree of a Deacon ; neither can they as spoken by one Bishop, with such a matter, denote the Ordained to be admitted into fellowship with the Bishop rather in this order than in another, seeing one Bishop is as well the minister of conferring the Orders of Priesthood, and of the Sub-Deacon, as of the Deacon ; but, on the contrary, three Bishops are only the ministers of conferring Episcopal Ordination. And I do, therefore, think it to be the will of Christ that his Church should in this Ordination use such words as, considered in themselves, are only general, that it might denote thereby that abundance of Grace of the Holy Ghost which is conferred on Bishops in their Ordination. For it seems to be much more that the Holy Ghost be given absolutely, than that it be given for this or that peculiar effect." Thus far the learned Jesuit ; and if this may be allowed to be a sufficient solution of the objection against the Ordinal of the Church of *Rome*, it must also be a sufficient solution of the same objection against our Ordinal. For with us, as well as in the Church of *Rome*, there are always *three Bishops* present at the Ordination of a Bishop, which, all together, lay on their hands on the Bishop elect when ordained ; and not only this circumstance, but many others in the administration of this office according to our Ordinal, do as fully show what order the person on whom they thus lay on their hands, and pronounce the above-mentioned form of consecration over, is to be admitted to. The complex of the whole office shows it ; for the person to be ordained or consecrated is presented to the Metropolitan *as one to be made a Bishop*, he takes the oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan *as one to be made a Bishop*, is prayed for *as one to be made a Bishop*, is examined or interrogated *as one to be made a Bishop*, is vested in the *Episcopal robes*, and is *ordained by a form never used but in the Ordination*

of a *Bishop*; and all these together, with many other like circumstances in that office too long all to be put down, are certainly sufficient to determine the words of the form to the *Episcopal* office only, were there nothing in the words themselves to do it, as it is certain there is not in the form used by the Church of *Rome* to this purpose.”—*Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*, pages 14-20.

My readers may, perhaps, deem the above a sufficient reply to the first objection advanced. As, however, this “flaw” is so frequently referred to with triumph by our opponents, I will give the answers of two or three other eminent Divines on the same subject, who have severally taken up the different points in the argument, and left, as a whole, no difficulty requiring solution.

Bishop *Burnet* shall make the next reply. In his *Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England* against a Romanist, he says,—

“His (*i. e.* the Romanist’s) second argument is, No Ordination is valid unless there be fit words used to determine the outward Rites, to signify the Order given, which, he says, our own writers (Mr. *Mason* and Dr. *Bramhall*) do acknowledge. But the words of consecration do not express this, they being only “*Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace, &c.,*” which do not express the office of a Bishop. And having proposed these arguments, that the unlearned reader may think he deals fairly, he goes on to set down our objections, and answer them.

“*First.* It has been already made out that the form “*Receive the Holy Ghost*” was that which our Saviour made use of when He ordained the Apostles, without

adding "*to the office of an Apostle.*" For which it is to be considered, that all Ecclesiastical orders being from the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, which being one, yet hath *different operations* for the *different administrations*, therefore the concomitant actions, words, and circumstances must show for which administration the Holy Ghost is prayed for, since that general prayer is made for all; but, the functions being different, the same Holy Ghost works differently in them all.⁸ Therefore it is plain, from the practice of our Saviour, that there is no need of expressing in the very words of Ordination what power is thereby given, since our Saviour did not express it; but what He said both before and after did determine the sense of those general words to the Apostolical function.

"*Secondly.* The whole office of consecrating Bishops shows very formally and expressly what power is given in these words. Now, though the writers of the Church of *Rome* would place the form of consecration in some imperative words, yet we see no reason for that, but the complex of the whole office is that which is to be chiefly considered, and must determine the sense of those words; so that a Priest being presented to be made a Bishop, the King's mandate being read for that effect, he swearing canonical obedience as Bishop elect, prayers being put up for him as such, together with other circumstances which

⁸ In our Ordination service the *Deacon trusts* that he is *moved* by the Holy Ghost, and does *not receive* it. Priest and Bishop think in their hearts that they are truly *called*, and *do receive* the Holy Ghost. In the office for Priests our Ordaining minister uses the words of Scripture, John xx. 22, 23. In that for Bishops he proceeds to 2 Tim. i. 6, 7.—Vide Hey on the *Articles*, vol. iv. page 492.

make it plain what they are about,—those general words are by these qualified and restrained to that sense.

“We do not fly here to a secret and unknown intention of the consecrators, as the Church of *Rome* does, but to the open and declared intention of the Church appearing in this: so that it is clear that the sense of those general words is so well explained that they do sufficiently express and give the power and office of a Bishop.

“*Thirdly.* In the Church of *Rome* the consecration of a Bishop is made with these words, “*Receive the Holy Ghost.*” This being all that is said at the imposition of hands, which, as has been already proved, is the matter or sensible sign of Orders. And in the prayer that follows these words there is no mention made of the Episcopal dignity or function; and all the other ceremonies used in the consecration of a Bishop are but rites that are added for the more solemnity, but are not of the essence of Ordination, according to what is now most generally received even in their own Church. And *Vasques*⁹ does set down this very objection against the form of their Episcopal Ordination as not sufficient, because it does not specify the Episcopal power; to which he answers that, *though the words express it not, yet the other circumstances that accompany them do it sufficiently*; by which it appears that this argument is as strong against their Ordination as ours, and that they must make use of the same answers that we give to it.

“*Fourthly.* The ancient forms of consecrating Bishops differing¹⁰ so much one from another, and indeed agreeing in nothing but in an imposition of hands, with a convenient (that is, appropriate) prayer; it has been already made out

⁹ Disp. 240, c. 5, n. 60.

¹⁰ “Thus,” to quote *Mason*, “we have compared our *English*

that there is no particular form so necessary that the want of it annuls Orders, and that the Church has often changed the words of these prayers upon several occasions; and it was ever thought that if the words do sufficiently express the mind of the Church, there was no more scruple to be made of the validity of the Orders so given: for if the Episcopal character were begotten by any of those rites which the Church of *Rome* has added of late, such as the Chrism, the giving the Gospels, the Ring, the Staff, or any other set down in the *Pontifical*, then there were no

Ordinal with that of your Pope *Innocent*. It remains that we compare some of the older *Popish Ordinals* among themselves :

“ But now, alas ! as brother strives with brother ;
 So these, together set, fall out with one another !

And lest you should think I said this rashly or invidiously, hear, I beseech you, what the Bishop of *Pientum* says,—a man long versed in the sacred ceremonies, who addresseth himself to Pope Innocent VIII. thus : ‘ It was your command, holy Father, which ‘ put me on the correction of the Pontifical book ; an undertaking full of a painful variety, and which as it may be acceptable to some, so it is not a little liable to envy. For through ‘ the antiquity of the matter, the multitude of the Churches, and ‘ the variety of times and Bishops, it is so ordered that there are ‘ scarce any two or three books to be found which tell us the same ‘ thing. In like manner, so many books as there are, so many ‘ differences are there also ; for one contains too little, another too ‘ much, and another has nothing at all of the same matter, so that ‘ they rarely or never agree.’ And now you see what a rare agreement you have to boast of among your *Ordinals* !” Mason then proceeds to show that the modern Roman Ordinal differs in many things from the most ancient, both as to *Habits*, as to *Oaths*, and as to the *Confession of Faith*.—Mason’s *Vin. Ecc. Ang.* page 203.

true Bishops in the Church for many ages. In the most ancient *Latin* Ritual now to be found, there is nothing in the consecration of a Bishop but the prayer which is now marked for the anthem after the consecration in the *Pontifical*. In a Ritual, believed to be eight hundred years old, the anointing is first to be found, but there is no other rite with it. In another Ritual, somewhat later than the former, the giving the Ring and the Staff were used, which at first were the civil ceremonies of Investiture: and in the *Greek* Church none of those rites were ever used; they having only an imposition of hands, and saying with it, “*The Divine Grace that heals the things that are weak, and perfects the things that are imperfect, promotes this very reverend Priest to be a Bishop: let us, therefore, pray that the Grace of the Holy Ghost may come upon him.*” Then all that are assisting say thrice, “*Kyrie eleison.*” Then the Consecrator lays the Gospels on the head and neck of him that is consecrated, having before signed his head thrice with the sign of the Cross; and all the other Bishops touch the Gospels, and there is a prayer said. And thus it is clear that if those rites in the *Pontifical* be essential to Episcopal Orders, neither the Primitive Church nor the *Greek* Churches gave them truly, which are things they cannot admit. Therefore it is most disingenuously done of them to insinuate on unlearned persons that our Orders are not good, when in their consciences they know that they have all those requisites in them which by the principles of the most learned men of their own Church are essentially and absolutely necessary to make them good and valid.

“I presume that I have said enough already to show that both our Priestly and Episcopal Orders are good and valid.

“ But his (the Romanist’s) second argument is such a piece of foul¹ dealing that really he deserves to be very sharply reproved for it. In it he makes us object, that though the form of our Ordination since King Edward the Sixth’s days, till his Majesty’s happy restoration, was invalid, yet that is salved by the Parliament that now sits (1662), that appointed the words of Ordination to be “ *Receive the Holy Ghost for the “ Office of a Priest,”* or “ *for the Office of a Bishop.*” And having set up this man of straw, he runs unmercifully at him, he stabs him in at the heart, he shoots him through the head, and then, to make sure work of him, he cuts him all to pieces that he shall never live nor speak again, and all this out of pure chivalry to show his valour. He tells us the salve is worse than the sore ; that by the change the form used before is confessed to be invalid, else why did they change it ? He tells us, secondly, by this we acknowledge all our Bishops and Priests till that time to be null. Thirdly, that they, not being true Bishops, cannot ordain validly, for no man can give what he has not. And fourthly, the power that Act gives, is only from the Parliament, and not from Christ ; and this destroys our Orders root and branch. So there is an end of us ; we are all killed upon the spot, never to live more. Yet there is no harm done, nor blood spilt ; all is safe and sound. But to satisfy any person whom such a scruple may trouble, let it be considered,—

“ *First.* That we pretend not that there is any greater validity in our Orders since the last Act of uniformity than

¹ Neither Mr. Northcote nor my readers will, I trust, for a moment suppose that I apply the language as well as the arguments to the author of the “ Letters,” &c. Neither in the above, nor in any other passage from whatever author, do I identify myself with the *personalities* which they may contain.

was before ; for those words that are added are not essential to the Ordination, but only further and clearer explanations of what was clear enough by the other parts of these offices before. Therefore there is no change made of any thing that was essential to our Ordinations. An explanation is not a change ; for did the Fathers of the Councils of *Nice* and *Constantinople* change or annul the faith and creeds that the Church used before, when they added explanations to the Creed ? Therefore, the adding of some explanatory words for cutting off the occasions of cavilling is neither a change, nor an annulling our former Orders.

“*Secondly.* The change of the form of Consecration does not infer an annulling of Orders given another way, for then all the Ordinations used in the Primitive Church are annulled by the *Roman* Church at this day, since the forms of Ordination used by them now were not used in the former ages ; and the forms used in the former ages are not looked on by them now to be the forms of Consecration, but are only made parts of the office, and used as collects or anthems ; and yet here is a real change, which, by their own principles, cannot infer a nullity of Orders given before the change made.

“*Thirdly.* If the addition of a few explanatory words invalidates former Orders, then the adding many new rites which were neither used by Christ nor His Apostles, nor the Primitive nor Eastern Churches, will much more invalidate former Orders ; especially when these are believed to be so essential as that they confer the power of consecrating Christ’s Body and Blood, and of offering sacrifices, and were for divers ages universally looked on in that Church to be the matter and form of Orders, as was already observed of the rite of giving the sacred vessels with the words joined to it, which Pope *Eugenius* in express words

calls the matter of Priestly Orders, and the words joined to them the form (in his decree for the *Armenians* in the Council of *Florence*); and even the form he mentions is also altered now, for the celebrating Masses are not in the form he mentions, but are now added to that part of the office in the *Roman Church*. Let the *Pontifical* be considered in the ordination of Priests: we find *the Priestly vestments given*, both the *Stole* and the *Casula*; then *their hands are anointed*; then *the vessels of the Sacrament are delivered to them*, with words pronounced in every one of those rites, besides many other lesser rites that are in the *Rubrick*. In the consecration of a Bishop *his head is anointed, then his hands*; then *his Pastoral Staff is blessed, and put in his hands*; next *the Ring is blessed, and put on his finger*; then *the Gospels are put in his hands*; then *the Mitre is blessed, and put on his head*; next *the Gloves are blessed, and put on his hands*; and then *they set him on his Throne*; besides many less rites to be seen in the *Rubrick*. Now, with what face can they pretend that our adding a few explanatory words can infer the annulling all Orders given before that addition, when they have added so many material ceremonies in which they place great significance and virtue? Is not this *to swallow a camel, and to strain at a gnat*? and to object to us *a mote in our eye*, when there is *a beam in their own eye*?

“*Fourthly*. This addition was indeed confirmed by the authority of Parliament, and there was good reason to desire, that to give it the force of the law: but the authority of these changes is wholly to be derived from the Convocation, who only consulted about them and made them, and the Parliament did take that care in enacting them, that might show they did only add the force of a law to them; for, in passing them, it was ordered that the Book of Common Prayer and Ordination should only be read over, (and

even that was carried upon some debate ; for many, as I have been told, moved that the Book should be added to the Act, as it was sent to the Parliament from the Convocation, without ever reading it ; but that seemed indecent and too implicit to others,) and there was no change made in a tittle by the Parliament. So that they only *enacted by a law what the Convocation had done.*²—*A Vindication, &c.* pages 64-74.

The next reply is contained in a work by *Daniel Williams*, entitled *The Succession of Protestant Bishops asserted, or the Regularity of the Ordination of the Church of England justified, against the Aspersions of Mr. J. Ward, a Romanist.*

“ The first thing Mr. Ward undertakes to prove against our Church is the invalidity of those forms of Ordination which were composed in the days of Edward the Sixth, and which continued in use until the review of the Common Prayer in the year 1662. For it was thought expedient at that time to make some alterations in our Ordinals ; not as if they had been defective before in the essential parts of them, but only to avoid some unreasonable consequences drawn by the *Presbyterians* concerning the sentiments of our Church with respect to the distinction between a Bishop and a Priest. And, therefore, in short, the question now to be discussed is, whether our forms before this alteration were valid with respect to the communication of the Episcopal and Priestly powers, or no.”

Having examined the objection as regards the office for the Ordination of a *Priest*, Williams “ proceeds to show the

² See Wheatly on the Common Prayer, p. 28 ; Burnet's *Vindication, &c.*, p. 53 ; and Twisden's *Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism*, p. 115.

validity of our *Episcopal* Ordinal. The forms used both by the Church of Rome and us, at the imposition of hands, are these.

The English Form.

“Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir
“up the Grace of God which is in thee by the imposition
“of our hands: for God has not given us the spirit of
“Fear, but of Power and Soberness.”

The Roman Form.

“Take the Holy Ghost.”³

“Mr. Ward findeth fault with this our form, which we use at the imposition of hands; because “the word *Bishop* is “not once named, nor any word equivalent thereto, where- “by to signify and denote the power of Grace given by im- “position of hands to be Episcopal power.”

“This is the same objection which has been already considered under the Ordinal for Priests, and you see it equally affects the *Roman Ordinal* with ours. But if this gentleman means that there is not the word “*Bishop*,” or any word equivalent thereto, in any part of our Ordinal, anybody that will be at the pains to consult it will find that he is as much mistaken in this as he has been before about the Ordinal for Priests. And because our Ordinals are not commonly published along with our Common Prayers for vulgar use, I shall show the several passages in it, wherein both the *name* and *office* of a *Bishop* are particularly expressed and distinguished. But it shall be as I find it in Bishop *Bramhall's* book, for the sake of his judicious observations upon each particular.

“The form of Episcopal Ordination, used at the same time when hands are imposed, is the same both in their

³ *Pontificale Romanum*, vol. i. p. 88, edit. 1735.

form and ours, "*Receive the Holy Ghost.*" And if these words be considered singly, in a divided sense from the rest of the office, there is nothing, either in our form or theirs, which doth distinctly and reciprocally express *Episcopal* power and authority. But if these words be considered conjointly in a compounded sense, there is enough to express *Episcopal* power and authority distinctly, and as much in our form as theirs.

' First, two Bishops present the Bishop elect to the Archbishop of the province with these words: "*Most Reverend Father in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned man to be consecrated Bishop.*" There is one expression.

' Then the Archbishop causeth the King's letters-patent to be produced and read, which require the Archbishop to consecrate him a *Bishop*. There is a second expression.

' Thirdly, the new Bishop takes his oath of canonical obedience. "*I, A. B., elected Bishop of the Church and See of C., do promise and profess all reverence and due obedience to the Archbishop and Metropolitcal Church of D. and his successors.*" This is a third expression.

' Next, the Archbishop exhorts the whole assembly to solemn prayer for this person thus elected and presented, before they admit him to *that office* (that is, *the office of a Bishop*), whereunto they hope he is called by the Holy Ghost, after the example of Christ before He did choose His Apostles, and the Church of *Antioch* before they laid hands upon *Paul* and *Barnabas*. This is a fourth expression.

' Then followeth the Litany, wherein there is this express petition for the person to be ordained *Bishop*; "*We beseech Thee to give Thy blessing and grace to this our brother, elected Bishop, that he may discharge that office whereunto he is called, diligently, to the edification of Thy*

“*Church.*” To which all the congregation answer, “Hear us, O Lord, we beseech Thee.” Here is a fifth expression.

‘Then followeth this prayer, wherewith the Litany is concluded; “*Almighty God, the Giver of all good things, which by Thy Holy Spirit hast constituted divers orders of Ministers in Thy Church, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to look graciously upon this Thy servant, now called to the office (the work and ministry) of a Bishop.*” This is the sixth expression.

‘Next, the Archbishop telleth him he must examine him before he admit him to that administration whereunto he is called; and maketh a solemn prayer for him “that God who hath constituted some Prophets, some Apostles, &c. to the edification of His Church, would grant to this His servant the grace to use the *authority committed to him* to edification, not destruction; to distribute food in due season to the family of Christ, as becometh a faithful and prudent *Steward.*” This authority can be no other than *Episcopal* authority, nor his stewardship any other thing than *Episcopacy.* This is a seventh expression.

‘Then followeth imposition of hands by the Archbishop and all the Bishops present, with these words, “*Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.*” And, lastly, the tradition of the Bible into his hands, exhorting him to behave himself towards the flock of Christ as a Pastor, not devouring but feeding the flock; all this implieth *Episcopal* authority. They may except against Christ’s own form of ordaining His Apostles if they will, and against the form used by *their own Church*; but, if they be sufficient forms, our form is sufficient.⁴—Bramhall’s *Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified*, &c., page 484.

⁴ Cardinal Pole and Pope Paul IV. confirmed all without exception that were ordained according to this form, provided that

The Archbishop might have also directed the reader's attention to the injunction to "minister discipline," and to the *last Rubric and Prayer*.

Dr. Bowden, in his *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy*, furnishes us with another reply.

"I appeal to the *Ordination Offices*, which are the public standards of the Church, and which were compiled by Cranmer and others in the year 1550. You, Sir, indeed endeavour to preclude us from that plea by observing that, "those who insist on this argument forget that the Ordination service, as it now stands, differs considerably from "that which was drawn up by Cranmer and his associates." But to come to the point. In the year 1549, not long after *Edward's* accession to the throne, an Act passed the *Parliament* for drawing up an *Ordinal*. The Act being short, I shall transcribe from *Collier* so much as will answer my purpose. After premising the object of the Act to be concord and unity, it proceeds to say, "It is "requisite to have one uniform fashion and manner for "making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, Deacons "or Ministers of the Church. Be it therefore enacted "by the King's Highness, with the assent of the Lords "Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present "Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, "that such form and manner of making and consecrating "of *Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons*, and other "Ministers of the Church, &c."

"From this Act it is evident that the formation of *different offices* for *different orders* was contemplated. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the intention of the

they would unite themselves to the Roman Catholic Church.—
See *Bramhall*, p. 444.

Act was fulfilled, and that *different offices were actually framed for different orders*. This was, in fact, the case.

“But those who are ever looking out for some slight defect, upon which they may ground an objection, have said that in the Ordinal set forth in *Edward's* reign the words for conveying the Bishop's character are not the same as in the present Ordinal. Thus, in the latter, the words are, “*Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop,*” &c. But in the former the words were, “*Take the Holy Ghost; remember that thou stir up,*” &c. Here, say they, the word “*Bishop*” was not used, and therefore it could not have been determined to what office the person on whom hands were laid was designed.

“This, Sir, is one of the weakest and most idle cavils I have ever seen. It was first started by the *Papists*; and the *Puritans*, although folly is marked upon “the head and front of it,” were not ashamed to repeat it. *Collier*,⁵ in answer to it, observes, that “although the word ‘*Bishop*’ is “not used, (at the time of imposing hands,) yet there is a “plain distinction in other parts of the office. For instance, “there is an express declaration of two Bishops, that the “person present is to be consecrated to their own order. “There are more questions put to him by the Archbishop “than are mentioned in the office for ordaining Priests; “some of which suppose a superior authority in his character, and that the exercise of discipline and the government of a Diocese are branches of his function. The “Archbishop and two other Bishops lay their hands upon “the head of the elect; whereas at the ordination of a “Priest this rite is performed by the Diocesan, with some “Priests assisting.” It is, therefore, not to be denied with any appearance of reason, that the first and second *Ordi-*

⁵ *Eccl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 383, edit. 1840.

nal are precisely the same as to intention, distinction of office, and conveyance of authority.

“As a further proof that a new office was conferred by the old Ordinal, I would observe, in the words of *Dr. Chandler*,⁶ that, “in the Ordination of *Presbyters*, a distinction of their office from that of Bishop immediately follows. They are declared to have, and the declaration implies that they have, in virtue of that Ordination, only the power of absolving penitents, and of dispensing the Word and Sacraments; and *that* in such congregation as they should be appointed to. There is not the least appearance of *Episcopal* powers, nor of any authority which is not at this day given by the Church of England to Presbyters. But in the Ordination of *Bishops* there is not the least restraint; the words are left general, as they were used by Christ in ordaining His Apostles; and all the ordinary authority, which they were originally intended to express, is conveyed by them without diminution. So that in one case there is only a *limited commission* given; but in the other a *commission without any restriction or limitation*, and consequently extending to *all* ecclesiastical offices, which, in fact, is also intended.”

“Bishop *Burnet*⁷ also argues correctly and forcibly upon this point.

“It is to be considered that all Ecclesiastical Orders being from the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, which being one, yet hath *different operations* for the *different administrations*; therefore the concomitant actions, words, and circumstances must show for *which* administration the Holy Ghost is prayed for, since that general prayer is

⁶ *Appeal further defended*, p. 42.

⁷ *Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England*, p. 64.

“made for all ; but, the functions being different, the same
 “Holy Ghost works differently in them all. Therefore it
 “is plain, from the practice of our Saviour, that there is no
 “need of expressing in the very words of Ordination *what*
 “power is thereby given, since our Saviour did not express
 “it; but what He said both before and after did determine
 “the sense of those general words to the Apostolical func-
 “tion. Again, the whole office of consecrating *Bishops*
 “shows very formally and expressly what power is given in
 “those (general) words. Now, though the writers of the
 “Church of *Rome* would place the form of Consecration on
 “some imperative words ; yet we see no reason for that, but
 “the complex of the whole office is that which is to be
 “chiefly considered, and so must determine the sense of
 “these words. So that a Priest being presented to be made
 “a Bishop, the King’s mandate being read for that effect,
 “he swearing canonical obedience as Bishop elect, prayers
 “being put up for him as such, together with other circum-
 “stances which make it plain what they are about ; *those*
 “general words are by *these* qualified and restrained to that
 “sense.”

“As a further proof that the Reformers maintained a *dis-*
inction of offices in the Church, they expressly said in their
 Preface to the old Ordinal, “*It is evident unto all men, di-*
ligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors,
that from the Apostles’ time there have been these orders
of ministers in Christ’s Church,—Bishops, Priests, and
Deacons.” Still farther ; the prayers in the old *Ordi-*
nal expressly mentioned the appointment of *divers orders*
 by the Holy Ghost. Thus, at the Ordination of a Bishop,
 the prayer was just the same as it is now. “*Almighty*
God, Giver of all good things, who by Thy Holy Spirit
hast appointed divers orders of ministers in Thy Church,
mercifully behold this Thy servant now called to the work

“*and ministry of a BISHOP,*” &c. The same declaration, that the Holy Spirit appointed ‘divers orders’ in the Church, was likewise in the prayers used at the Ordination of a Priest, and of a Deacon.

“Now, it is a consequence obvious to common sense, that when a Committee was appointed for the express purpose of composing *distinct offices* for the Ordination of *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*; when *three distinct offices were actually composed*; when in the Preface to these offices *three distinct Orders were particularly enumerated*; and when in the prayers of each office it is expressly declared that *divers Orders* were appointed by the Holy Ghost; and, lastly, when in the service for consecrating a Bishop it is *explicitly said* that the elect is to be admitted into the office of a *Bishop*: when, I say, these things are considered, it is obvious to common sense that the Reformers believed that *Bishops were superior to Presbyters by Apostolic institution.*”—*Testimony of the Reformers*, Letter xiv. pages 19-25.

I would ask, then, could Mr. Northcote have read with any attention *the form of consecrating a Bishop*, when he asserted that the *Ordinal* of Edward was “a form of words not even irreconcilable with Presbyterianism?”

Having stated the supposed defects in the *Ordinal* of Edward VI., Mr. Northcote tells us⁸ that “these defects are the more important, because *Cranmer, Barlow, and several others who were principally concerned in framing the new Ordinal*, had, on a previous occasion, distinctly affirmed that Consecration was not necessary; that Princes might

⁸ Letter ix. p. 105.

by their own authority appoint Priests and Bishops, and that such appointment alone was sufficient," &c.—Now I must confess that I read this passage with much regret ; for though I do not believe that Mr. N. intentionally deviated from the truth, yet I think that, before he made so sweeping an assertion, he ought to have enquired how far he was borne out by the testimony of history. A very little diligence would have enabled him to avoid such serious misrepresentations. Mr. N. speaks of "a previous occasion," referring to that of the commission⁹

⁹ "But this matter deserves to be a little more particularly treated of. The King (Hen. VIII.) had appointed several of the eminent Divines of his realm to deliberate about sundry points of religion then in controversy, and to give in their sentences distinctly. And that in regard of the Germans. . . . And also in regard of a more exact review of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, put forth about two or three years before (1537), and now intended to be published again, as a more perfect piece of religious instruction for the people. The King, therefore, being minded thoroughly to sift divers points of religion, then started and much controverted, commanded a particular number of Bishops, and other his learned Chaplains and Dignitaries (1540), to compare the rites and ceremonies and tenets of the present Church by the Scriptures, and by the most ancient writers ; and to see how far the Scripture or good antiquity did allow of the same. And this I suppose he did at the instigation of Archbishop Cranmer. The names of the Commissioners were these : Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury ; Lee, Archbishop of York ; Bonner, Bishop of London ; Tunstal, Bishop of Durham ; (Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester ;) Barlow, Bishop of St. David's ; Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle ; Skip, Bishop of Hereford ; Hethe, Bishop of Rochester ; Thirleby, Bishop elect of Westminster ; Doctors, Cox, Robinson,

issued by Henry VIII. in the year 1540, nine years prior to the office of Ordination being reformed. Supposing Mr. N.'s assertion to be true, I do not see how the "peculiar conceits"¹⁰ of some of the

Day, Oglethorpe, Redman, Edgeworth, Symonds, Tresham, Leygh-ton, Curwen, and Crayford. And first, the doctrine of the Sacraments was examined, by propounding *seventeen distinct questions*, drawn up, as I have reason to conclude, by the Archbishop, on which the Divines were to consult; but each one was to set down in writing his sense of every of these questions singly and succinctly."—Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 110.

It is important to remark, that the answers of these Bishops and Divines formed the *data* for drawing up the *Erudition of a Christian Man* in 1543. See Lingard's *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 310; Todd's *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 298 and 332; and Wheatly on the *Common Prayer*, p. 25.

¹⁰ As the "*Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines of some questions concerning the Sacraments*," in 1540, have been, and are frequently quoted, to show that our Reformers were "Presbyterian in their principles," and "only retained Episcopal Ordination for form's sake," I will give the following summary of their opinions from *Courayer*.

"Now it appears by the answers made to the questions above mentioned, that the majority of the Prelates and Divines were not of the same opinion with Cranmer.

"As, for instance, upon the seventh question, excepting *Cranmer* and *Barlow*, almost all agree upon the efficacy of the Sacraments; '*Conveniunt omnes, præter Menevensem, naturam septem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracensis effectus singulorum enumerat, item Carliolensis.*' Upon the ninth question, viz. 'Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as 'in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by 'that necessity, or by authority given by God?' They all agreed

Bishops and Divines, in 1540, can affect the clear and authoritative testimony borne by the Church

that ‘*Christ had given this power to His Apostles;*’ *Omnes conveniunt Apostolos divinitus accepisse potestatem creandi Episcopos* : and I do not find that any one fell into *Cranmer’s* error, who was of opinion that there was no necessity for any further ceremonies to make a Bishop, than there was for any other lay magistrate; and that the rites made use of were more for decency than out of necessity. Upon the *eleventh* question — ‘Whether a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no? and whether any other but a Bishop only may make a Priest?’ — all, excepting *Barlow*, Bishop of *St. David*, were of opinion that ‘*Bishops had the said power;*’ ‘*Convenit omnibus præter Mene- vensem, Episcopos habere auctoritatem instituendi Presbyteros;*’ and almost all agree that they alone have this power: ‘*Eboracensis videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc potestatem. Redmaynus, Symmons, Robertsonus, Leightonus, Thirlby, Correnus, Roffensis, Edgworthus, Oglethorpus, Carliolensis, nusquam legerunt alios usos fuisse hac potestate.*’ To the *twelfth* query, which regards the necessity of Ordination, almost all were of a contrary opinion to *Cranmer* and *Barlow*, and did acknowledge the necessity of Consecration. ‘*Respondent Eboracensis, Londinensis, Carliolensis, Leighton, Tresham, Robertsonus, &c., consecrationem esse requisitam. Redmaynus ait eam receptam esse ab Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam. Dayus, Roffensis, Symmons aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impositionem, idque e Scripturis; Consecrationem vero diu receptam in Ecclesia. Coxus institutionem cum manuum impositione sufficere, neque per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem,*’ &c. To the *fourteenth*, ‘Whether it be forefended by God’s law, that, (if it so fortune that all the Bishops and Priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptism and others unministered,) the King should make Bishops?’ &c. few were

of England in the year 1549, in the *Preface*¹ of the Ordinal in question, as to there “*having been from the Apostles’ time these orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; which officers (says the Church) were ever more had in such reverent estimation, that no man by*

of *Cranmer’s* opinion. ‘*Fatentur, ut prius, omnes Laicos posse docere. Eboracensis, Symmons, Oglethorp, negant posse ordinare Presbyteros; tamen concedit Eboracensis baptizare, et contrahere matrimonia; Edgworth, tantum baptizare posse; nam sufficere dicit ad salutem;*’ &c. These opposite sentiments of the majority of the Prelates and Divines, to those of *Cranmer*, make it plain enough that the reformation of the Liturgy was not blindly abandoned to the views and erroneous opinions of this Archbishop.

“It is therefore not true, (as it was supposed,) that those employed to reform the Liturgy * were *Presbyterians* in their principles, or that they only preserved *Episcopal Ordination* for *form’s sake*, or that they looked upon *Consecration* to be useless. The errors of some cannot with justice be imputed to the whole: and at the very time when the charms of novelty increased the number of the innovators, a great many Divines, and a good part of the Clergy, remained firm in the defence of the Hierarchy; and there has not been found in any Church more zealous defenders of *Episcopacy* than have appeared in the Church of England since the *Schism*.”† — *Defence of the Validity of English Ordinations*, p. 154. See also *Todd’s Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 299—310.

¹ Probably drawn up by Archbishop *Cranmer*.

* I shall examine by and by more at large the above “*Resolutions*,” so far as they were expressed by the compilers of the *Book of Common Prayer* and the framers of *Edward’s Ordinal*.

† My readers must bear in mind that the above author was *Romanist*.

his own private authority might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by *public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto;*" and I think that I have also made it apparent, in what I have already advanced, that an express declaration, on the part of the Church, of the separate, distinct, and subordinate character of these three several Orders pervades the entire *Ordinal*. But is *Mr. Northcote's* assertion true, that "*Cranmer, Barlow, and several others*, who were principally concerned in framing the new *Ordinal*, had distinctly affirmed that Consecration was not necessary, and that appointment by the Prince was alone sufficient" to make a Bishop? May I ask, who were these "several others?" May I ask, who informed Mr. Northcote that Bishop *Barlow* was at all "*concerned in framing the new Ordinal?*" Nay, I might ask him how he proves that Archbishop *Cranmer* was himself engaged in reforming the three offices? But I contend not for victory, but for *truth*; and I reply to Mr. Northcote by saying, that, though in all probability *Cranmer* was one of the commissioners,² *Barlow*, as far as we can ascertain, *was not*; and that, moreover, not one of them, with the exception of *Cranmer*, of whom I shall presently speak more at large, had expressed

² The Act speaks only of "six Prelates, and six other men of this realm learned in God's law."

the sentiments imputed to them by Mr. Northcote ; nay, that they had, (so far as they had expressed them,) recorded opinions³ *directly the reverse*. I presume that Mr. N. admits, with *Heylyn*⁴ and other writers, that “the same persons who had been before employed in compiling the *Liturgy*⁵ were now made use of to draw up our *Ordinal*.”⁶ If this be not admitted, we shall, I believe, look in vain for further information as to the names of the commissioners ; for *Strype*⁷ tells us that he “does not meet with any of their names, excepting that of

³ That this is not a mere hasty assertion, my readers may learn from the fact, that of the *thirteen* compilers of the *Liturgy*, *Cranmer*, *Skip*, *May*, *Cox*, *Redmayne*, *Robertson*, and *Goodrich*, had been engaged in drawing up the “*Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*” (1536-8) ; that *Thirlby* was one of the compilers of the *ERUDITION* (1543) ; that *Taylor* and *Ridley* were members of the sub-committee for preparing the *Reformatio Legum* (1551) ; and that *Day* was an avowed Papist. The other two were Bishop *Holbeck* and Dr. *Heynes*.

⁴ “The number of the Bishops, and the learned men, which are appointed by this Act, assure me that the King made choice of the very same whom he had formerly employed in composing the *Liturgy*.”—*History of the Reformation*, p. 82.

⁵ “The commission” (to draw up the English *Liturgy*) “is probably not upon record ; and in the statute the Archbishop only is named. The other commissioners are there called “most learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned men of the realm.”—See note in *Shepherd’s Introduction*, &c. p. 36.

⁶ *Courayer*, upon the authority of *Heylyn*, gives the names of the thirteen Bishops and Divines mentioned in a subsequent note, as the framers of Edward’s *Ordinal*. See p. 187, edit. 1844.

⁷ *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 273, edit. 1812.

Hethe, Bishop of Worcester," who declined to act. He adds, that "the chief of them, no doubt, was the Archbishop." Taking for granted, then, that the compilers of the *Liturgy*,⁸ and the commissioners

⁸ The compilers of our Liturgy, according to the authority of Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. 1. p. 134, edit. 1822, and of Fuller, *Church History*, p. 386, and of Heylyn, *History of the Reformation*, p. 57, and of Collier,* *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. v. p. 246, edit. 1840, and of Wheatly on the *Common Prayer*, p. 86, and of Shepherd, *Elucidation of the C. P.* Introduction, p. 36, (where see *note*,) and of Nichols on the *Common Prayer*, *Preface*, p. 5, and of Gloucester Ridley, in his *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 222, and of Downes, *Lives of the Compilers*, &c., p. 152, were the following : — Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops, Ridley, Goodrich, Holbech, Thirlby, Skip, and Day, and Drs. Taylor, Cox, May, Robertson, Heynes, and Redmayne.† The list given by Courayer, though ostensibly that of the compilers, seems to be that of the "godly Bishops, and other learned and religious men, who were

* Notwithstanding the *note*, p. 16, in the new edit. of Courayer, (1844,) I must still claim Collier as a testimony in my favor : I think, with deference, that a perusal of the passages referred to in Collier and Heylyn, and even in Burnet, prove that Collier, in speaking of 'a different list,' alludes to the list of commissioners for drawing up an 'order for administering the Holy Eucharist in English,' and not to that for revising the *Liturgy*. He distinctly says, speaking of the shorter list of thirteen commissioners, "*these were the persons who afterwards made the first Liturgy.*" The Editor will pardon me for drawing his attention to a misprint in the above note, viz. 1520 instead of 1550. I must add, that I much regret not having had the advantage of consulting the very valuable notes, &c. by the learned Editor of Courayer, until I had nearly completed my labors.

† The above list of the compilers of the Liturgy is adopted by Bishop Mant, Bishop Short, the author of the *History of the Church of England* (J. B. S. Carwithen), and other modern writers.

appointed to draw up the new *Ordinal*,⁹ constituted one and the same body, may I be allowed to ask the name of any *one* commissioner, (with the above exception, which I shall examine by and by,) who “had distinctly affirmed that Consecration was not necessary; that Princes might by their own authority appoint Priests and Bishops, and that such

no less busily employed (the same year) in the Castle of Windsor, appointed by the King’s command to consult together about one *uniform Order for administering the Holy Communion in the English tongue, under both kinds, of bread and wine.*”—Published in March 1548. See Heylyn’s *Hist. of Ref.* p. 57. Heylyn thinks that these framers of the new Communion Office, and the compilers of the Liturgy, were one and the same body, and gives the above names as constituting the commissioners.—Nichols makes the same assertion, adding that the same thirteen persons prepared the public services for *other special occasions*. At all events, Courayer would by his references make the number of the framers of the *Ordinal* twenty-four, whereas they were limited to *twelve* by the Act of Parliament; neither is this passage consistent with that referred to in the previous note;—nor does Collier, to whom he refers, substantiate his assertion. The reader must bear in mind, that there were *three* commissions issued, one for drawing up “*a new Office for the Communion only*” (published in March 1548); another, for compiling “*a complete Liturgy, or Form of Public Prayer,*” set forth by an Act of 2 & 3 Edw. VI. (adopted by Parliament, November 1548); and a third, for drawing up *the Ordinal*, pursuant to the 3 & 4 Edw. VI., published in March 1549).—See Kennett’s *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 290, *note*; and Jenkins’ *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer, Preface*, pp. 50—52, and 375, *note*.

⁹ The number was limited to *twelve* by the 3rd of Edw. VI, ch. 12.

appointment alone was sufficient;" and, "that the only reason why the Apostles made Bishops on their own authority was, that there were at that time no Christian Princes to whose orders they might submit themselves!" I am aware that some confusion arises from the difficulty of ascertaining the precise sense in which "the Bishops and Divines," and in their replies to "some questions concerning the sacraments," in 1540, used the terms "*making*," "*consecrating*," &c. &c. In the language of Dr. *Redmayne*, one of the respondents, "it is to be considered that in this question, with other like, this word '*maker* of a Bishop or Priest' may be taken two ways: for understanding the word to '*ordain*,' or '*consecrate*,' so it is a thing which *pertaineth to the Apostles and their successors only*; but if by this word '*making*,' be understood the appointing or naming to the office, so it pertaineth specially to the supreme heads and governors of the Church, which be Princes." Again, in the reply of Dr. *Cox* to the *twelfth* question, "whether in the New Testament be required any *consecration* of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?" *viz.* "that by Scripture there is no consecration of Bishops and Priests required, but only the appointing to the office of a Priest, *cum impositione manuum*," it is evident that he attached a different sense to the word *consecration* from that which it bears now, or in fact, was applied to it at the time by the other

Divines.¹⁰ It will be observed that Cox speaks of the *consecration* of Bishops and *Priests* as not being required, but only the appointing to the office of a Priest, "*per impositionem manuum*," admitting the necessity of *ordination*.¹ To the *ninth* question, "whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them of God?" Dr. Cox replies, "Although the Apostles had no authority to force any man to be Priest, yet they, moved by the Holy Ghost, *had authority of God* to exhort and induce men to set forth God's honour, and so to make *Priests*." And again, in the *eleventh* question, "whether a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no?" Dr. Cox replies, "*Bishops have authority*, as is aforesaid of the *Apostles* in the tenth question, to make *Priests*." That the term "*consecration*" was used by the different Divines in a very different sense, may be learnt from the answers of Dr. Day and others. Thus Bishop Heath, who held the *Divine Right of Epis-*

¹⁰ And it may add by Dr. Cox himself, when in 1549 he assisted in drawing up "*The Form of CONSECRATING of an Archbishop or Bishop*."

¹ Dr. Cox was one of the Divines who drew up the *Reformatio Legum* in 1551, and the *Institution of a Christian Man* in 1537, in the latter of which "*the invisible grace imparted at Ordination by the imposition of the Bishop's hands*" is distinctly admitted.

copacy, says "the Scripture speaketh *de impositione manus et de oratione*; and of other manner of *consecration* I find no mention in the New Testament expressly, but the old authors make mention of *Inunctions*." Dr. Day (who was, as Strype tells us, "a strong *Papist*,") says, "*Consecration* of Bishops and Priests I read not in the New Testament; but *ordinatio per manuum impositionem cum oratione* is read there; and the only appointment to the office of a Priest, as I think, is not sufficient." And yet he replies to the question as to "the authority of a Bishop to make a Priest," that "*Bishops have authority by Scripture to ordain Bishops and Priests, John xx. 'Hujus rei gratiā reliqui te Cretæ, ut constituas oppidatim presbyteros,' Tit. i. Acts xiv. Drs. Redmayne, Robertson,² Leighton, Tresham, and others, say that, "Besides the appointing to the office, it appeareth that in the primitive Church the Apostles used certain consecration of the Ministers of the Church, by imposition of hands, and prayer, and with fasting." (Redmayne.) "Opinor requiri consecrationem quandam, hoc est impositionem manuum, orationem, jejunium," &c. (Robertson.) "I suppose that there is a consecration required, as by imposition of hands; for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles." (Leighton.) "There is a certain kind of con-*

² I should add, that Dr. T. Robertson also, with Dr. Cox, was engaged, in the year 1537, in drawing up the *Institution of a Christian Man*, in which the *Episcopal* functions are clearly maintained.

secration required, which is *imposition of the Bishop's hands*, with *prayer*; and the *appointment* only is *not sufficient*." (*Tresham*.) It will be seen by these extracts that though *Drs. Cox* and *Day* objected to the term *consecration*,³ which was admitted by most of the other Divines, yet that they all agree as to the mode of conveying the commission, "*per manuum impositionem*." My readers must not, however, suppose that "several others, who were principally concerned in framing the new Ordinal, had, on a previous occasion," recorded opinions even as vague and loose as those of *Drs. Cox* and *Day*. It will hardly be believed, after Mr. Northcote's positive assertion, that only *six* (we might, perhaps, say but *five*) of the framers of the new Ordinal had *expressed any opinion at all*, as far as we have any record, on the subject of the questions propounded in 1540! Of these six, *Drs. Robertson* and *Redmayne* thus speak: "Opinor (says the former) *Apostolos autoritate divina creasse Episcopos et Presbyteros*, ubi publicus magistratus permisit." Again, "Opinor *Episcopum habere auctoritatem creandi sacerdotem*." . . . He then adds, "*ordinat. conferr. gratiam*, vid. *Ec. Homil. lx.*" *Dr. Redmayne*, (whom *Strype* calls "one of the solidest

³ It is, however, worthy of remark, that in the new Ordinal of 1549, of which *Drs. Cox* and *Day* were compilers, the titles ran thus: "The Form of *Consecrating* of an Archbishop and Bishop"—"The Form of *Ordering* Priests." In the review of 1662 the first title was altered thus: "The Form of *Ordaining* or *Consecrating* of an Archbishop or Bishop."

and best read Divines in the land,") writes, "*Christ gave His Apostles authority to make other Bishops and Ministers of the Church, as He had received authority of the Father to make them Bishops ;*" and adds, that "it was meet that they which were special and most elect servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by Him to convert the world, and having most abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have special ordering of such ministry as pertained to the planting and increasing of the faith." He then says, that, "*to ordain or consecrate is a thing which pertaineth to the Apostles and their successors only.*" Again, Dr. Redmayne writes, "As for *making*, that is to say, *ordaining and consecrating of Priests*, I think it specially belongeth to the office of a Bishop, as far as can be showed by Scripture, or any example, as I suppose, from the beginning." The opinions of Drs. Day and Cox we have considered already, and have seen that they are very far from supporting the assertion of Mr. Northcote ; and we must bear in mind that Dr. Cox had, in 1540, subscribed to the declaration that—"Orders is a holy rite or ceremony, instituted by Christ and His Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, that is to say, of a spiritual and invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in the sacrament (of Orders) is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned. The visible and outward sign is the prayer, and imposition of the

Bishop's hands upon the person that receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destitute of such Ministers as should have and execute the said *power of the keys*, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same sacrament should be applied and administered by the Bishop, *from time to time*, to such other persons as had the qualities necessarily required thereunto; which said qualities the Apostles did also very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third ch. of Tim. and first of Tit."—*Institution of a Christian Man.* Dr. Cox also assisted in drawing up the *Reformatio Legum*, in 1551. But what will my readers say when I repeat that *Dr. Day* also (then Bishop of Chichester,) though appointed a commissioner for compiling the Liturgy, and subsequently for *framing*⁴ the new Ordinal, was "*a strong Papist*," notwithstanding his replies to the seventeen questions; that he was deprived of his see for not taking down the Popish altars in his diocese; that he reprov'd his college for favouring the Reformation and leaving off masses; sided with Gardiner against Cranmer; and in Mary's reign was a violent persecutor of the Protestant Bishops and others!

⁴ *Downes* says, upon the authority of Heylyn, that *Day's* name was omitted in the latter commission; but Heylyn seems to have hazarded a conjecture. *Courayer* gives the name of Bishop *Day*, when he enumerates the commissioners.

"In truth (says Strype⁵), in the composing of that Office (the Common Prayer) choice was made, not so much of men with respect to their opinions, as to their great learning and knowledge in the usages and practice of the ancient Church. For Bishop *Day*, another of them, (besides *Redmayne*,) was a strong Papist; and so was *Robertson* affected, and not much otherwise was Bishop *Skip*!" Be it remembered that Bishop *Skip* (and probably Bishop *Day*) and Drs. *Robertson* and *Redmayne* assisted in drawing up the *Ordinal*, in which Mr. *Northcote* says "*Episcopacy* was retained only for *form's sake*, and rather as a *civil* than an *ecclesiastical* dignity!" But we must proceed with the "resolutions." The remaining two were those of Archbishop *Cranmer* and Bishop *Thirlby*. Bishop *Thirlby*⁶ thus writes: "Making of Bishops hath two parts; appointment, and ordering. Appointment, which the Apostles by necessity made by common election, and sometimes by their own several assignment, could not then be done by Christian Princes, because at that time they were not; and now at these days appertaineth to Christian Princes and Rulers. *But in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred* (as afore,) *the Apostles did follow the rule taught by the Holy Ghost, per manuum impositionem, cum oratione et jejunió.*" Again: "A

⁵ *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, vol. ii. pt. 1, edit. 1822.

⁶ According to Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 111, and vol. ii. p. 749, edit. 1812. See also Bishop *Thirlby's* opinions, as stated by Burnet, in the *Collection of Records*, Book iii. No. 21.

Bishop, having authority of his Christian Prince to give orders, may *by his ministry, given to him of God in Scripture, ordain a Priest. And we read not that any other, not being a Bishop, hath, since the beginning of Christ's Church, ordered a Priest.* Again: "*Only appointment is not sufficient, but consecration; that is to say, imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, is also required. For so the Apostles used to order them that were appointed; and so have been used continually; and we have not read the contrary.*" I have thus examined the opinions of five⁷ of the commissioners who "on a previous occasion" had recorded their sentiments on the authority of the Episcopate; and I again ask, *is Mr. Northcote's assertion true, that "Cranmer, Barlow, and several others, who were principally concerned in framing the new Ordinal, had, on a previous occasion, distinctly affirmed that consecration was not necessary; that Princes might, by their own authority, appoint Priests and Bishops; and that such appointment alone was sufficient; nay, that some went so far as to say, that the only reason*

⁷ Of the remaining seven compilers (whose opinions on Episcopacy, it will be remembered, are not recorded in the celebrated "Resolutions") Bishop Skip is accused by Strype of having been affected with Popery; and Bishops, Goodrich and Ridley, and Drs. Taylor and May, were four of the committee for drawing up the *Reformatio Legum*, in which Episcopacy is clearly maintained in all its efficiency."—See Jenkins' *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, Preface, p. 110, note.

why the Apostles made Bishops on their own authority was, that there were at that time no Christian Princes to whose orders they might submit themselves"? Verily, Mr. Northcote must have read the "resolutions of the Bishops and Divines" in 1540, with a very inattentive or a very prejudiced mind!

The opinion of *Archbishop Cranmer* alone remains to be considered. I am willing to admit, that, in the Archbishop's replies in 1540, certain "singular opinions" seem to be recorded on the "Ecclesiastical Functions," which are not conformable to the principles maintained throughout the new Ordinal of 1549; but I think that, in fairness, Mr. N. should have informed his readers that Cranmer had, as Bishop *Burnet* expresses himself, quite "laid aside those peculiar conceits of his own" *six years at least prior* to the rejection of the Roman Pontifical and the introduction of the *new Ordinal*; and that in the years 1537 and 1538 he had not embraced these "singular opinions."⁸ I have said that certain "singular opinions" *seem* to be recorded in the replies of the Archbishop in 1540, because I believe that some of Cranmer's answers may be capable of an interpretation, very different from that which is ge-

⁸ At the end of Cranmer's replies to the seventeen questions appears this paragraph, written by the Archbishop himself:—" *T. Cantuarien.* This is my opinion and sentence at this present, which nevertheless I do not temerariouſly define, but refer the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty."

nerally attached to them. How otherwise can we reconcile the opinions expressed in *The Institution of a Christian Man*, drawn up under the immediate direction of the Archbishop, and of which he was the principal compiler, and published in 1537, and similar sentiments to which he subscribed in 1536-8, when he signed a *Declaration*⁹ of the *Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*, with the replies of 1540, as commonly interpreted? And we should bear in mind that assertions equally

9 "A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests," signed by thirty-eight Bishops, Divines, and Canonists; amongst whom were seven of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, viz. Cranmer, Skip, Robertson, Redmayne, May, Cox, and Goodrich. "It declares, that the power of the Keys, and other Church functions, is formally distinct from the power of the Sword. That this power is not absolute, but to be limited to the rules that are in the Scripture, and is ordained only for the edification and good of the Church: that this power ought to be still preserved, since it was given by Christ as the mean of reconciling sinners to God. Orders were also declared a Sacrament, since they consisted of an outward action, instituted by Christ, and an inward grace conferred with them; but that all inferior Orders, Janitors, Lectors, &c., were brought into the Church to beautify and adorn it, and were taken from the Temple of the Jews: and that in the New Testament there is no mention made but of Deacons or Ministers, and Priests or Bishops. Nor is there belonging to Orders any other ceremony mentioned in the Scripture but *prayer* and *imposition of hands*."—Burnet's *Hist. of the Ref.* vol. i. p. 345, and Wilkins' *Concilia Mag. Brit.* vol. iii. p. 834. The reader will find in Burnet (*idem*, p. 346) some explanatory remarks on the words "Priests or Bishops." Though the "Declaration" is, in fact, nearly the same

strong in favour of *Episcopacy* pervade the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, published in 1543, which was "chiefly," Strype tells us, "of the Archbishop's composing," and his *Catechism*, published in 1548. I shall leave the solution of the question in the hands of my readers; but the following extracts from the *Bishop's Book* will show what were Cranmer's sentiments in 1537.

"We think it convenient (that is, *proper* and *right*) that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge; 1st. how that Christ and His Apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, that, besides the civil powers and governance of Kings and Princes, which is called *potestas*

as the Exposition upon Orders in the *Institution of a Christian Man*, it appears to have been a distinct document, and to have preceded the publication of the latter. A very interesting and important document will be found in Jenkins' *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, (vol. iv. p. 300,) entitled "*De Ordine et Ministerio Sacerdotum et Episcoporum*," from the pen of Cranmer. The date is supposed to be about 1538. The following brief extracts will suffice to show the opinions of the Archbishop at that time: "*Sacerdotum et Episcoporum ordinem ac ministerium non humana auctoritate sed divinitus institutum, Scriptura aperte docet Proinde potestatem seu functionem hanc Dei verbum et sacramenta ministrandi cæterasque res agendi quas ante recensuimus, Christus ipse Apostolis suis dedit, et in illis ac per illos eandem tradidit, haud promiscue quidem omnibus, sed quibusdam duntaxat hominibus, nempe Episcopis et Presbyteris, qui ad istud muneris initiantur et admittuntur.*" Throughout the document the two Orders are distinguished, "*Presbyteri et Episcopi.*"

Gladii, "the power of the Sword," there should also be continually in the Church Militant certain other ministers or officers, which should have special power, authority, and commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the Word of God unto His people; to dispense and administer the Sacraments of God unto them, and by the same to confer and give the graces of the Holy Ghost; to consecrate the blessed Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar; to loose and absolve from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and to excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order, and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves. It appeareth evidently that this power, office, and administration, is necessary to be preserved here in earth for three special and principal causes. 1st. For that it is the commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. 2nd. For that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument whereby He will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the graces of His Holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right inheritors of everlasting life, there to reign with Him for ever in glory, but only His Word and Sacraments. And, therefore, the office and power to minister the said Word and Sacraments may in no wise be suffered to perish or to be abolished. 3rd. Because the said power and office or function hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost, with all His graces, and finally our justification and everlasting life. Again, *This office, this power, and authority was committed and given by Christ and His Apostles unto certain persons only; that is to say, unto Priests and Bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit*

thereunto, by their prayer and imposition of their hands . . . Orders is a holy rite or ceremony instituted by Christ and His Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts; that is to say, of a spiritual and invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in the Sacrament is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned. The visible and outward sign is the prayer and imposition of the Bishop's hands upon the person that receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destitute of such ministers as should have and execute the said power of the Keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applied and administered by the Bishop, from time to time, unto such other persons as had the qualities necessarily required thereunto; which said qualities the Apostles did also very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, and the first chapter of his Epistle to Titus."

These were the Archbishop's sentiments in 1537, that Cranmer had moreover completely relinquished the loose opinions imputed to him on the subject of Church government *some years before the new Ordinal was framed*, may be learnt from his recorded sentiments on the same topic, as given in *the Erudition of a Christian Man*, published in 1543, and from his *Catechism*,¹⁰ published in

¹⁰ Dr. Lingard says: "It is remarkable that in this *Catechism* the Archbishop leans more than usual to the antient doctrines; and attributes the *origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Christ* in a manner which seems to do away his former opinion on the same

1548. In the former of these he tells us, that "*Order is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ's Church, given of God to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the Bishop's hands upon them; and this was conferred and given by the Apostles*, as it appeareth in the Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, whom he had ordained and consecrated Priest, when he saith thus: 'I do exhort thee that 'thou do stir up the grace of God, the which is given 'thee by the imposition of my hands.' And in another place he doth monish the same Timothy, and put him in remembrance of the room and ministry that he was called unto, in these words: 'Do not neglect the grace which thou hast in thee, 'and the which is given thee through prophecy 'and with imposition of hands, by the authority of 'Priesthood;' whereby it appeareth that St. Paul did *consecrate and order Priests and Bishops by the imposition of his hands*. And as the Apostles themselves, in the beginning of the Church, did order Priests and Bishops, *so they appointed and willed the other Bishops after them to do the like*, as St. Paul manifestly sheweth in his Epistle to Titus, saying thus: 'For this cause left I thee 'in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain Elders in every 'city according as I have appointed thee.' And to Timothy he saith, 'See that thou be not hasty to

subject."—*History of England*, vol. iv. p. 395. See also some interesting remarks on this head in Jenkins' *Preface to the Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 34.

'put thy hands upon any man.'” Collier¹ tells us that Cranmer subscribed the *Erudition*, countenanced it in his diocese, and checked Joseph, a clergyman, who took the liberty to preach against it.

Again, in the *Catechism* which was published in Cranmer's own name, we read that “*the ministration of God's word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the Apostles unto others after them, by imposition of hands, and giving the Holy Ghost, from the Apostles' time to our own days; and this was the consecration, and orders, and unction of the Apostles, whereby they, at the beginning, made Bishops and Priests; and this shall continue in the Church unto the world's end,*” &c.; from which it is clear, as Dr. Hickes² remarks, that Cranmer “*derived the orders and mission of Bishops and Priests from Christ to the Apostles, and from them to others, and from them successively to others, unto the world's end.*”

Again, the Archbishop says,

“Teachers, unless they be called and sent, cannot fruitfully teach; for the seed of God's Word doth never bring forth fruit unless the Lord of the harvest doth give the increase, and, by His Holy Spirit, do work with the sowers. But God doth not work with the preacher whom He hath not sent; as St. Paul saith, “How shall they preach if they be not sent?” Wherefore it is requisite that preachers should be called and sent of God; and they must preach

¹ *Eccl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 125, edit. 1840.

² *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, p. 40.

according to the authority and commission of God granted unto them."

And to the intent that we may know to whom this commission is granted, the Archbishop adds :

"Again, *our Lord Jesus Christ Himself hath both ordained and appointed ministers and preachers, to teach us His holy Word and to minister His Sacraments; and also hath appointed them what they shall teach in His name and what they shall do unto us. He called and chose His twelve Apostles. And, after Christ's ascension, the Apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men to minister God's Word; chiefly in those places where there were Christian men already which lacked preachers, and the Apostles themselves could not longer abide with them. Wherefore, when they found godly men, and meet to preach God's Word, they laid their hands upon them and gave them the Holy Ghost, as they themselves received of Christ the same Holy Ghost to execute their office. And they that were so ordained were indeed, and also were called, the Ministers of God, as the Apostles themselves were, as St. Paul saith unto Timothy; and so the ministration of God's Word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the Apostles unto other after them, by imposition of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, from the Apostles' time to our own days: and this was the consecration, and orders, and unction of the Apostles, whereby they, at the beginning, made Bishops and Priests; and this shall continue in the Church unto the world's end. Wherefore, good children, you shall give good reverence and honour to the ministers of the Church, and shall not meanly or lightly esteem them in the execution of their office, but you shall take them for God's ministers and the messengers of our Lord Jesus Christ. For Christ Himself saith in the Gospel, "He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he*

‘that despiseth you, despiseth Me.’ And *whatsoever they do to you, as when they baptize you, when they give you absolution, and distribute to you the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, these you shall so esteem as if Christ Himself in His own person did speak and minister to you; for Christ hath commanded His ministers to do this unto you; and He Himself, although you see Him not with your bodily eyes, is present with His ministers, and worketh by the Holy Ghost in the administration of the Sacraments.*”

But I shall further prove that Cranmer, probably before the publication of the *Erudition* in 1543, had repudiated the *Erastian* views imputed to him, by cancelling his replies to the ‘questions concerning the sacraments,’ which, on presenting them to the King, he had declared, though “at present his opinions and sentence,” he did “nevertheless not temerariouſly define.”³ *Dr. Durel*, it appears, examined “Bishop Cranmer’s MS.” (cited in the *Irenicum*) with *Stillingfleet* himſelf, and not only diſcovered that the date of the MS., as ſtated in the *Irenicum*, viz. 1547, was incorrect, but found that *Cranmer had ſubſcribed to the opinions of Dr. Leighton*,—“‘*Th. Cantuarienſis*’ being written with the Archbiſhop’s own hand under *Leighton’s* opinion, to ſignify his approbation of it.” “*Tantus, inquam, fuit Cranmeri candor, et tantus amor veritatis*, (writes *Dr. Durel*,) *ut in hanc Leightoni ſententiam, propriā*

³ “Even at the moment of expreſſing them, he ſeems to have had ſome miſgivings reſpecting their ſoundneſs; and, as he had lately adopted, ſo he very quickly ſaw reaſon to forſake them.”—*Jenkins’ Remains of Archbiſhop Cranmer, Preface*, p. 33.

mutatâ, concedere non dubitaverit. Quod ex eodem Cl. Stillingfleeti manuscripto libro manifestum est ; in quo scilicet videas ‘Th. Cantuariensis’ nomen manu propriâ *ad calcem Leightonianæ sententiæ* appositum, *in signum approbationis.* Cranmerus itaque non modo in Formulæ ordinandi Præfatione, sed in eo ipso qui penes est Cl. Stillingfleetum manuscripto *totus noster est.*”⁴ *Dr. Hickes*, referring to this point,

⁴ The following summary of Cranmer’s views, from 1537 to 1550, on the point we are considering, is from Todd’s *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 307. “It will be seen, that in Cranmer’s paper, as Burnet has stated it, there are some singular opinions about the nature of Ecclesiastical Offices ; but they were not established as the doctrines of the Church. They were laid aside as particular conceits of his own. Indeed, he soon afterwards changed his opinions ; for he subscribed the book that was formed in consequence of these discussions, (*The Necessary Erudition*, published in 1543,) which is directly contrary to the opinions delivered in his paper ; as the reformed *Ordinal*, in the time of Edward, is, of which he was one of the compilers (1549). On mature consideration he abandoned those dangerous principles, which subject the validity of Christ’s Church to the caprice of every tyrant who may choose to call himself a Christian. He had, before the artful questions of his Sovereign were circulated, entertained sentiments very different from his present answers. I have already briefly noticed them. He was then in perfect agreement with the Archbishop of York, eleven other Prelates, and several Canonists and Theologians, in declaring, on Henry’s abolition of the inferior Orders in the Church of Rome, such as Subdeacons, Janitors, Lectors, and the like, that in Scripture those Orders are not to be found : this being the sole object of their declaration in answer to certain Romanists, who represented the partial, as a general suppression of ecclesiastical offices. He

says⁵ that "Dr. Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, never wrote, or, that I heard, said, any thing to contradict Dr. Durel's account of his manuscript, all his life long."

Now what were the opinions of *Dr. Leighton* to which *Cranmer* subscribed? "To the ninth question, I say, that the Apostles (as I suppose) *made Bishops by authority given unto them of Christ*; howbeit I think they would and should have required the Christian Princes' consent and licence thereto if there had been any Christian Kings or

had also been the principal compiler of the *Institution* (1537); his opinions in which, as to the government of the Church, and the functions of the Hierarchy, the reverse of those in his present answers, are, as I have before said, recovered in the *Necessary Erudition*. In not proclaiming now (1540) the Apostolical institution of Episcopacy, he had been perhaps led by the King to aim at an acknowledgment of the Sovereign's right to exercise every office in the Church. But in these answers he met with little support."—The "pliability" of the Archbishop has been adduced as the cause of his apparent inconsistency; but if we refer to his *Annotations on the King's Book*, being remarks on Henry's corrections of the *Institution*, we shall find that Cranmer was not that "cowardly time-server to a dogmatical tyrant," as some writers are apt to imagine. "It will be found, on the contrary, that he criticised both the grammar and the theology of his master with a caustic freedom, which might have given offence to an author of far humbler pretensions than a Sovereign who had entered the lists with Luther, and who prided himself on his titles of 'Defender of the Faith' and 'Supreme Head of the National Church.'"—*Jenkins' Remains of Archbishop Cranmer Preface*, p. 19.

⁵ *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, p. 43.

Princes." "To the tenth : the Apostles were made of Christ Bishops and Priests, both at the first ; and after them *septuaginta duo discipuli* were made Priests." "To the eleventh: I suppose that *a Bishop hath authority of God, as His minister, by Scripture to make a Priest* ; but he ought not to admit any man to be Priest, and consecrate him, or appoint him to any ministry in the Church, without the Prince's licence and consent, in a Christian region. *And that any other man hath authority to make a Priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof.*" "To the twelfth : I suppose that *there is a consecration required, as by imposition of hands* ; for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles."

Dr. Durel adds,⁶ "Didicimus disceptationem, quæ in eo manuscripto continetur, factam fuisse *ante exactum annum millesimum quingentesimum quadragessimum quartum*, quo anno diem suum demum obiit Edvardus Lee, Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, cujus nomen manu propriâ in eo libro, eodem tempore et eadem occasione cum cæteris scriptum legitur." "Which also farther shows the great mistake of Bishop Stillingfleet, when he wrote his *Irenicum*, in dating the birth of his manuscript from the first settlement of King Edward VI., as a paper containing the principles upon which the Reformation proceeded in 1547, to the great dishonour of our Reformers, and the disgrace of our Reformation ; and giving our adversaries of *Rome*

⁶ *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, pp. 327-8.

great occasion to misrepresent our Church to be *Erastian* in its foundation, as giving the Prince the power of the Apostles, and other unconsecrate laymen authority to ordain Bishops and Priests, and to excommunicate, and administer the Sacraments, if the law of any kingdom *alloweth thereunto*." Thus wrote Dr. Hickés⁷ at the close of the seventeenth century. It is also worthy of remark, that in the margin of the paper of resolutions, attributed by Strype to *Bishop Thirleby*, portions of which I have previously quoted, the names of *Cranmer* and others are written, "for what purpose (says Strype) I do not know, unless to *signify their judgments as agreeable with his*." It will be seen from the passages quoted, that the *judgment* of this Bishop, upon some of the seventeen questions bearing on the subject before us, was in favour of the *Apostolical succession* and *Episcopal ordination*; and to each reply, as given above, is added in the margin "*Abp. Cant.*"

I ought perhaps to add, that the same opinions in favour of *Episcopacy* and the necessity of a *Divine commission* transmitted through the medium of *Ordination*, which are found in the *Institution of a Christian Man*⁸ (1537); the *Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests* (1536-8); the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543); and *Cranmer's Catechism*

⁷ *Preface, &c.*, p. 44.

⁸ How far Cranmer was concerned in drawing up this formulary will be seen in Jenkins' *Preface to Cranmer's Remains*, p. 17.

(1548), are distinctly stated in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, drawn up at the close of 1551, of which the principal matter was furnished by the Archbishop. In the third, fourth, tenth, and subsequent chapters we have the offices of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop clearly and specifically stated. The *Deacon* was to preach, and administer the Sacraments, “*modo Episcopi permissione.*” The chapter on the office of *Presbyter* refers us to the third chapter of *Timothy* and the first of *Titus* for an elucidation of their official character; and speaks of the flock of God committed to them: which *commission* we learn from the Ordination Service, (which was drawn up two years before, under the same authority, and again printed in 1552, with a few alterations,) was imparted by the imposition of the Bishop’s hands. The chapter on the order and dignity of *Bishops*, and the subsequent chapters on the obedience due to these, are still more explicit. The first speaks of the Bishops as holding the chief place among the ministers of Christ’s Church, and gives them authority to govern the inferior orders of the Clergy, “*inferiores ordines Cleri;*” the others allude to the Ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction of the Bishops; and declare that the whole diocese, both Clergy and Laity, “*omnia Christi membra ejus curæ commissa,*” were to be under the Bishop, and to be governed by his discipline and direction, not only on those points which are clearly specified in the Word of God, but on such as appertain to the main-

tenance of Church discipline, and the carrying out the requirements of the Ecclesiastical laws. A subsequent chapter speaks of the Bishop as conferring the sacred orders, "*sacros ordines conferat;*" and alludes to the imposition of the Bishop's hands as the mode of conferring these orders, "*nemini temere manus imponat?*"⁹ I should likewise state that *Cranmer, Goodrich, Ridley, Cox, Taylor, and May*, six of the compilers of the Liturgy, together with three others, formed a sub-committee to prepare the above code.

I think then that my readers—and even Mr. Northcote's readers—will acknowledge that the *inference* intended to be drawn by Mr. N. from the opinions expressed in 1540 by "certain Bishops and Divines," viz. that the compilers of the new Ordinal did not believe in the doctrine of the *Apostolical Succession* or the necessity of *Episcopal Ordination*, and that in fact "Episcopacy was retained only for form's sake, or at least with a different design from that hitherto entertained by the Church, and rather as a Civil than an Ecclesiastical dignity," *militates against historical testimony, and is utterly without foundation*; and I may be allowed to express a hope that the *Four-fold Difficulties of Anglicanism*, in which such palpable misstatements occur, will not be read without due caution and inquiry.

⁹ The reader will pardon me for referring him to my second *Ordination Sermon* (p. 102) for further extracts in the original, from the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

Mr. Northcote proceeds to urge that, "it is no sufficient apology for the defective form of consecration to say that it contains as much as was expressed in the most ancient rituals. . . . To reject an article that has been once defined, is a very different thing from not having consciously held that article before such definition. So in like manner to abolish all¹⁰ the usual rites in the

¹⁰ Mr. Northcote will pardon me for observing, that, from a somewhat careless mode of writing, it is not very easy to ascertain whether, in his remarks on the Ordinal of Edward the Sixth, he refers to that of 1549 or that of 1552. Mr. N. says, that "*six* Bishops had been consecrated according to the *first* Protestant Ritual during the reign of Edward," alluding, of course, to the Ordinal of 1549; and yet he immediately adds, that "Queen Elizabeth restored her brother's Ordinal;" whereas the Ordinal restored in her reign was, in fact, not that by which these (supposed *six*) Bishops had been consecrated, but the Ordinal of 1552. The truth, however, is, that during Edward's reign *four* Bishops only were consecrated by the Ordinal of 1549, and two by that of 1552. In like manner, Mr. N. speaks of the framers of the Ordinal having "abolished *all* the usual rites in the consecration of Bishops," &c. If Mr. N. will refer to the Ordinal of 1549, he will see that some rites, which were abolished in 1552, were at first *retained*, in accordance with the Roman Pontifical, such as *the two consecrating Bishops having their pastoral staves in their hands; the elected Bishop having upon him a surplice and cope; the Archbishop putting into the Bishop's hand the pastoral staff; the Archbishop laying the Bible upon the Bishop's neck; the appeal to the Saints and Evangelists at the end of the oath of supremacy, and the ceremony of delivering the chalice with bread at the consecration of a Priest, &c.* It would almost appear, either that Mr. Northcote is not aware that *two* distinct Ordinals had been drawn

consecration of Bishops, substituting for them a form of words not even irreconcilable with Presbyterianism, gives some ground to suspect that Episcopacy was retained only for form's sake." What has been already advanced will in a great measure furnish a reply to the above objection. The following passages from Mason, Bramhall, and Burnet, will however render the refutation more complete.

"In the consecration of Bishops we have many things in common with you (the Romanist). For, *first*,¹ ye have an examination concerning the faith and other things. *Secondly*, two Bishops at the fewest are wont to assist the Consecrator. *Thirdly*, the Epistle is read out of the third chapter of the former Epistle to *Timothy*. *Fourthly*, prayers are put up for the elected Bishop. *Fifthly*, while the hands are laid on, these words are pronounced, "*Receive the Holy Ghost*." *Sixthly*, the Bible is delivered to the consecrated Bishop. All these things are approved in general by the practice of our Church: and yet there are many things wherein we differ; some of which indeed are of small importance, such as these. *First*, with you, only the *elder* of the assistants presents the *elected*; with us, two. *Secondly*, with you, not only the Consecrator alone pronounceth these words, "*Receive the Holy Ghost*," but the *assistants* also, though they do it with a lower voice; but with us the Consecrator alone, and that according to the authority of the Council of *Carthage*. *Thirdly*, your

up in Edward's reign, or that he is ignorant of the alterations which were made in that of 1552.

¹ Pontificale Romanum, *De Consecratione Electi in Episcopum*.

Bishops lay the Bible upon the head of the elected, according to the direction of the same Council ; but ours deliver it into his hand. But, besides these lesser matters, there are others of greater consequence, wherein though there seems to be a kind of agreement in generals, yet there is a vast difference between us as to particulars. For, *first*, on both sides is required the command of superior authority, without which none can be consecrated ; but you require the *Pope's*, and we the *King's*. Both sides use to take an oath ; but ye take it in favour of the *Pope*, and we in defence of the *King*. Both sides use an examination ; and here ye profess to follow the Council of *Carthage*, but ye intermix therewith the *Decretal Epistles* and the *Obedience to the Pope*, of which that Council takes not the least notice. *Lastly*, to come to *habits*. Your elected Bishops are dressed up with an *Amice*, an *Albe*, a *Girdle*, a *Stole*, *Pluvial*, and *Sandals* : and then they receive the *Cross* upon the breast, and the *Stole* is so fitted as to hang down from their shoulder ; and after that the *Tunicle*, the *Surplice*, and the *Chasible*. Afterwards the Consecrator anointeth their heads and the palms of their hands : besides which he blesseth the *Staff*, and delivereth it to the Consecrated ; and so likewise the *Ring*, with the *Jewels*, the *Mitre*, and *Gloves*. We, indeed, are no admirers of such a fine show of ceremonies ; and yet our Bishops have their *sacred vestments*, but those as modest and as decent as may be. So that though in our consecrations we see not the *Crosses*, the *Oil*, the *Mitres*, the *Gloves*, the *Sandals*, the *Rings*, or the *Staffs* ; yet we have godly *Sermons*, *Exhortations*, *Examinations*, *Admonitions*, *Prayers*, *Laying on of hands*, and *Blessings* : that is, we have everything that is necessary ; but your additionals, which contribute more to pomp than true piety, we neither have, nor desire to have.”—Mason's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, page 203.

With reference to *Mason's* opinion on this point, *Bramhall* remarks—

“If Mr. Mason did commend the wisdom of the English Church for paring away superfluous ceremonies in Ordination, he did well. Ceremonies are advancements of order, decency, modesty, and gravity in the service of God, expressions of those heavenly desires and dispositions which we ought to bring along with us to God's house, adjuncts of attention and devotion, furtherances of edification, visible instructors, helps of memory, exercises of faith, the shell that preserves the kernel of religion from contempt, the leaves that defend the blossoms and the fruit; but if they grow over-thick and rank, they hinder the fruit from coming to maturity, and then the gardener plucks them off. There is great difference between the hearty expressions of a faithful friend, and the mimical gestures of a fawning flatterer; between the unaffected comeliness of a grave matron, and the fantastical paintings, and patchings, and powderings of a garish courtesan. When ceremonies become burdensome by excessive superfluity, or unlawful ceremonies are obtruded, or the substance of Divine worship is placed in circumstances, or the service of God is more respected for human ornaments than for the Divine ordinance, it is high time to pare away excesses, and reduce things to the ancient mean. These Fathers are quite out where they make it lawful at some times to add, but never to pare away: yet *we have pared away nothing which is either prescribed or practised by the true Catholic Church.* If our ancestors have pared away any such things out of any mistake, (which we do not believe,) let it be made appear evidently to us, and we are more ready to welcome it again at the fore-door, than our ancestors were to cast it out at the back-door. ‘*Errare possumus, hæretici esse nolumus.*’”
—*Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated*, page 488.

On the same subject Bishop *Burnet* thus writes—

“As for the forms of Ordination, they found that the Scripture mentioned only the imposition of hands and prayer. In the Apostolical Constitutions, in the fourth Council of *Carthage*, and in the pretended works of *Denis the Areopagite*, there was no more used. Therefore all those additions of anointing, and giving them consecrated vestments, were later inventions. But, most of all, the conceit which from the time of the Council of *Florence* was generally received, that the rites by which a Priest was ordained, were the delivering him the vessels for consecrating the Eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifice to God for the dead and the living. This was a vain novelty, only set up to support the belief of Transubstantiation; and had no ground in the Scriptures, nor the primitive practice. So they agreed on a form of ordaining Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, which is the same we yet use, except in some few words that have been added since in the Ordination of a Priest or Bishop. For there was then no express mention made in the words of ordaining them, that it was for the one or the other office. In both it was said, “*Receive thou the Holy Ghost in the name of the Father,*” &c. But, that having been since made use of to prove both functions the same, it was of late years (1662) altered as it is now. Nor were these words, being the same in giving both Orders, any ground to infer that the Church esteemed them one Order; the rest of the office showing the contrary very plainly.

“In this Ritual all those superadded rites were cut off which the later ages had brought in to dress up these performances with the more pomp; whereof we have since a more perfect account than it was possible for them then to have. For in our age, *Morinus*, a learned Priest of the Oratorian Order, has published the most ancient Rituals he could

find; by which it appears how these offices swelled in every age by some new addition. About the middle of the sixth century, they anointed and blessed the Priest's hands in some parts of France; though the Greek Church never used anointing: nor was it in the *Roman* Church two ages after that; for Pope *Nicolaus* the First (860) plainly says it was never used in the Church of *Rome*. In the eighth century, the Priest's garments were given with a special benediction for the Priest's *offering Expiatory Sacrifices*; it was no ancients that that phrase was used in Ordinations: and in that same age there was a special benediction of the Priest's hands used before they were anointed; and then his head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical law, and partly because the people believed that their Kings derived the sacredness of their persons from their being anointed. So the Priests, having a mind to have their persons secured and exempted from all secular power, were willing enough to use this rite in their Ordinations. And in the tenth century, when the belief of Transubstantiation was received, the delivering of the vessels for the Eucharist, with the power of offering sacrifices, was brought in, besides a great many other rites. So that the Church did never tie itself to one certain form of Ordinations; nor did it always make them with the same prayers; for what was accounted anciently the form of Ordination, was, in the later ages, but a preparatory prayer to it."—*History of the Reformation*, part ii. page 136.

One word I must add from the pages of *Collier*—

“The Committee appointed for compiling the Ordination Book, struck off the additions of later ages, and governed themselves by the forms of the ancient Church. Thus, in the Consecration of Bishops, the *Gloves* and *Sandals*, the

Mitre, Ring, and Crosier were omitted; neither in the Ordaining of Priests was there any anointing or delivering the consecrated plate.²

“That the office was not maimed by leaving out these ceremonies I shall prove from the forms of Ordination in the primitive Church, and the concessions of the famous *Morinus*.”

I must refer the reader once more to *Collier* (vol. v. page 376, edit. 1840) for the proofs which he advances in support of his position. The result of his examination into the records of antiquity is given as follows —

“Thus we see that the ancient rituals for Ordination agree with that drawn up in the reign of King Edward the Sixth. There is no anointing the hands and head of the Priest and Bishop; no chalice or paten delivered to the second order, nor any ring or crosier to the first.

“It is true, about the ninth century we find the use of these ceremonies; but then, as the learned *Morinus* observes, these supplemental rites in the forms of Ordination were added only upon the score of solemnity.

“This learned person grants, the *Latin* Church has all along owned the orders of the *Greek*, after the Schism, as the Westerns call it: and yet, as he takes notice, it neither is nor was the custom of the *Greek* Church to deliver the chalice and paten to the Priest at their Ordination. He observes farther, that *prayer and imposition of hands are the only essentials in Ordination*. He acquaints us that

² These remarks of Collier, in their full extent, can apply only to the Ordinal of 1552, as will be seen by a reference to that of 1549.

the ancient *Pontificals* are charged with fewest ceremonies. That *Thomas Aquinas*, and other schoolmen, perusing only the rituals of latter ages, inferred the usages of antiquity from thence, which is a wrong way of arguing. That, from this principle, they have been led into mistakes, made the delivery of the holy vessels necessary to the conveyance of the sacerdotal character, and embarrassed themselves with inexplicable difficulties in reconciling the allowance of the Orders of the *Greek Church* with the customs and constitutions of their own."

Having thus briefly, but I trust satisfactorily, examined and disproved Mr. Northcote's assertions as to the recorded opinions of the framers of King Edward's Ordinal; and having shown that the alteration in the Ordination Offices in 1549 did not invalidate the commission subsequently received through that medium; as well as that such alterations were justified by primitive usage, and were, in fact, rendered requisite for "paring away the superfluous ceremonies of Ordination," as *Bramhall* expresses himself, I must leave the subject of *jurisdiction* as exercised by the Crown, of which Mr. Northcote subsequently treats, to be explained and vindicated by the following authorities: *Bramhall's Schism guarded*, ch. 4—9; *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.*, book viii; *Mason's Vindiciæ*, b. iv. p. 365; *Gibson's Preservative against Popery*, vol. i. pages 256-61; *Burnet's Vindication of English Ordination*, pages 83-106; *Courayer's Defence of the Dissertation*, vol. ii. b. v; *Nichols' Reply to Objections against*

the lawfulness of Bishops, in the *Supplement* to his *Comment on the Common Prayer*, page 44; Hammond's *Answer to Schism disarmed*; Bowden on *Episcopacy*, vol. ii. page 14; Gibson's *Codex*, page 1-98; Wheatly on the *Common Prayer*, page 28; Twisden's *Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, chapter v; and Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. i. pages 257-78: to all of which I would direct the reader's careful attention. A word or two, however, I must add from *Courayer* and *Burnet*. First, with regard to the authority upon which the compilers acted.

“Since England (writes *Courayer*), by substituting Edward's Ritual instead of the Roman Pontifical, did but return to the simplicity of the ancient rite retained to this day in the Greek Church, inserting only some new prayers, it is pretty needless to examine by what authority this change was brought about in the Church of England. By returning to the simplicity of the ancient rite, the new Ordinal derives its authority from the rite which the composers proposed for their model, and thereby restored; and, though this restoration were ordered by the Prince, it would be nevertheless looked upon as an Ecclesiastical rite. The *Roman Missal* was received in France by the authority of *Charlemagne* only, and in Spain by that of *Alphonso*; and yet did any one ever undertake to maintain upon that pretence, that, this acceptance being the effect of a lay authority only, that form of liturgy could not be used to consecrate the Elements in the Eucharist? Such sort of objections were not then come into anybody's head. They knew that *spiritual functions were reserved to the ministers of the Church*, as well as we do now. But in many cases

the Prince took upon him the direction of the external polity of the Church, and the reformation of Ecclesiastical books and rites was the object of their care ; whilst their concerning themselves in such things, or the orders they gave about them, were judged no encroachment on the jurisdiction of Bishops.

“Father *Le Quien*, therefore, and Mr. Fennell are very much out in pretending to urge such an objection against the validity of Edward’s rite, by saying that it was authorized only by a lay power ; and that, seeing this power could not of itself give any authority to the new rite which it introduced, Ordinations conferred in consequence of it could not be looked upon as really such. But, excepting the permission granted the Clergy to revise all Ecclesiastical books, and the order obtained from the Parliament³ giving the force of a law to what had been appointed by the Clergy,—a thing practised in the most Catholic countries,—the lay authority had never perhaps less to do with any revolution than with this.”—*Defence of the Dissertation*, vol. ii. page 283.

Again Bishop *Burnet* writes,—

“Those who compiled the *Liturgy* and *Ordinal* had no other authority from the Parliament than holy and Christian Princes did before give in the like cases. It is a common-place, and has been handled by many writers, how far the civil magistrate may make laws and give commands about sacred things. ’Tis known what orders *David* and *Solomon*, *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Josiah*, gave in such cases. *They divided the Priests into several courses ; gave rules for their attendance ; turned out a High Priest, and put*

³ See Wheatly on the Common Prayer, Appendix to Introduction, p. 28.

another in his stead ; sent the Priests over the cities to teach the people ; gathered the Priests, and commanded them to sanctify themselves and the House of the Lord, and offer sacrifices on the altar. And gave orders about the forms of their worship, that they should praise God in the words of David and Asaph : and gave orders about the time of observing the Passover, that in a case of necessity it might be observed on the second month ; though by their law it was to be kept the first month. And for the Christian Emperors, let the Code, or the Novels, or the Capitulars of Charles the Great be read, and in them many laws will be found about the qualifications, elections, and consecrations of Churchmen, made by the best of all the Roman Emperors, such as Constantine, Theodosius, &c. They called Councils to judge of the greatest points of faith, which met and sate on their writ ; whose determinations they confirmed, and added the civil sanction to them. And even Pope Leo, though a higher-spirited Pope than any of his predecessors were, did intreat the Emperor Martian to annul the second Council of Ephesus, and to give order that the ancient decrees of the Council of Nice should remain in force. Now it were a great scandal on those Councils to say that they had no authority for what they did, but what they derived from the civil powers ; so it is no less unjust to say, because the Parliament empowered some persons to draw forms for the more pure administration of the Sacraments, and enacted that these only should be lawfully exercised in this realm, which is the civil sanction, that therefore these persons had no other authority for what they did. Let those men declare upon their consciences if there be any thing they desire more earnestly than such an act for authorizing their own forms ; and would they make any scruple to accept of it if they might have it ? Was it ever heard of that the civil sanction, which only

makes any constitution to have the force of a law, gives it another authority than a civil one? and such authority the Church of *Rome* thinks fit to accept of in all states and kingdoms of that religion. (See the opinions of *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonstal* on the Pope's Supremacy, in *Fox*, vol. v. pages 75, 98; edit. 1838.)

“Again, the Prelates and other Divines that compiled our forms of Ordination, did it by virtue of the authority they had from Christ as Pastors of His Church, which did empower them to teach the people the pure Word of God, and to administer the Sacraments, and perform all other holy functions according to the Scripture, the practice of the primitive Church, and the rules of expediency and reason; and this they ought to have done, though the civil powers had opposed it; in which case their duty had been to have submitted to whatever severities or persecutions they might have been put to for the name of Christ, and the truth of His Gospel. But, on the other hand, when it pleased God to turn the hearts of those that had the chief power to set forward this good work, then they did (as they ought) with all thankfulness acknowledge so great a blessing, and accept and improve the authority of the civil powers for adding the *sanction of a law to the Reformation*, in all the parts and branches of it. So by the authority they derived from Christ, and the warrant they had from Scripture and the primitive Church, these Prelates and Divines made those alterations and changes in the Ordinal; and the King and the Parliament, who are vested with the supreme legislative power, added their authority to make them obligatory on the subjects. Which is all that is imported by the word “lawful” in the Act of Parliament; the ordinary use whereof among lawyers is “*a thing according to law.*”

Again, with regard to the nomination of Bishops by the Crown, *Burnet* says,—

“Consecrations upon the *King's* nomination must either be good and valid, or all the Consecrations of the first ages of the Church shall likewise be annulled; since he has now as good a right to name the persons that are to be consecrated as the people then had. It is true, the tumults and other disorders in those elections brought great scandal on the Church, and so they were taken away and Synodical elections were set up; but as the former Ordinations were good before these were set up, so it cannot be said that these are indispensably necessary, otherwise there are no good Ordinations at this day in the Church of *Rome*; these being all now put down, the Pope having among his other usurpations taken that into his own hands.

“It is also known how much Christian Princes, Emperors, and Kings, in all ages and places, have meddled in the election of Bishops. I need not tell how a Synod desired *Valentinian* to choose a Bishop at *Milan* when *St. Ambrose* was chosen; nor how *Theodosius* chose *Nectarius* to be Patriarch of *Constantinople*, even when the second General Council was sitting; nor need I tell the law *Justinian* made, that there should be three presented to the Emperor in the elections of the Patriarch, and he should choose one of them. These things are generally known, and I need not insist on them. It is true, as there followed great confusions in the Greek Empire till it was quite overrun and destroyed, so there was scarce any one thing in which there was more doing and undoing than in the election of the Patriarchs; the Emperors often did it by their own authority; Synodical elections were also often set up. At length the Emperors brought it to that, that they delivered the Pastoral Staff to the Bishop, by which he was in-

vested in his Patriarchate ; but it was never pretended, neither by the *Latin* Church nor by the contrary factions in the *Greek* Church, that Orders so given were null. And yet the Emperor's giving the Investiture with his own hand is a far greater thing than our King's granting a mandate for consecrating and investing them. For proof of this about the *Greek* Church, I refer it to *Habert*,⁴ who has given a full deduction of the elections in that Church, from the days of the Apostles to the last age.

“For the *Latin* Church, the matter has been so oft examined that it is to no purpose to spend much time about it. It is known and confessed by *Platina*,⁵ that the Emperor's authority intervened when the Popes were created. And *Onuphrius*⁶ tells us that, by a decree of *Vigilius*, (A. D. 540) the custom had got in, that the elected Pope should not be consecrated till the Emperor had confirmed it, and had by his letters-patent given the elect Pope leave to be ordained ; and that licence was either granted by the Emperors themselves or by their lieutenants (or *Exarchs*) at Ravenna : and one-and-twenty Popes were thus consecrated ; *Pelagius* the Second only excepted, who, being chosen during the siege of Rome, did not stay for it, but he sent *Gregory* (afterwards Pope) to excuse it to the Emperor, who was offended with it. It continued thus till the days of *Constantine*, called *Pogonatus*, who first remitted it to *Benedict* the Second ; and the truth of it was, the power of the *Greek* Emperors was then fallen so low in Italy that no wonder he parted with it. But so soon as the Empire was again set up in the West by Charles the Great, Pope *Adrian* with a Synod gave him the power of creating the Pope (as is set down in the very canon-law itself,) and of

⁴ *Tit. 17. Rit. Elec. Patr.*

⁵ *In Vita Silverii.*

⁶ *In Plat. in Pelag.*

investing all other Archbishops and Bishops; and an anathema was pronounced against any that should consecrate a Bishop that was not named and invested by him. This is likewise told by *Platina* out of *Anastasius*.

“It is true, though some Popes were thus chosen, yet the weakness of Charles the Great’s son, and the divisions of his children, with the degeneracy of that whole race, served the ends of the growing power of the Papacy. Yet *Lewis* laid it down, not as an usurpation, but as a right of which he divested himself: but his son *Lothaire* re-assumed it, and did confirm divers Popes; and *Anastasius* tells us that they durst not consecrate the Pope without the Imperial authority; and the thing was still kept up, at least in a shadow, till *Hadrian* the Third, who appointed that the Emperor’s concurrence or licence should not be thought necessary in the creating of a Pope. And from *Hadrian* the First, who died anno 795, till *Hadrian* the Third, there were eighty-nine years; and from *Vigilius*’ days, who died anno 555, there were three hundred and thirty years (viz. from 555 to 885). So long were the Popes made upon the Emperors’ mandates. Nor did the Emperors part easily with this right; but after that, the *Othos* and the *Henrys* kept up their pretension, and came oft to *Rome*, and made many Popes: and though most of the Popes so made were generally reckoned Anti-Popes and Schismatics, yet some of them, as *Clement* the Second, are put in the catalogues of the Popes by *Baronius* and *Binnius*, and by the late publishers of the Councils, *Labbee* and *Cossartius*. There was, indeed, great opposition made to this at *Rome*. But let even their own historians be appealed to, what a series of monsters, and not men, those Popes were. How infamously they were elected, often by the whores of *Rome*, and how flagitious they were, we refer it to *Baronius* himself, who could not deny this, for all his partiality, in his great work.

But, in the end, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh (A.D. 1080) got the better of the Emperors in this particular.

“And now let the ingenuity of those men be considered, who endeavour to invalidate our Orders, and call our Priests and Bishops “*Parliamentary Priests and Bishops*,” because they are made upon the *King’s* mandate, according to the Act of Parliament: when it is clear, that, for near five hundred years together, *their own Popes were consecrated for the most part upon the Emperor’s mandate*; and it is certain the Kings of England have as much power to do the same here, as the Emperors had to do it at *Rome*.

“The Emperors were wont also to grant the *Investitures* into all the Bishopricks by giving the Ring and the Staff, which were the ceremonies of the Investiture; and so they both named and invested all the Bishops and Abbots. This, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh thought was no more to be suffered than their creating the Popes; both being done by the same authority. Therefore he resolved to wring them out of the Emperor’s hands, and take them into his own: and it was no wonder he had a great mind to bring this about; for the Bishopricks and Abbeys were then so richly endowed that it was the conquest of almost the third part of the Empire, to draw the giving of them into his own hands. Therefore he first disgraced these Laical Investitures by an ill name to make them sound odiously, and called all so ordained “*Simoniacks*,” as he also called the married clergy “*Nicolaitans*.” Now, every body knows how much any thing suffers by a scurvy nickname raised on it. But he went more roundly to work, and deposed the Emperor, and absolved his subjects from their obedience. What bloody wars and unnatural rebellions of the children against the father followed by the Pope’s instigation, is well enough known. In the end, his son that succeeded him was forced to yield up the matter to the Pope.

“ In *Spain* it appears, both from the twelfth and sixteenth Councils of *Toledo*,⁷ that the Kings there did choose the Bishops, which *Baronius* does freely confess.

“ And *Gregory of Tours*, through his whole history, gives so many instances of the Kings of France, of the *Merovian* race, choosing and naming the Bishops, that it cannot be questioned : all the writers of the *Gallicane Church* do also assert that their Kings gave the *Investitures* from the days of Charles the Great. But the Popes were still making inroads upon their authority, for securing which Charles the Seventh caused the *Pragmatic Sanction* to be made. It is true, afterwards Pope *Leo* the Tenth got *Francis* the First to set up the *Concordate* in its place ; against which the Assembly of the Clergy at Paris did complain, and appealed to a General Council, and yet by the *Concordate* the King retains still the power of naming the Bishops.

“ In *England*,⁸ there are some instances of the *Saxon* Kings choosing Bishops ; and though so little remains of the Records or Histories of that time, that it is no wonder if we meet with but few, yet it is clear that King *William the Conqueror* and both his sons did give the *Investitures* to the Bishops ; and though, upon a contest between King *Henry* the First and *Anselm* about them, the King did yield them to him, yet upon *Anselm's* death he did re-assume that power. I need not say more to show what were the rights of the Crown in this matter, nor how oft they were asserted in Parliament, nor how many laws were made against the encroachments and tyrannical exactions of the Court of *Rome* ; these are now so commonly known, and have been so oft printed of late, that I need add nothing

⁷ See Ranchin's *Review of the Council of Trent*, lib. v. ch. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*

about them. Only, from all I have said, I suppose it is indisputably clear, that, *if Ordinations or Consecrations upon the King's mandate be invalid*, which this paper drives at, *then all the Ordinations of the Christian Church are also annulled, since for many ages they were all made upon the mandates of Emperors and Kings.* By all which you may see the great weakness of this argument." — Burnet's *Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England*, pages 51-99.⁹

"To conclude," (in the language of Archbishop *Bramhall*), "as an impetuous wind doth not blow down those trees which are well radicated, but causeth them to spread their roots more firmly in the earth, so these concussions of our adversaries do confirm us in the undoubted assurance of the truth, and *validity*, and *legality* of our holy Orders."¹⁰ We have no more reason to doubt of the truth of our Orders, because of the different judgment of a *handful* of our *partial* countrymen, and *some few foreign Doctors* misinformed by them, than they themselves have to doubt of the truth of their Orders, who were ordained by *Formosus*, because two Popes, *Stephen* and *Sergius*, one after another, out of passion and prejudice declared them to be void and invalid.

"But supposing that which we can never grant

⁹ See also *Ranchin*, lib. vii. caps. 5, 6.

¹⁰ The reader will be repaid by perusing attentively, in the *Tracts against Popery*, *Reflections on the historical part of "Church Government, pt. 5,"* and *Animadversions on the Eight Theses in "Church Government, pt. 5."* 1687.

without betraying both ourselves and the truth, that there were some remote probabilities that might occasion suspicion in some persons, prepossessed with prejudice, of the legality of our Orders; yet, *for any man, upon such pretended uncertainties, to leave the communion of that Church wherein he was baptized, which gave him his Christian being, and to apostate to them, where he shall meet with much greater grounds of fear, both of schism and idolatry, were to plunge himself in a certain crime for fear of an uncertain danger.*—*Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated*, page 488.

THE END.

LONDON :

Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, and FLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

Also, by the same Author.

THE OBJECT, IMPORTANCE, AND ANTIQUITY
OF
The Rite of Consecration of Churches.

Price Seven Shillings.

TWO ORDINATION SERMONS.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

Price Three Shillings.

BRIEF NOTES ON THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Price Four Shillings.

First ed 1845.

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION,

AND THE NECESSITY OF

EPISCOPAL ORDINATION,

AS HELD BY THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH,

AND

MAINTAINED BY THE REFORMERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BEING

TWO SERMONS

PREACHED IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PETER, EXETER,

AT TWO CONSECUTIVE ORDINATIONS,

HELD BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE, IN 1845,

AND PUBLISHED AT HIS LORDSHIP'S REQUEST.

WITH COPIOUS

Illustrative Notes.

SECOND EDITION, WITH LARGE ADDITIONS.

By E. C. HARINGTON, M. A.

PREBENDARY OF EXETER, AND INCUMBENT OF ST. DAVID,
AUTHOR OF THE "ANTIQUITY, &c., OF THE RITE OF CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES,"
"THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNBROKEN," &c.

"Inde enim SCHISMATA et HÆRESES obortæ sunt et oriuntur, dum EPISCOPUS, qui unus est, et Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus, indignus ab hominibus judicatur. . . . Scire debes EPISCOPUM in Ecclesia esse, et Ecclesiam in EPISCOPO; et si qui cum EPISCOPO non sint, in ECCLESIA non esse."
—Cypriani Epist. 66.

LONDON: F. & J. RIVINGTON.

OXFORD: J. H. PARKER. CAMBRIDGE: MACMILLAN & CO.

EXETER: H. J. WALLIS, AND W. SPREAT.

1847.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE
LORD BISHOP OF EXETER,

These Sermons,

PUBLISHED AT HIS LORDSHIP'S REQUEST,

ARE,

WITH EVERY FEELING DUE TO HIS LORDSHIP,

AND TO HIS SACRED OFFICE,

RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

“ IF it be objected against me, that throughout the following pages I have rather collected than composed ; and that, instead of offering any thing of *my own*, I have gathered from *others* what might be most serviceable to the cause I have espoused, I readily confess it ; and I am not ashamed to acknowledge myself furnished with my arguments from the writings of men (such as Hooker, and Barrow, and Leslie, and Hammond, and Taylor, and Beveridge, &c. &c.) whose names and performances are sufficient to do honour to any pages, and to whom I refer all that shall be found good in those now submitted to the public.”

The Excellency and Beauty of the Church of England.

PREFACE
TO THE
SECOND EDITION.

The favorable reception of the first Edition of these Sermons, and the approbation bestowed upon the weight of evidence adduced from our best Divines, in support of the Author's statements, have induced him to add *very largely* to the authorities previously advanced in defence of *Episcopacy*. He believes that there is not one position of any moment which is not confirmed by ample testimony from some one or more of the great Luminaries of the Church. The additional quotations from *Bilson*, *Dodwell*, *Durel*, *Sage*, *Hickes*, *Downame*, and the Author of *Episcopal Government Instituted by Christ*, will be found worthy of a very careful perusal. The Author cannot hope, in the language of one of his reviewers, that "to the younger Clergy just entering on their sacred office, these Sermons and *Notes* will be found invaluable;" but he trusts that he may without arrogance entertain the belief, to quote another Reviewer, that "*the references to the great Divines and Champions of our Church* are so numerous, that, on this account alone, the Pamphlet must prove of great value to any one who desires to study the arguments by which the Constitution of the Church is defended."

St. David, Exeter, Jany. 1847.

SERMON I.

ST. MATT. xxviii. 16. 18—20.

“ Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.”

WHEN our blessed Lord had finished the great work of man's redemption, and had fully instructed the Apostles concerning the nature of that work in which they were to be engaged, the method they were to observe in carrying out that work, and whatsoever else is contained in that general expression of “ the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,” the Apostles having received the wonderful effusion of the Holy Spirit, for which our Saviour had commanded them to “ tarry in Jerusalem,” immediately “ went forth, and preached every where,

the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.”

In examining the early history of the Church, we perceive that certain *ordinances* were appointed of a permanent character, viz. Baptism, the Lord's Supper, public prayer, and preaching in the congregation, with others of a less general nature; and we learn that, from the earliest period, there have always been *certain Officers*¹ in the Church whose business it has

¹ “As the Lord, under the Law, and from the first founding of that Church, did set apart a peculiar order and function of men for the service of the sanctuary,—so did He, under the Gospel, a peculiar order and function for the ministry of the gospel; and this no more to be usurped upon, than that. Now as, under the law, there were several sorts of men within that function,—as high-priests, chief-priests, ordinary priests, and Levites, but all paled in with that peculiarity, that no other might meddle with their function;—so likewise, at the first rising of the gospel, there were Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers, according to the necessity of those present times, but all hedged in with a distinctive ministerial calling, that none other might, nor may, break in upon. All the titles and names, that ministers are called by throughout the New Testament, are such as denote peculiarity and distinctiveness of order, as, “wise men and scribes.” Now,* the Jews knew not, nor ever had heard, of “wise men and scribes” but the learned of their nation, distinguished from others by peculiarity of order and ordination; and if they understood not Christ in such a sense,—viz., men of a distinct order,—they understood these titles, “wise men and scribes,” in a sense that they had never known nor heard of before. Ministers in the New Testament are called “Elders,” “Bishops,” “Angels of the Churches,” “Pastors,”

* “Nam apud Judæos *Sapientes* et *Scribæ* doctos, ab aliis segregatos, seu peculiarem hominum ordinem, *χρησθεσία* separatam, semper denotant; neque enim uspiam reperire est, apud Hebræos, olim dictos *Sapientes* et *Scribas* alio sensu.” *Leusd.*

been to *administer* these several ordinances. Scripture and antiquity declare, beyond a doubt, that there ever were in the primitive Church ἐπίσκοποι, bishops², πρεσβύτεροι, priests or elders,³ and διάκονοι, deacons.⁴ Thus the Church of Jerusalem had elders. (Acts xv. 2, &c. and xvi. 4.) St. Paul and St. Barnabas “ordained elders in every Church.” (Acts xiv. 23.) The Church of Philippi had bishops. (Phil. i. 1.) The Churches of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, had elders. (1 Pet. i. 1, and v. 1.) The Churches of the twelve tribes which were scat-

“Teachers;”—now all these were synagogue-terms, and every one of them denoted peculiarity of order, as might be shewed abundantly from their synagogue-antiquities. The Jews knew no “Elders,” but men, by their order and function, distinguished from other men. A “Bishop” translates the word “chazan;” “an angel of the congregation” translates the title “sheliach tsibbor;” a “pastor” translates the word “parnas;” and a “teacher” translates the “divinity reader.” Now these terms had never been known by any to signify otherwise than men of a peculiar function and distinct order.” Lightfoot’s *Harmony of the New Testament*, sect. 27.

² See Bingham’s *Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 51. 180. Maurice’s *Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*. Maurice’s *Vindication of the Primitive Church*. Thorndike’s *Primitive Government of Churches* and *Review* of the same. Sellar’s *Remarks on the State of the Church of the First Century*.—Dodwell’s *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ. A View of the Election of Bishops in the Primitive Church*, by a Presbyterian of the Church of Scotland. Downam’s *Defence*, (*Books*, 3rd. 4th.)—Brokesby’s *History of the Government of the Primitive Church*. Sclater’s *Original Draught of the Primitive Church. The Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, by a Presbyterian of the Church of England; especially ch. 5—9.

³ Bingham, vol. i. pp. 251—275.

⁴ Bingham, vol. i. pp. 297, 309.

tered abroad had elders.⁵ (James v. 14.) Titus was left in Crete to ordain elders⁶ in every city, as St. Paul had appointed him.⁷ (Titus i. 5.) Again,

⁵ See Potter on *Church Government*, pp. 106—122, and Sclater's *Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, ch. 4. pp. 165—236.

⁶ Bishop Pearson proves from St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen, that in their judgment the Apostle speaks of Presbyters properly so called; as doth also Theodoret, by this argument, that the Apostle requires Presbyters, in the plural, to be ordained in every city, whereas there was to be only *one* single bishop in a city.—See also Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. i. book ii. c. 13.

⁷ “I come now to demonstrate the distinction between Presbyters and Deacons, which is altogether as clear and apparent as that between Bishop and Presbyter. *St. Ignatius* (*ad Trall: ad Philadel: ad Magnes: ad Smyrn:*) does not only place the Deacons as the third order of the Church, but declares that they must obey the Presbyters. And accordingly at their institution at first, in the *Acts*, their office is assigned to distribute the charity of the Church, in subjection to the Apostles or Bishops, with the Elders or Presbyters. *Tertullian* is very express to the same purpose, and measures the obedience of Deacons to Presbyters, by the obedience of Presbyters to Bishops. The Presbyters were by a positive Canon to exclude the Deacons from their assemblies and Colleges (*Concil. Nic. c. 18*). *Epiphanius*, in opposition to the first inventor of Church parity, names two orders as distinct, Presbyter and Deacon (*con. Aeri. L. 3. Hær. 75*) and *St. Jerome* says (*ad Evag.*) that Deacons were to Presbyters, as Levites were to Priests; and in another place (*adv. Jovi.*) that Deacon is not only a distinct name, but a distinct office. *St. Chrysostom* assigns five talents or powers to the Presbyter and two to the Deacon (*Hom. 23, 25 c. Mat.*) Remarkable is that other saying of *St. Jerome*, that the Presbyters are inferior in gain to the Deacons, but superior in Priesthood (*ad Nepot.*) *Origen* assures us, (*24 Tract. in Mat. c. 23*) that in the way of ascent, Deacons are the first order of the Church, and Presbyters the second. ‘All men in Holy Orders,’ (says the Canon, *Con. Laod. c. 24*.) ‘from Presbyter to Deacon’—‘The Church is divided into Bishop, Priest, and Deacon,’ says *Ignatius* (*ad Smyr.*). Lastly, both *St. Jerome* and the *Nicene Fathers* (*ad Evag.—Concil.*

St. Clement, bishop of Rome, who lived and wrote in the Apostles' times, and conversed freely with them⁸, and observed their methods of practice, assures us of the Apostles in general, that they constituted Bishops wheresoever they made converts. This testimony is so full, express, and clear, and proceeds from so unexceptionable a witness, who wrote from his own personal knowledge, that were both Scripture and all other writings⁹ silent as to this particular, St. Clement's bare affirmation would be sufficient demonstration. But further; the Apostles made St. Simeon bishop of Jerusalem, after the martyrdom of St. James¹; St. Clement bishop of Rome; St. Ignatius bishop of Antioch; and St. Polycarp bishop of Smyrna.² And St. Clement of

Nic. c. 18.) declare, that the Deacons had no power to administer the Eucharist as the Presbyters had, and that the servant of tables and widows could by no means plead the same power with him, who consecrated the holy sacramental elements." Oldisworth's *Timothy and Philatheus*, vol. iii. page 45.

⁸ The person mentioned by St. Paul, (Philip. iv. 3,) as some suppose.

⁹ The reader may refer to Archbishop Potter on *Church Government*, pp. 139—197, for other testimonies in favour of the episcopal succession. The archbishop says, "I hope that it has now appeared from the Scriptures and the chief writers of the first four centuries, that as our Lord was sent by God the Father to establish a Church in the world, so the Apostles were authorized by our Lord to enlarge and govern the Church after His ascension, and that they derived the same authority to their successors the bishops."

¹ See *The Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, ch. 6.

² "It was shown in the last chapter, that James was appointed the fixed Apostle and bishop of Jerusalem, before the rest of the Apostles

Alexandria, who examined these points with great diligence, and learnt from those who had been taught by the Apostles St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and St. Paul, assures us that when St. John was released from Patmos, he went to Ephesus, and constituted bishops and clergy in the neighbouring churches; and so says Tertullian. St. Ignatius also, who not only was made a bishop by the Apostles, but continued in that office many years during their lifetime, and was martyred but a little while after St. John's death, takes occasion in his epistles to mention Onesimus bishop of Ephesus, Damas bishop of Magnesia, and Polycarp bishop of Smyrna; he speaks also of the bishops of Philadelphia, and of bishops and elders of different churches, and declares that there "is no Church without them." Irenæus also, and Tertullian, speak of ³ bishops constituted by the Apostles in all the Churches

left it. It must here be added, that after the death of James, the surviving Apostles, disciples, and kinsmen of our Lord, assembled together at Jerusalem, and ordained Simeon, the son of Cleophas, mentioned in St. John's Gospel (xix. 25), to be his successor. Simeon presided in the Church till the time of Trajan, as we learn from Hegesippus, who was a diligent searcher into the practice of the Apostles and their disciples, and lived in the next age after them. (Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. c. xi.—xxiii.) And after Simeon there succeeded thirteen bishops of the Jewish race before the first excision of the Jews by Adrian, whose names Eusebius has inserted into his history from the Ancient Monuments of the Church." (Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. c. 5.)—Archbishop Potter, ch. iv. p. 140.

³ See Archbishop Potter on *Church Government*, chap. iv. pp. 139—197.

which they planted.⁴ Of the appointment of deacons we have the account in the sixth chapter of Acts ;

⁴ "That the Apostles were Bishops of several and distinct Churches, there is no reason to doubt, if we believe antiquity. *St. James* was the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, (*St. Jer. de Scrip. 2.—Christ. Hom. 3 in Act. Apost.—Euseb. Lib. iii. c. 5.*) ; *St. Peter* of *Antioch*, afterwards of *Rome*, (*Jer. de Scrip. Ecc. in Pet.—Epipha. con. Hæres. Lib. i. Hær. 27.*)—*St. Peter* calls the Apostleship a *Bishoprick* (*Acts i.*), *St. Cyprian* says expressly that the Apostles were *Bishops* (*Lib. iii. Epis. 9*), and *St. Ambrose* is full to the same purpose (*Amb. in Ephes. c. 4.*). And as the Apostles were Bishops themselves, so 'tis as evident that they ordained others to the same function. Thus *Timothy* was ordained Bishop of *Ephesus* by *St. Paul* (*Euseb. Lib. iii. c. 4.—Jer. de Scrip. Ecc.—Ambros. Præfat. 1 Tim.—Chrys. in ad Phil. 1.—Epiphan. Hæres. 75.*), and *Titus* of *Crete* (*Euseb. iii and iv.—Ambros. Præf. in Tit.—Theodoret apud Oecum. Præ. in Tit.*), *Polycarp* of *Smyrna* by *St. John* (*Jer. de Scrip. 32*), and *Clemens* of *Rome* by *St. Peter* (*Tertul. de Præscr 32.—Euseb. iii.—xiv.—Jer. de Scrip. 15.*), *Evodius* of *Antioch*, by the same Apostle (*Ignat. Epis. ad Antioch.*), and *Ananias* of *Alexandria* by the Evangelist *St. Mark* (*Euseb. Lib. ii. c. 24.*). I mention these instances the rather, because 'tis positively said of each of them, not only that they were Bishops of such Churches, but that they were ordained thereto by the Apostles. It is not much to the purpose to enquire the time when this was done, and yet even that is set down minutely by several writers, and said to be immediately after our Saviour's passion and ascent. (*Euseb. Lib. ii c. 1, Lib. iii. c. 5. Hiero. de Scrip. 2.*) And in general we are told, that all the first Bishops were consecrated, ordained, or made Bishops by the Apostles, (*Tertul. de Præs. 32. Euseb. Lib. iii. Hiero. de Scrip. 2.—Ambros. 2 ad Gala.*) ; and as the institution of Bishops by the Apostles, so their succession is attested by as good witnesses. *Eusebius* (*Lib. 7 ca. 31*), and other writers (*Socrates Lib. i. cap. 5. Lib. iii. cap. 15. Lib. iv. cap. 20. Theod. Lib. i. cap. 3, 7. August. Epis. 165. Optat. contra Parmenianum Lib. ii.*) give us a list of 54 Bishops successively in the see of *Jerusalem*, of 38 in the see of *Rome*, of 28 in the see of *Antioch*, and of 24 in the see of *Alexandria* ; and they assure us that some of these successions ran so far as the eleventh or twelfth Bishop even in the Apostles' time. Nor are these instances all ; for

for though they are not in that place called by that name, yet it appears from the nature of the office assigned them, and from the consent of all antiquity, that they were deacons. And St. Paul gives Timothy directions for the choice of deacons, as well-known officers, (1 Tim. iii. 8—12.) and he particularly salutes the deacons. (Phil. i. 1—5.) Clement of Rome also, who lived in the time of the Apostles, speaks of deacons in the Christian Church, and assures us that they were made by the Apostles, and that wheresoever the Apostles planted Churches they made deacons. St. Ignatius also, who was contemporary with the Apostles, speaks of deacons in the Churches in his

Irenæus tells us (*Lib. iii. c. 3.*) that it would be too long to enumerate all other Churches, but yet that it was easy to be done. Besides Timothy and Titus, who are scriptural Bishops, there are others that afterwards were made Bishops (*Euseb. Lib. iii. c. 4. Orig. Lib. x. cap. 16. Epis. ad. Rom.—Ambrose in Præscript.*) and continued the succession, whose names are recorded in Scripture, and their merits highly applauded by the Apostles, as *Linus, Clemens, Dionysius, Caius, Archippus, Onesimus, and Polycarp.* *Tertullian* reckoned *Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus* to be Apostolical sees, by succession, in his time. In *St. Cyprian's* days, who was Bishop of Carthage, (*Euseb. Lib. vii. Cap. 5 et alib.*) there are, besides that see, the Churches of *Cæsarea, Laodicea and Tyre.* And in the subscriptions at the Council of *Nice*, we have the names of the seven several Bishops of the *Asiatic* Churches mentioned in the *Revelations.* Now if all this be true, then there is no doubt but that the Bishops so succeeding had an *Apostolical* right, and if the Apostles too were Bishops, consequently a *Divine*; which right is expressly asserted in the Bishops of *Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria*, by one of the Antients. (*Greg. Lib. vi. Epis. 37.*)—*Oldisworth's Timothy and Philatheus*, vol. iii. page 38.

time, adding, that “they are not ministers of meats and drinks, but of the Church of God,” and says, that there “is no Church without them.” The deacons⁵ also are as constantly and manifestly distinguished from other Christians to whom that title did not appertain, and as plainly described to be well-known officers of the Church,⁶ as the bishops

⁵ See Bingham’s *Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 279—308.

⁶ See Hickee on the *Christian Priesthood*, pp. 33—38. “That Deacons are not Laymen but Preachers, (says the Author of *Episcopal Government instituted by Christ*,) and a third order of Church Governors it is evident, *Acts* vi. for as soon as there was any need of men of that office, (that was when the number of the Disciples was multiplied,) they were chosen and elected by the Apostles, yea, they were elected too before the Apostles went out of Jerusalem and separated themselves to preach the Gospel to all nations; for they behoved to be helpers of the Apostles, and to assist them in the work of Ministry, to have a care of the poor under them, and to baptize new converts at their command; that so the Apostles might give themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word, *Acts* vi. 4. The truth of this may be seen *Acts* x. 48, where the Apostle Peter gives commandment (no question to the Deacons) to baptize Cornelius and those who were with him; so we may see 1 *Cor.* i. that the Apostle Paul attributes the care of baptism to others than the Apostles, when he saith that he was not sent to baptize, it being chiefly the charge of the Deacons, but to preach the Gospel; not that he might not baptize, for we see the contrary in the words, but because the Apostles gave themselves chiefly to prayer and the ministry of the word, and committed the care of baptism to the Deacons, and the administration of the sacrament of the Supper to the Evangelists, called hereafter Elders, as may be gathered out of 1 *Cor.* x. 11.

We see also *Col.* i. 1. a manifest distinction between Bishops and Deacons; for the Apostle writes to them as their chief Bishop and Overseer; for as yet the Apostle reserved the chief care of that Church to himself, although some think that Epaphroditus was chief Bishop of that place; howsoever we see two orders here of Churchmen,

and presbyters themselves. Now it appears from antiquity, that those ecclesiastical officers whose business it was to administer the several ordinances of the Church, and the deacons also—whether they were empowered⁷ to administer any of those ordinances or not—were usually called the *clergy*, and thereby distinguished⁸ from the *laity* or *people*,⁹ viz. those other Christians, who, though forming a component part of the Church, were not appointed to, and therefore could not rightly administer, the offices of the Church¹. The reason of this distinction and

and I hope none will deny but the Apostle was in order and degree above them; we see them also made mention of in the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus, over whom Timothy and Titus are placed as their chief Governors; so that it is more than evident that Christ and the Apostles continued three orders of Church Governors under the Gospel.” *Episcopal Government instituted by Christ, and confirmed by clear evidence of Scripture, and invincible reason*, p. 6.

⁷ See Bingham, vol. i. pp. 279—308.

⁸ See Bingham, vol. i. p. 42. And Saravia's *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood*, ch. vii.

⁹ Hickes on the *Dignity of the Episcopal Order*, p. 222—226.

¹ “The distinction between the Clergy and Laity is so very notorious among the Antients, that I need not much insist on that. St. Chrysostom's Comment upon the story of Uzzah, and the famous contest between St. Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius, are full to this purpose. Ignatius declares the same at large (*ad Mag. Smyr. Philadel. Antioch.*); Tertullian debars the Laity from consecrating the Sacrament, and says that the distinction between them and the Clergy is as old as the Church itself (*De Cor. Mil. It. de Exhort. ad Casti.*). In another place (*Concil. Hispal. ii. ca. 9.*) the laity are debarred the assemblies and consultations of the Clergy in matters Ecclesiastical. Tertullian declares it to be the custom of hereticks (*De Præscrip.*) to make the same persons Presbyters to-day and laymen to-morrow.

appellation is not a question of much importance. That κληρος, from whence the word Clergy is derived,² signifies a lot, I need hardly observe; and whether the clergy are so called because they are God's portion of people, being set apart to minister in holy things, or because God is their portion, they subsisting upon those offerings in the primitive times which were made to God by the Church, or whether the name arose from choosing ecclesiastical officers by lot, which was customary among Jews and Gentiles, and as St. Matthias was chosen to the apostleship—though that custom, as Bingham tells us, never generally prevailed amongst Christians—whatever, I say, might have been the reason for the distinctive appellation, suffice it that the name was given to those ecclesiastics of whom I have been speaking. It is agreed on all hands that this name can be traced as far back as the third century, though an earlier date is questioned. It matters little, perhaps, as to the antiquity of a word, but I would observe, that St. Clement of Alexandria tells

Optatus (De Schism. Donist.) defines laymen to be those who have no dignity in the Church. And *St. Chrysostom (Hom. 53, 25 cap. Mat.)* reckons the laity to have one talent or power less than the Deacons. Lastly, it was determined at Alexandria (*Euseb. Lib. 6 c. 20.*) that for laymen to teach in the Church, was insufferable and contrary to all order." Oldisworth's *Timothy and Philatheus*, vol. 3, p. 46.

² See Macri *Hierolexicon*, verb. "*Clericus*;"—Brokesby's *Life of Dodwell*, p. 92;—and the *Theses Theologicæ* of Le Blanc, *De membris Ecclesiæ militantis*.—*Cap. Pri.*

us that St. John, after his release from Patmos, received men into the number of the clergy; so that the word "clergy" was known as referring to the officers in the Church in the second century. Nay, even St. Clement³ of Rome, who lived in the first century, speaks of *laymen* as distinct from those who served at the altar; his words are these—"Seeing then that these things are manifest to us Christians, it will behove us to take care that we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us. And particularly that we perform our oblations and services to God at their appointed seasons; for these He has commanded to be done, not rashly and disorderly, but at certain times and hours. And therefore He *has ordained* by His supreme will and authority, both where and *by what persons* they are to be performed.⁴ They, therefore, who make

³ *Ep. i. cap. 40.*

⁴ "*Episcopal Government instituted by Christ.*—The first argument.—"That whatsoever degrees of Church Governors, as *God* established "under the *Law*, that *Christ* and his *Apostles* continued under the "*Gospel*, and that hath governed the Christian Church since the days "of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, they are and must be of *Divine Ordina-* "*tion.*

But *God* established *three degrees of Church Governors* under "the *law*, *Christ* and his *Apostles* continued three degrees under the "*Gospel*, and three degrees hath governed the Christian Church since "the days of *Christ* and his *Apostles*.

"And therefore *three degrees* of Church Governors are and must "be of *Divine Ordination.*"

"The *proposition* I will take for granted, for I know no man will deny it. The *assumption* I must prove, which hath three branches:—The first is, that *God* established three degrees under the *Law*, the

their oblations in the Church at the appointed season, are happy and accepted, because that, obeying

High Priest, inferior Priests, and Levites; the High Priest to be in the first order, inferior Priests in the second, and Levites in the third: and this I hope will be granted. The second branch of the proposition, that Christ and his Apostles *continued* three degrees under the Gospel, I prove thus: Christ chose Apostles for one order, and Evangelists for another, called at the first the *seventy Disciples*, to distinguish them from the other twelve, who were also called Disciples, as long as Christ lived, (for they were seldom before Christ's resurrection distinguished by their proper names,) and Christ filled the room of the High Priest himself as long as he served in the ministry of the Gospel: and after his ascension, immediately the Apostles by the direction of the Spirit made choice of a third order of Churchmen, whom they called by the name of Deacons, (Acts vi.); so that the Apostles were appointed to be of the first order after Christ's resurrection, at which time they were only endued with Apostolical authority, being before Christ's death in the order and rank of Evangelists, and the Evangelists inferior to them; for the twelve were ever distinguished from the seventy, both in place and estimation, as any man may perceive that can read the Scriptures: but when Christ was to ascend up unto the Father, he made the Apostles chief Governors of the Church, and put them in his own place, and said to them, "*he that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me*;" after which time they were called by the name of Apostles ordinarily, and the other seventy got the name of Evangelists, and were the second order of Church Governors, and at all times remembered in the second place; howsoever, the twelve Disciples were called Apostles, as chiefly sent of God, although the other seventy were sent too, as we read *Luke x.*, yet they were not consecrated with so great solemnity as the other twelve, nor got not so strict a charge, nor so great authority and power conferred upon them; the truth of all this you will find in the last chapter of *St. John's* gospel and the first of the *Acts*; so that, since the twelve Disciples are thus advanced, and not the seventy, it is more than evident, that Christ would have the seventy to be still inferior to the twelve. And this also appears by the election of Matthias, who was taken out of the number of the seventy. and ad-

the commandments of the Lord, they are free from sin. For the High Priest has his proper services,

vanced to the Apostolical charge ; if the twelve had not been in degree above the seventy, to what end should this distinction have been made ? No man will say, I hope, that the twelve would have advanced themselves above the seventy, if Christ himself had made no difference before ; for Christ, no question, if they had been wrong would have reprov'd their arrogance ; but on the contrary, Christ gives testimony of his approbation of that which they did, by consenting to Matthias' election ; yea, it appears that they had a commandment so to do, for Peter saith, *Acts* i. 22, that one (*must*) be ordained to be a witness with us of the resurrection ; the word *δε* in the 21st verse is very emphatical, so that it would seem that it was not left arbitrary to them, to do it or not to do it, at their pleasure ; but of necessity it behoved to be done, as being commanded by Christ their Master.

“ Moreover, it is evident by the words of the 25th verse, where the Apostle makes a clear distinction between Apostles and Evangelists :— ‘ That he may take part (saith he) of this Ministry and Apostleship ; ’ now the Apostle could not call it this Ministry, except it had been distinct from that which Matthias had before ; he was one of the seventy Disciples before, and had power to preach the Gospel of Christ ; so that it is most sure, if the calling of the twelve had not been particularly differenced by Christ from the calling of the seventy, the Apostles would never have put a distinction between the one Ministry and the other. But the Apostle Peter adds yet a clearer distinction, and he calls the Ministry whereunto Matthias was advanced *Apostleship*, ‘ this Ministry and Apostleship ’ (saith he ;) now the Ministry of the seventy Disciples was never called Apostleship unto this day, as all men know.

“ Further this distinction appeareth, that the Apostle, with the consent of the rest of the twelve, would have the number made up before the coming of the Holy Ghost ; for the Holy Ghost did not visibly descend upon any but upon the twelve ; well, they did always attend his coming, they could not tell how soon, and therefore they thought it necessary that Matthias should be elected with all expedition ; so that any man may conceive, if there had not been a wide difference

and to the Priests their proper place is appointed, and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries, and the layman is confined within the precepts of lay-

between the twelve Apostles and the seventy Disciples, the Apostles would never have made such haste.

“By the former doctrine we find that our Saviour differenced the twelve from the seventy, thrice; in the time of his life once, for by taking the twelve to be of his Council (as it were) and guard of his body he made a manifest distinction, *Luke* vi. 13. Next, after his resurrection, he put a difference between them, in that he installed them solemnly in their *apostolical charge*, which he did not unto the seventy; and thirdly, after his ascension, he sent the Holy Ghost chiefly to the twelve, and caused Him to descend visibly, even to the view of all the beholders, upon their heads in the likeness of cloven tongues of fire, which for any thing we read he did not to the seventy.”

In the thirteenth of the *Acts*, verse 1. we may behold this distinction with our eyes; where Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius, Manaen, and Saul are called Prophets and Teachers, and not Apostles; for I think as yet Saul was not joined to the number of Apostles, at least he was not accounted one: so Paul makes this distinction, when he takes to himself the honour to plant the Gospel and to lay the foundation, and makes Apollos a waterer only and a builder upon the foundation, ‘Paul plants,’ saith he, ‘Apollos waters, but God gives the increase,’ 1 *Cor.* ii. 6.

“Moreover, *Acts* 8, we see a manifest distinction, in Philip the Evangelist, who converted the Samaritans and baptized them; but Peter and John behoved to be sent out of Jerusalem to lay on hands and confer the Holy Ghost: but my opponent may say that Philip was a Deacon and one of the seven mentioned, *Acts* 6. I answer, we read of Philip the Apostle and of Philip the Deacon, and why not a third Philip an Evangelist? read *Acts* xxi. 8. He that was Deacon was thereafter advanced to be an Evangelist. Always we gain this much, that Deacons must preach and administer the Sacrament of Baptism, and therefore they are not lay-men.”—*Episcopal Government Instituted by Christ*, pp. 1—6.

men, ο' λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν
δέδεταί.⁵

The distinction between clergy and laity being thus allowed, the question occurs, from whence do the clergy⁶ *derive their authority*? I answer, without

⁵ See Selater's *Draught of the Primitive Church*, ch. 6. 'of the Laymembers' Rights and Privileges in the Church.' "Laici nomen derivatum est a Græcâ voce λαος, quæ populum sive plebem significat. Itaque laici ab ipsis dicuntur quasi plebei sive populares illi, qui pertinent ad Ecclesiæ plebem, id est, quibus nulla pars functionis Ecclesiæ demandata est, et qui nullo ministerio in Ecclesiâ funguntur." *Theses Theologicæ; De membris ecclesiæ militantis. Cap. Pri.* See also *Hooker*, book 5, ch. lxxvii. sec. 2.

⁶ "In that they are Christ's ambassadors and His labourers, who should give them their commission but He whose most inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of spirits? Are not souls the purchase of Jesus Christ? What angel in heaven could have said to man, as our Lord did unto Peter, 'Feed my sheep—preach—baptize—do this in remembrance of me. Whose sins ye retain, they are retained, and their offences in heaven pardoned, whose faults you shall on earth forgive?' What think ye? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the ministry of God translateth out of darkness into glory; it raiseth man from the earth, and bringeth God himself from heaven; by blessing visible elements, it maketh them invisible graces; it giveth daily the Holy Ghost; it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls; when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they perish; when it revoketh the same, they revive. O wretched blindness, if we admire not so great a power: more wretched if we consider it aright, and, notwithstanding, imagine that any but God can bestow it! To whom Christ hath imparted power, both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that natural which is Himself, for the knitting of both in one, (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Christ's body,) the same power is in such not amiss both termed

fear of cavil or refutation, that from the beginning of Christianity down to the present time, the Clergy have been authorized to exercise their functions⁷

a kind of mark or character, and acknowledged to be indelible. 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained.' Whereas, therefore, the other Evangelists had set down, that Christ did before His suffering promise to give His Apostles the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and being risen from the dead promised moreover, at that time, a miraculous power of the Holy Ghost, St. John addeth, that He also invested them, even then, with the power of the Holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sin; wherein was fully accomplished that which the promise of the keys did import. Seeing, therefore, that the same power is now given, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought foolish?"—*Hooker*, book v. § 77.

"Now, the privilege of the visible Church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the ark of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep; yet in this was the ark of Noah privileged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternal life our profession is not enough."—*Ibid.* § 68.

⁷ "The power of remitting sin is originally in God, and in God alone; and in Christ our Saviour, by means of the union of the Godhead and manhood into one person, by virtue whereof, 'the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins upon earth.'

"This power being thus solely vested in God, He might, without wrong to any, have retained and kept to Himself, and without means of word or Sacrament, and without ministers, either Apostles or others, have exercised immediately by Himself from Heaven.

"But we should then have said of the remission of sins, saith St. Paul, 'Who shall go up to heaven for it, and fetch it thence? for which cause,' saith he, 'the righteousness of faith speaketh thus, Say not so,' &c.

"Partly this; but there should be no such difficulty to shake our faith, as once to imagine to fetch Christ from heaven for the remission of our sins; and partly also, because Christ, to whom alone this commission was originally granted, having ordained Himself a body,

by *Almighty God*, either immediately or mediately. Now, to elucidate my position, I will suppose a number of persons sent by the Queen to some distant colony, possessed with official character, and empowered to constitute other officers, and thus to continue a succession of these functionaries in that colony. In this case, not only those very persons whom the Queen sends, but those also who are constituted by such as the Queen sent, and those who shall derive their succession from them in fu-

would work by bodily things, and having taken the nature of a man upon Him, would honour the nature He had so taken, for these causes; that which was His and His alone, He vouchsafed to impart, and out of His commission to grant a commission, and thereby to associate them to Himself, (it is His own word by the prophet,) and to make them *συνεργούς*, that is, *co-operators*, workers together with Him (as the Apostle speaketh) to the work of salvation, both of themselves and of others. From God then it is derived; from God and to men.

“Now if we ask, to what men? the text is plain. They to whom Christ said this, *remiseritis*, were the Apostles.

“In the Apostles (that we may come nearer yet) we find three capacities, as we may term them. 1. As Christians in general. 2. As preachers, priests, or ministers, more special. 3. As those twelve persons whom, in strict propriety of speech, we term the Apostles.

“Some things that Christ spake to them, He spake to them as representing the whole company of Christians; as His *vigilate*.

“Some things to them, not as Christians, but as preachers or priests; as His *ite, prædicate evangelium*, and His *hoc facite*, which no man thinketh all Christians may do.

“And some things to themselves personally; as that He had appointed them witnesses of His miracles and resurrection, which cannot be applied but to them, and them in person.”—Andrewes, *Appendix*, p. 90. See also Saravia’s *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood*, ch. 17.

ture, all of them authorized by the Queen. But they are authorized after different manners. Those whom the Queen sends at first are authorized *immediately* by her, for she signs their commissions herself; but all others are authorized *mediately* by her, that is, they are authorized by virtue of that *commission* which was at first granted by the Queen. Thus, in the Church of God,⁷ Christ, as God, has full power in Himself, and as God-man has received full power from the Father to constitute officers or clergy in the Church—which is a society of God's own institution—and to enable them to appoint others, and to continue the succession “even to the

⁷ “My opinion is, that episcopal government is not to be derived merely from apostolical practice or institution, but that it is originally founded in the Person and office of the Messiah, our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; who being sent by our heavenly Father to be the Great Apostle, (Heb. iii. 1,) Bishop, and Pastor (1 Pet. ii. 25) of His Church, and anointed to that office immediately after His baptism by John, “with power and the Holy Ghost” (Acts x. 37, 38) “descending” then “upon Him in a bodily shape,” (Luke iii. 22,) did afterwards, before His ascension into heaven, send and empower His holy Apostles, in like manner as His Father had before sent Him, (John xx. 21,) to execute the same apostolical, episcopal, and pastoral office, for the ordering and governing of His Church until His coming again; and so the same office to continue in them and their successors unto the end of the world, (Matt. xxviii. 18—20.) This I take to be so clear, from these and other like texts of Scripture, that if they shall be diligently compared together, both between themselves and with the following practice of the Churches of Christ, as well in the Apostles' times as in the purest and primitive times nearest thereunto, there will be left little cause why any man should doubt thereof.”—Sanderson's *Divine Right of Episcopacy*.

end of the world." And if it be convenient that there should be a subordination of clergy in the Church, Christ has full power to appoint them, or to enable the superior clergy to appoint those of an inferior order. And all the clergy so appointed, either by Christ Himself, or by those whom He has enabled to appoint others—whether equal or subordinate to each other—do receive authority from *God*, either immediately or mediately, to exercise their functions in the Church; so that it will of necessity follow, that from the beginning of Christianity down to the present time,⁸ (for the objection, sometimes ad-

⁸ *Romanist.* Can a man be a lawful minister without a lawful calling?

Anglican. Of course not.

Romanist. If so, I pray tell me how the Anglican Church can defend her ministry. Surely I may address each of you in Harding's words to Jewel;—"What say you, my master? You bear yourself as though bishop of Salisbury; but how will you substantiate your call? What is your warrant for ministering in the Word and Sacraments?" &c. &c. I ask thee, is your call inward or outward?

Anglican. Both.

Romanist. An outward call, to be lawful, must be either immediately from Christ's mouth, as the Apostles were called, or mediately through the Church.

Anglican. Well; we are called by God through the Church; for it is He who gives 'pastors and doctors for the perfecting of the saints.'

Romanist. They who are called by God through the Church, must derive their warrant and power by lawful succession from Christ and the Apostles. If you maintain you have proceeded from this origin, it is your business to prove it clearly to us; to set forth and trace your genealogy.

vanced, that the succession was broken⁹ in the sixteenth century, is too weak to require refutation,)

“*Anglican.* The ministers of the Anglican Church derive their imposition of hands in a lawful way from lawful bishops, possessed of a lawful authority, and therefore their call is ordinary.

“*Romanist.* But whence have those bishops derived their power?

“*Anglican.* From God, through the hands of bishops before them.”—Mason’s *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, book i. ch. 2.

9 “We proceed, in the next place, to the constant visibility and succession of pastors in our Church. And here I make him (Papist) this fair proposal; let him, or any one of his party, produce any one solid argument to demonstrate such a succession of pastors in the Church of Rome, and I will undertake, by the very same argument, to prove a like succession in our Church. Indeed, the author of the letter is concerned, no less than we are, to acknowledge such a succession of lawful pastors in our Church till the time of the Reformation; and if we cannot derive our succession since it is a hard case. But our records, faithfully kept and preserved, do evidence to all the world an uninterrupted succession of bishops in our Church, canonically ordained, derived from such persons, in whom a lawful power of ordination was seated by the confession of the Papists themselves. For the story of the ‘Nag’s Head Ordination’ is so putid a fable, so often and so clearly refuted by the writers of our Church, that the more learned and ingenuous papists are now ashamed to make use of it.” Bishop Bull, *Vindication of the Church of England*, sec. 34.

I would again refer the reader to Mason’s *Vindiciæ*, where we have the dialogue between a Romanist and an Anglican continued:—

“*Orthodox.* The ministers of England receive imposition of hands in a lawful manner, from lawful bishops, endued with lawful authority, and therefore their calling is ordinary.

“*Philodox.* But from whence have your bishops themselves this authority?

“*Orthodox.* From God, by the hands of such bishops as went before them.

“*Philodox.* But from whence did those derive their succession?

“*Orthodox.* Archbishop Cranmer and other heroical spirits, whom the Lord used as His instruments to reform religion in England, had the

the clergy, whether equal or subordinate, were authorized to exercise their functions by Almighty God, either mediately or immediately, if it be apparent that Christ did *appoint clergy* in His Church, and enable them to constitute others for a perpetual succession.¹ Now, how stands the fact? When our Saviour, after His resurrection,² proceeded to the

very self-same ordination and succession as you glory so much in; and therefore if those argue that your calling is ordinary, you must confess that theirs likewise was ordinary.”—Mason’s *Vindiciæ* book i. chap. 2.

See also Brown on the *Nag’s Head Controversy*; Courayer’s *Defence of the English Ordinations*, and *Defence of the Dissertation*; Williams’ *Succession of Protestant Bishops Asserted*; Bramhall’s *Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated*; Leslie’s *Qualification requisite to administer the Sacraments*; and Mason’s *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.—I have enlarged upon the above point in my *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England Unbroken*.

¹ See Turner’s *Rights and Privileges of the Christian Church Vindicated*, chap. 5; and Bishop Sage’s *Reasonableness of Toleration*, p. 209.

² “We may observe, that, after our Saviour’s resurrection, when He advanced the eleven to be Apostles, He did it in a most solemn manner: first breathing on them, and communicating to them the Holy Ghost; and then, after He had assured them of His own authority, He gave them the power of the keys, and authority to exercise all the holy offices in the Christian Church, and to convey the same authority to others; promising that He would be ‘always’ with them and their successors, ‘even to the end of the world,’ and ratify and confirm what was done in their name, and agreeable to His commission. And by virtue of this commission the Apostles ordained many bishops with their own hands, and did actually leave all Christendom under episcopal government; for no one Church can be produced where episcopal government did not take place. The Armenian and Persian Churches in the East, those of Spain in the West, of Africa in the South, and of Great Britain in the North, submitted to

regular establishment of his Church upon earth, He appointed the eleven disciples, whom He had “ordained,” (John xv. 16.) and “named Apostles” (Luke vi. 13.) by way of distinction, to meet Him in a mountain in Galilee, for the purpose of delivering His *commission* and directions to them on that subject.³ “Then the eleven disciples,” we read, (Matt. xxviii. 16, 20.) “went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth⁴;

bishops without exception. That bishops, therefore, should succeed wherever the Gospel did, cannot be accounted for any other way than that the Gospel and episcopacy came in upon the same Divine title. And the proof we have of all this is the universal testimony of those writers upon whose authority we admit the canon of Scripture. And therefore, those who admit the canon of Scripture upon the testimony of the Fathers, surely will not reject the very same testimony in the case of Church government. For certainly, whether bishops were superior to presbyters was a matter of fact full as notorious as whether such and such were the writings of the Apostles. Nay, I may say more notorious, for the superiority of bishops was visible to all; no one Christian could be ignorant of it; and therefore, there could be no need of a general council to define the form of Church government, as there was to settle the canon of Scripture.”—*Tracts by a Non-juror*.

³ Vide Dr. Richard Mocket's *Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. 5, and Saravia's *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood*, ch. 3.

⁴ “‘Go,’ He says, ‘and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them,’ &c. . . . This commission of our Saviour we may properly style the charter of the Church; and mind, I pray, what is contained in it. Our Saviour here declares the extent of His Church, and of what persons He would have it constituted. It was to extend throughout all the world, and to be made up of all nations. He here declares by whom He would have it built and constituted, viz. the

go ye, therefore, and teach (or, make disciples of) all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo! I am with you alway,⁵ even unto the end of the world.” It is to be observed, that at this time our Saviour’s disciples exceeded the number of five hundred. After His resurrection “He was seen of above five hundred brethren at

Apostles. He here declares upon what grounds He would have it constituted, or upon what conditions any person was to be received into it, viz. their becoming the disciples of Jesus Christ, and undertaking to observe all that He has commanded. He here likewise declares the form or the method by which persons were to be admitted into this Church, and that was by being baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And lastly, He here promises the perpetual presence of His Holy Spirit, both to assist the Apostles and their successors in the building and governing this Church, and to actuate and enliven all the members of it.” Archbishop Sharp’s *Sermons*, vol. vii.

⁵ “‘I am with you alway, unto the end of the world.’ Yes, most certain it is,—present by His Spirit; or else in bodily presence He continued not with His Apostles, but during His abode on earth. And this promise of His spiritual presence was to their successors, else, why ‘to the end of the world?’” The Apostles did not, could not live so long. But [then, to the successors the promise goes no farther than ‘I am with you always,’ which reaches to continual assistance, but not to Divine and infallible.

“‘The Comforter, the Holy Ghost, shall abide with you for ever.’ Most true again; for the Holy Ghost did abide with the Apostles, according to Christ’s promise thus made, and shall abide with their successors for ever, to comfort and preserve them.”—Laud’s *Conference with Fisher*, 16, 29. See also Dr. Featley’s *Sixteen Reasons for Episcopal Government*.

once." (1 Cor. xv. 16.) But our Saviour did not deliver the commission for administering the sacraments of the Church to His disciples at large, but only to His Apostles,⁶ and to them not by accident, but it should seem by express design; in the first instance, at His last supper: "I appoint unto you a kingdom," said our Lord to the eleven, (Luke xxii. 29.) "as my Father hath appointed unto me." And again, in administering the bread and the cup, He said, "This do in remembrance of me." (Luke xxii. 19.) And in the second, when, in consequence of a particular appointment to meet Him in Galilee, after his resurrection, He delivered to them His final commission to "baptize all nations." Now

⁶ "The twelve, not the seventy, were the continual and domestical hearers of all His sermons, and beholders of all His wonders, as chosen to witness His doctrine, doings, and sufferings to the world; the twelve, and no more, were present when He did institute His last supper, and they alone heard and had those heavenly prayers and promises which then He made.—To the eleven, apart from the rest, was given in Mount Olivet the commission to 'teach all nations,' (Matt. ch. xxviii. 16—19.); and look how God sent His Son, so sent He them as Apostles, that is, 'Ambassadors' from His side; not only to preach the truth, and plant the Church throughout the world, but in His name to command those that believed in all cases of faith and good manners; to set an order amongst them in all things needful for the government, continuance, peace, and unity of the Church; sharply to rebuke, and reject from the society of the faithful, such as resisted or disobeyed; to commit the Churches to sound and sincere teachers and overseers; to stop the mouths of those that taught things they should not, for filthy lucre sake; and to deliver them to Satan that persisted in their impieties or blasphemies."—Bishop Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, ch. v.—Edit. 1610. See also Saravia's *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood*. ch iv.

the granting a commission manifestly implies, that none but those to whom it has been delivered, have authority to act in that business for which the commission has been granted, otherwise the commission would be an useless form.⁷ Christ, therefore, by making choice of only eleven out of the whole number of His disciples, intended, it is presumed, that the business which He authorized them to do, should not be performed by every one that might think proper to *take upon himself* to execute it.⁸ It is to be remarked further, that the tenor of the commission delivered to the Apostles seems purposely calculated to provide against, and thereby render unnecessary, all *self-constituted* authority in the

⁷ "Here I cannot choose but apply the complaint of our Saviour, (John v. 43,) 'If any come in the name of Christ,' that is, by a commission from Him derived down all the way by regular ordination, 'him ye will not receive'; nay, though he be otherwise a man without exception, either as to his life and conversation, or as to his gifts and sufficiency for the ministry, you make this his commission an objection against him; for that reason alone you will not accept him. But if another come 'in his own name,' that is, with no commission but what he has from himself, his own opinion of his own worthiness, 'giving out that himself is some great one,' (Acts viii. 9,) him ye will receive, and follow and admire him; 'heaping to yourselves teachers, having itching ears,' as it was prophesied of these most degenerate times, (2 Tim. iv. 3.)"—Leslie's Works, vol. vii. p. 111.

⁸ See St. Luke vi. 12, 13; St. Mark iii. 13, 14; St. Matt. x. 1; xxviii. 16, 19, 20; St. John xx. 21, 22. This important point the reader will find particularly made out and insisted on, in Archbishop Potter's *Discourse on Church Government*, ch. ii. p. 45, et seq., and ch. iii. p. 61, et seq; and Saravia's *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood*, ch. 18, 19.

Church. "As my Father hath sent me," said Christ, "so send I you," &c. (John xx. 21.); according to the common import of which words, as well as the received sense of them in the Catholic Church, our Saviour is to be understood as if He had said: "With the same power and authority that my Father sent me into the world to constitute and govern my Church, I send you and your successors for the further advancement of the same Divine purpose; and, lo! my Spirit shall accompany the regular administration of the office even to the end of the world. As, therefore, in consequence of the mission⁹ received from my Father, I send you, so,

⁹ "Our blessed Lord Himself would not take upon Him to minister in holy things between God and man, till He was particularly and externally commissioned by God for that purpose. For notwithstanding He was full of the Holy Ghost; notwithstanding His manhood was inseparably united to the second Person of the most glorious Trinity, whereby He was more than sufficient, nay, infinitely gifted for such a purpose; and notwithstanding the great necessities and consequent miseries of all mankind, which were continually wanting His undertaking to administer for them in things pertaining to God; yet He kept Himself in His private station for about thirty years together, and would not take upon Himself so high an office, till He received His commission and inauguration thereinto from the hands of a prophet [John the Baptist] who baptized Him, to fulfil this part of righteousness and justice, viz. of not taking upon Himself to be a minister of the new covenant without a special warrant from God, by the mediation of one who was by Him appointed to convey this power and authority to Him. And then we find, that God Himself ordained Him, by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him in a visible glory, and by an audible voice from heaven, saying, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,' confirming His great commission; and that from thenceforward (and not before) He pro-

by virtue of the mission received from me, you have authority to send others, for the purpose of carrying on and perpetuating the plan which I have adopted for the regular administration of the affairs of my kingdom, even to the end of the world." The government committed to the Apostles was, therefore, of the same nature with that of Christ; for thus He declares to them, "I appoint to you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me." The keys of the kingdom of heaven Christ received from

ceeded in the execution of it. From that time He preached and taught, gave His Apostles order to baptize and preach, wrought miracles Himself, and gave others power to do so likewise, for the confirmation of his doctrine, &c.* Now what could be the reason of our Saviour's thus long desisting from the performances of such beneficial offices? Why did not compassion itself, the blessed Jesus, then personally among them, undertake their speedy rescue? Doubtless it was because He had not received His commission from His Father. So that if our Lord's example may be allowed in this case to be conclusive, it is plain that not all the gifts imaginable, nor all the pressing necessities that may be pleaded, can ever of themselves give sufficient warrant to minister authoritatively for men, in things pertaining to God, when those are of such a nature as that a commission from Him must be obtained by the person who undertakes to administer; and that therefore such a person ought to be duly commissioned for such administrations."—*Beauty of the Church of England*.

* Morinus has a very beautiful and curious remark to this purpose; "The most high God," says he, "came down to Mount Sinai, and consecrated Moses; Moses laid his hands upon Aaron; Aaron upon his sons; his sons successively upon those that followed them until John the Baptist; John the Baptist laid his hands upon our Saviour; our Saviour upon his Apostles; his Apostles on the Bishops that succeeded them; and they ever since on those who are admitted into holy orders."—See Morinus, *de Ordinationibus Maronitarum*.

God ; by virtue of which grant, He had power to remit sins on earth. These same keys, with the power which belonged to them, were delivered by Christ to His Apostles¹ in these words, “ Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted ; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained,” (John xx. 23.) “ The Father,” we read, “ committed all judgment unto the Son.” (John v. 22.) And our Lord promised that, “ when the Son of man ” “ shall sit on the throne of His glory,” the twelve Apostles should “ sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” (Matt. xix. 28.) Hence it is, that the Apostles are represented as constituting part of the foundation on which the Christian Church was built. “ The wall of the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God,” the Spirit describes as having twelve foundations, and in them “ the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb.” (Rev. xxi. 10, 14.) And St. Paul told the Ephesians, that they were “ the household of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus

¹ “ Christ promised the keys to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 19). True ; but so did He to all the rest of the Apostles (Matt. xviii. 18, John xx. 23), and to their successors as much as to his. . . . St. Augustine is plain, ‘ If this were said only of St. Peter, then the Church hath no power to do it,’ which God forbid ! The keys, therefore, were given to St. Peter and the rest in a figure of the Church, to whose power, and for whose use, they were given. But there is not one key in all that bunch, that can let in St. Peter’s successor to a ‘ more powerful principality’ universal, than the successors of the other Apostles had.”—*Laud’s Conference with Fisher*, 25. 15.

Christ Himself being the chief corner stone." (Eph. ii. 19, 20.) I repeat, then, that the testimony of Scripture and antiquity abundantly proves the necessity of a *Divine commission*,² in order to minister rightly in the Christian Church.

² "There is, moreover, required a sacerdotal qualification, that is, an outward commission, to authorize a man to execute any sacerdotal or ministerial act of religion; for 'this honour no man taketh unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not Himself to be made an high priest; but He that said unto Him, Thou art my Son—Thou art a priest,' &c. (Heb. v. 4—6).

"Accordingly we find that Christ did not take upon Him the office of a preacher till after that outward commission, given to Him by a voice from heaven at His baptism; for it is written (Matt. iv. 7), 'From that time Jesus began to preach;' then He 'began;' and He was then 'about thirty years of age' (Luke iii. 23). Now no man can doubt of Christ's qualifications before that time, as to holiness, sufficiency, and all personal endowments. And if all these were not sufficient to Christ Himself, without an outward commission, what other man can pretend to it, upon the account of any personal excellences in himself, without an outward commission?

"And as Christ was outwardly commissioned by His Father, so did not He leave it to His disciples, to every one's opinion of his own sufficiency, to thrust himself into the vineyard, but chose twelve Apostles by name, and after them seventy others of an inferior order, whom He sent to preach.

"And as Christ gave outward commissions while He was upon the earth, so we find that His Apostles did proceed in the same method after His ascension, (Acts xiv. 23,) 'They ordained them elders in every Church.'

"But had they who were thus ordained by the Apostles power to ordain others? Yes. (Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 22.) 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city.' 'Lay hands suddenly on no man,' &c. St. Clement, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, writing concerning the schism which was then risen up amongst them, says, par. 44, that 'The Apostles,

We may then next enquire, *who* may be said to have this Divine commission? And here I shall not hesitate to affirm, that *none* but those who are *ordained* by such as we now commonly call *bishops*,³

foreknowing there would be contests concerning the episcopal name (or office), did themselves appoint the persons.' And not only so, lest that might be said to be of force only during their time; but that they 'afterwards established an order how, when those whom they had ordained should die, others, fit and approved men, should succeed them in their ministry;' par. 43. that 'they who were entrusted with this work by God, in Christ, did constitute these officers.'—Leslie's Works, vol. vii. p. 100, &c. See also Dodwell's *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved Schismatical*. Edit. 1679, ch. 18, 19, 20, &c., and Barwick's *Treatise on the Church*, part i. ch. 2—3.

³ To the question, "Who were the Apostles' successors in that power which concerned the governing those Churches which they had planted?" Dr. Hammond replies, "I answer, that it being a matter of fact or story, later than that the Scripture can universally reach to it, cannot be fully satisfied or answered from thence, any further than the persons of Timothy or Titus, &c., and the several angels of the Churches in the Apocalypse, (who are acknowledged by all the ancients to be single persons that had power over all others in those Churches,) but will, in the full latitude throughout the universal Church in those times, be made clear from the next evidences that we have, viz. from the consent of the Greek and Latin fathers, who generally resolve that bishops are those successors. This I shall not be so unreasonable as to attempt to prove at large through the writings of those fathers, but content myself with one or two of the first of them."—*Of the Power of the Keys*, chap. iii. See also Bishop Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, p. 258, and Lowth on the *Subject of Church Power*, ch. 4.

I would refer the reader to *A Brief Account of Ancient Church Government*, by Abraham Woodhead, of which work Dr. Hickes remarks—"I have taken occasion to mention the Book of *antient Church Government*, to invite all true friends, and sons of the Church of England to read it, especially the younger Clergy, who may

can have any authority⁴ to minister in the Christian Church; for that the power of ordination is solely conferred upon that order,⁵ can be proved from the institution of our Saviour, and the constant practice of the Apostles. That the power of ordination conferred upon the Apostles was of *Divine institution*,⁶

please to take notice, that by *others* in the title page, the author principally meant Dr. Stillingfleet in his *Irenicum*.—The chief of whose arguments against the unalterable Divine Right of Episcopacy he hath fully answered without naming the learned Author. The reader indeed will find by some expressions in the book, that the Author was of the Roman Communion; but as learned men of that Church have written most excellently in defence of many articles of the faith, so hath he written with no less learning, judgment, and strength of reasoning in defence of the Government of the Catholic Church.”—*Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, Page 5.

It is hardly necessary to add that Stillingfleet wrote the *Irenicum* when only 24 years of age; that he subsequently confessed “there are many things in it, if he were to write again, he would not say; some which shew his youth and want of due consideration; others, which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the Dissenting parties to the Church of England;” and that he maintains the Divine Right of Episcopacy in many of his subsequent works.—See *Several Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fanatick Chaplain*, p. 148. *The Unreasonableness of Separation*, part 3rd., and *Ecclesiastical Cases*.—Vol. 1. See also Bishop Taylor’s *Episcopacy Asserted*, sects. 4. 6; and Dodwell on *Schism*, ch. 9, Edit. 1679.

⁴ “It was the general received persuasion of the ancient Christian world,” says Hooker, “that *Ecclesia est in Episcopo*, the outward being of a Church consisted in the having of a bishop; insomuch that they did not account it to be a Church which was not subject unto a bishop.”—See Dodwell on *Schism* ch. 19, Edit. 1679, and Jackson’s *Dissertation on Episcopacy*.

⁵ See Leslie, vol. vii. p. 177. See also Bishop Bilson’s *Perpetual Government of Christ’s Church*, p. 248.

⁶ See Bishop Taylor’s *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 9; and Bishop Skinner’s *Primitive Truth and Order Vindicated*, ch. 2, pp. 112—342.

I suppose no one will question who reads these words of our Saviour to them after His resurrection, "As my Father sent me, so send I you;" (John xx. 21.) and, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world;" (Matt. xxviii. 20.) For from hence it is evident, 1st, That it was by a *Divine commission* that our Saviour⁷ ordained His Apostles. 2ndly, That by virtue of the *same commission* the Apostles were at that time empowered⁸

⁷ "This Government was, by immediate substitution, delegated to the Apostles by Christ Himself, *in traditione clavium, in spiratione Spiritus, in missione in Pentecoste*. When Christ promised them the 'keys,' He promised them 'power to bind and loose;' when He breathed on them the Holy Ghost, He gave them that actually to which, by the former promise, they were entitled; and in the octaves of the passion, He gave them the same authority which He had received from His Father, and they were the 'faithful and wise stewards, whom the Lord made rulers over His household.' But I shall not labour much upon this. Their founding all the Churches from east to west, and so by being fathers deriving their authority from the nature of the thing; their appointing rulers in every Church; their synodal decrees *de suffocato et sanguine*, and letters missive to the Churches of Syria and Cilicia; their excommunications of Hymeneus and Alexander, and the incestuous Corinthian; their commanding and requiring obedience of their people in all things, as St. Paul did of his subjects of Corinth, and the Hebrews, by precept apostolical; their threatening the pastoral rod; their calling synods and public assemblies; their ordering rites and ceremonies; composing a symbol as the *tessera* of Christianity; their public reprehension of delinquents; and indeed, the whole execution of their apostolate is one continued argument of their superintendence and superiority of jurisdiction."—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy asserted*, sect. 2.

⁸ This power, so delegated, was not to expire with their persons; for when the great Shepherd had reduced His wandering sheep into a fold, He would not leave them without 'guides to govern' them,

to ordain others ; and 3rdly, That this commission to ordain was *always*⁹ to continue in the Christian

so long as the wolf might possibly prey upon them, and that is till the last separation of the sheep from the goats. And this Christ intimates in that promise, "*Ero vobiscum (Apostolis) usque ad consummationem seculi.*" *Vobiscum*, not with your persons, for they died long ago ; but *vobiscum et vestri similibus*, with Apostles to the end of the world. And therefore, that the apostolate might be successive and perpetual, Christ gave them a power of ordination, that by imposing hands on others, they might impart that power which they received from Christ. For in the Apostles there was something extraordinary, something ordinary. Whatsoever was extraordinary, as 'immediate mission, unlimited jurisdiction, and miraculous operations,' that was not necessary to the perpetual regiment of the Church, for then the Church should fail when these privileges extraordinary did cease. It was not, therefore, in extraordinary powers and privileges that Christ promised His perpetual assistance ; not in speaking of tongues ; not in doing miracles, whether in *materia censuræ*, as delivering to Satan ; or in *materia misericordiæ*, as healing sick people ; or in *re naturali*, as in resisting the venom of vipers, and quenching the violence of flames ; in these Christ did not promise perpetual assistance, for then it had been done, and still these signs should have followed them that believe. But we see they do not. It follows, then, that in all the ordinary parts of power and office, Christ did promise to be with them to the end of the world ; and therefore there must remain a power of giving faculty and capacity to persons successively, for the execution of that in which Christ promised perpetual assistance. For since this perpetual assistance could not be meant of abiding with their persons, who, in a few years, were to forsake the world, it must needs be understood of their function, which either it must be succeeded to, or else it was as temporary as their persons ; but in the extraordinary privileges of the Apostles they had no successors ; therefore of necessity must be constituted in the ordinary office of apostolate. Now what is this ordinary office ? Most certainly since the extraordinary, as is evident, was only a help for the founding and beginning, the other are such as are necessary for the perpetuating of a Church. Now in clear

Church, and to remain in such hands ¹ as the Apostles should convey it to.² All this, I say, is evi-

evidence of sense, these offices and powers are 'preaching, baptizing, consecrating, ordaining, and governing.' For these were necessary for the perpetuating of a Church, unless men could be Christians that were never christened, nourished up to life without the eucharist, become priests without calling of God and ordination, have their sins pardoned without absolution, be members, and parts, and sons of a Church, whereof there is no coadunation, no authority, no governor. These the Apostles had without all question; and whatsoever they had, they had from Christ; and these were eternally necessary; these, then, were the offices of the apostolate, which Christ promised to assist for ever, and this is that which we now call the order and office of Episcopacy."—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 3.

⁹ "It is clear in Scripture, that the Apostles did some acts of ministry which were necessary to be done for ever in the Church, and, therefore, to be committed to their successors." Again, "Imposition of hands is a duty and office necessary for the perpetuating of a Church, *ne gens sit unius ætatis*, 'lest it expire in one age.' This power of imposition of hands for ordination, was fixed upon the Apostles and apostolic men, and not communicated to the seventy-two disciples or presbyters; for the Apostles and apostolic men did so *de facto*, and were commanded to do so, and the seventy-two never did so. Therefore this office and ministry of the apostolate is distinct and superior to that of presbyters; and the distinction must be so continued to all ages of the Church; for the thing was not temporary, but productive of issue and succession; and, therefore, as perpetual as the clergy, as the Church itself."—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 7.

¹ Bp. Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 4.

² "Here I know it will be said, that I confound Apostles and the Chief Bishops together, and Evangelists and inferior Bishops; whereas Apostles and Evangelists were extraordinary callings, and ceased with themselves.

Answer. Truly this mistake is the cause of all our dissenting, one from another, in this point; for if we did hold the callings of Apostles

dent from these words, when duly considered and compared. And hence this conclusion naturally

and Evangelists, to be appointed by Christ, to continue in the Christian Church, for the Government thereof, until the end of the world, as they are indeed, this division that is amongst us had never been. And, therefore, I will endeavour, by God's grace, to prove, both by reason and scripture, that these callings are *ordinary*, and cannot without high sacrilege be cast out of God's Church. I will shew you, then, in what respects their calling was *ordinary*, and perpetually necessary for the government of the church, and for what respects it is called *extraordinary*. It is *ordinary* and perpetually necessary, in regard of that power which Christ conferred upon them, to preach the word and administer the Sacraments, and also in regard of the power of Absolution and Excommunication, Ordination, and Jurisdiction spiritual, which our Saviour also granted unto them, as all men confess : and in regard of all those parts of the Episcopal Function to be continued until the second coming of our Saviour ; and I think, no man should deny this neither. It is called *extraordinary*, for these respects following ; first, because they were extraordinary persons, not being of the Tribe of Levi, who had only ordinary power in those days to be instruments of God's public worship, and to serve at the altar.—Next because their gifts were extraordinary ; for Christ, who was 'anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows,' and had the spirit in superabundance, He gave his Apostles an abundant measure of the Spirit ; but to after ages he imparted only a certain sufficiency, 'Grace for Grace.'—Thirdly, the extent of their charge was extraordinary ; they were tied to no settled residence, but the whole world was their Diocese : 'Go ye into all the world,' saith our Saviour.—Fourthly, the manner of their calling was extraordinary, without education, trial, or ordination.—Fifthly, they had the infallibility of the Spirit ; in matters of Faith they could not err.—And lastly, their calling was extraordinary, *quoad ante*, but not *quoad post*, even in respect of the ordinary parts of the Ministerial Function ; *quoad ante*, because the calling of churchmen in those days, was to offer up sacrifices unto God, of bullocks, rams, and lambs, and other creatures, and to burn incense unto him ; but so was not the calling of the Apostles ; their calling was to preach the Word

follows;—Whoever has a power to ordain, must derive it from the commission which our Saviour re-

and administer the Sacraments, open the gates of heaven to the penitent, and shut them upon the impenitent, &c.; and so I may say their calling, in analogy to the Priests' calling under the law, is to offer up the sacrifice of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving to God, and to teach every man to present their bodies in a living holy and acceptable sacrifice. *Quoad post* it was not extraordinary; because Christ established that government for the Christian Church in all ages to come, or else none at all, for other we see not, but this is manifest: yea, our Saviour continued the Apostolical and Episcopal calling, in regard of the substance of it, in the full latitude of Apostolical authority; and all this I will prove after this manner: And first,—

If the callings of the High Priest, Priests, and Levites, was not extraordinary, quoad post, in the days of Moses: then the callings of Apostles, Evangelists, and Deacons was not extraordinary, quoad post, in the days of Christ.

But the first is true, and therefore the second.

My second argument is this—

If the callings of the Apostles, &c. cannot be called extraordinary, quoad post, neither in regard of their extraordinary gifts, nor extraordinary manner of calling, nor the extent of their charge, nor their infallibility of spirit, then it is not extraordinary at all, in regard of the time to come.

But for none of these aforesaid respects, can their calling be called extraordinary, in regard of the time to come.

And therefore it was not extraordinary, in regard of the time to come.

Now I will prove by evidence of Scripture, That the calling of the Apostles was an ordinary calling, and to be continued until the second coming of our Saviour, with the same power and authority, both for ordination and jurisdiction, which they had themselves.

My first testimony is in *Matt. xxviii. 19*, out of which I form this argument.

They that were commanded to teach and baptise all nations until the end of the world, their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

ceived from God and gave to his Apostles, and was by them conveyed to their successors.³ The only

But the Apostles were commanded to teach and baptise all Nations, until the end of the world.

And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

My second testimony is in *Mark xvi. 15.* The argument is this,—

They who were commanded by Christ to ‘preach the Gospel to every creature,’ that is, to all men without exception, until the end of the world, their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

But the Apostles were commanded by Christ to preach the Gospel to all men without exception, until the end of the world.

And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

My third testimony is in *Matthew xviii. 18.* and *John xx. 23.* The argument is thus,—

They to whom our Saviour Christ gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

But our Saviour Christ gave to his Apostles the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

The fourth testimony is in *Matt. xxviii. 20,* and *John xiv. 16,* The argument I frame thus—

They with whom Christ promised to ‘be always until the end of the world,’ their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

But Christ promised to be with his Apostles always until the end of the world.

And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

The fifth testimony is in *Matthew v. 14.* The argument is this,—

They whom Christ appointed only to be ‘the light of the world,’ their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

But Christ appointed his Apostles to be the light of the world.

way, then, to know in *whose hands* this commission is now lodged, is to enquire, what persons were appointed to succeed⁴ the Apostles in their office. Now it is plain to any one who will read the Scriptures without prejudice, that there were three⁵ distinct orders of ministers in the Christian Church, answering to those of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to whom I have already alluded. I know, of course, that some have been pleased to tell us, that

And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

The sixth testimony is in *Matt. x. 40*, and *Luke x. 16*. The argument is this,—

Whomsoever all men are bound to hear and receive in Christ's stead, their calling was ordinary, and to be continued until the end of the world.

But to hear and receive the Apostles in Christ's stead, all men are bound.

And therefore the calling of the Apostles was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

The seventh testimony is in *Matt. xxiv. 42*, and *Mark xiii. 35*. The argument is this,—

They who are commanded by watching and prayer to attend the second coming of our Saviour, their calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.

But the Apostles were commanded by watching and prayer to attend the second coming of our Saviour.

And therefore the Apostles' calling was ordinary, and to continue until the end of the world.—*Episcopal Government instituted by Christ*, pp. 14—21, where the reader will see the above propositions defended and proved.

³ Hickes on *The Dignity of the Episcopal Order*, p. 190.

⁴ See Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 67. And Bishop Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*. ch. 13. Edit. 1610.

⁵ Bingham, vol. i. pp. 51. 340.

Timothy⁶ and Titus,⁷ and others of the highest order, were *extraordinary*⁸ officers in the Christian

⁶ "The common refuge of Dissenters, that are concerned for the unbishoping of Timothy, (to speak in Mr. Prynne's language,) is, that he was an extraordinary officer and Evangelist. He is expressly so styled, says Mr. Prynne. He is in direct terms called an Evangelist, say the Assembly of Divines; and that he was so, says Smectymnuus, is clear from the letter of the text, 2 Tim. iv. 5. Yet neither in this place, nor in any other part of Scripture,* is that to be found which these men affirm with so much confidence.

"If it had been intended that the authority committed to Timothy and others of his rank should be temporary, either this may appear from the nature of the thing, or it might have been expected that we should have had some notice of it in the Scripture. For if we may take the liberty, without any grounds, to fasten on it the title of temporary or extraordinary, we may by the same means soon put an end to any constitutions whatsoever. But there is nothing in the nature of this authority that may hinder its continuance; nothing in the Scripture that declares it to be abrogated. We may conclude, therefore, that as it is fit to be continued, so it was designed to be so in all succeeding times.

"We have no reason to believe that St. Paul would alter his own constitutions without a cause; or that, without any necessity, he would put the government of a church into a new model, and divert the course of discipline from that channel in which it ought to run in all ages. If therefore he sent Timothy as an extraordinary commissioner to interpose in the affairs of Ephesus, we may suppose this to have been either, 1. Because there was some extraordinary work, which none but extraordinary officers could perform; or 2, Because there were no ministers at Ephesus, or such only as were unfit for government." But neither of these can well be imagined. Not the first, for the work was no other than what hath or might have been performed by Bishops ever since. Not the second, for there were

* See *A Brief Account of Ancient Church Government*, part iv. ch. i—iii. and Burscough on *Episcopacy*, p. 115.

Church, and so of temporary institution only ; but I would fain enquire *who told them so* ?⁹ Certainly

presbyters at Ephesus of eminent gifts, such as the Holy Ghost had made Overseers. It seems improbable then, that these were constituted supreme standing rulers of the Church, or that the work for which they were so well qualified was so soon taken out of their hands.

“Particularly it seems improbable, either that they had the power of ordination, or that it would have been transferred from them to a stranger who came to visit them, but was not of their number, and that without any ground or reason given, or any notice taken of them, as concerned in the matter.”—Burscough on *Episcopacy*, pp. 114. 125.

⁷ “It is sufficient, that he (Titus) was a pastor of many Churches, and had authority over their presbyters and deacons. For if this be true, it strikes at the root of the Presbyterian and Independent opinions about Church Government. And I know not what can be said in vindication of them, unless it be that he was an extraordinary officer. This you insist on, and to prove it you tell me he was an Evangelist. But the Scripture says of him no such thing. From the Scripture indeed we learn, that Philip was an Evangelist, and yet he wanted power either to confirm those that were baptized, or to ordain officers by imposition of hands. But Titus could perform the last of these, which was the greater ; and consequently he was something more than an Evangelist, and could be no less than an Apostle, or a Bishop. But, that he may be reckoned amongst the pastors extraordinary, you likewise urge, that he was only left in Crete, as the deputy or the delegate of the Apostle, and that but for a time, till he should have established Churches in every city, and organized them with elders ; which having done, you say, it is very probable that he returned again to St. Paul, to give an account of that affair, and then you think his commission expired. Not that you have read any such thing of him in Scripture : but since he was obliged to act as the Apostle had appointed, from hence you collect, that his deputation was but temporary : and you might as well have concluded, that since it was the duty of presbyters and deacons to walk as the same Apostle appointed, according to the rules he gave for their conversation, their offices also were temporary, and designed

not the voice of antiquity, which directly refutes¹ their groundless assertion. To quote the language

for no long continuance.”—Burscough on *Episcopacy*, p. 140. See also Saravia’s *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood*, chap. 2.

8 “Now it remaineth to prove that the Bishops succeeded in place of the Apostles, and in place of Evangelists inferior Presbyters; and I will begin with this argument.

Either Bishops are the Successors of the Apostles, or the Apostles have no Successors at all.

But that the Apostles have no Successors at all, it is false, as I have in my judgment unanswerably proved.

And therefore Bishops are their Successors, for I have proved also that Presbyters cannot be their Successors.

My next argument is this:—

Timothy and Titus were Bishops.

Timothy and Titus succeeded unto the Apostles.

And therefore Bishops succeeded to the Apostles.

I prove the proposition by this argument, that is, that Timothy and Titus were bishops.

They whose calling was ordinary, and had the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction over Presbyters, were Bishops.

But Timothy and Titus their calling was ordinary, and had the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction over Presbyters.

And therefore Timothy and Titus were Bishops.

The proposition will be granted, I prove the assumption; and first that Timothy’s and Titus’ calling was ordinary.

They who had only the ordinary parts of the ministerial Function, their calling was ordinary.

But Timothy and Titus had only the ordinary parts of the ministerial Function.

And therefore the calling of Timothy and Titus was ordinary.

The proposition will be granted; I prove the assumption;—

They who had only power to preach the word and administer the Sacraments, &c. had only the ordinary parts of the ministerial Function.

But Timothy and Titus had only power to preach the word, and administer the Sacraments, &c.

of Stillingfleet, "They who go about to unbishop² Timothy and Titus, may as well unscripture the

And therefore Timothy and Titus had only the ordinary parts of the ministerial Function.

I prove the assumption thus; Tim. and Tit. had neither the gift of Miracles, nor the gift of Prophecy, nor the gift of Tongues, nor the gift of Healing, nor any extraordinary gift at all, for any thing we read; neither were they infallibly guided by the Spirit; for if they had had the infallible assistance of the Spirit, the Apostle Paul would not have been so earnest to exhort them to do their duty in their calling; Timothy is exhorted to 'war a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience,' 1 Tim. i. 18, 19, and to be 'an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity,' 1 Tim. iv. 12, and to 'give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine, and meditation,' and 'not to neglect the gift that was given him by prophecy,' 1 Tim. iv. 13, 14, 15. Titus had also the like exhortations; so that it is most certain, neither of them had the spirit of infallibility, nor no extraordinary gift of the Spirit, but only the ordinary parts of the ministerial functions, and consequently their calling was *ordinary*.

Next I prove their calling was ordinary by this argument.

They whose calling was by education, trial, and ordination, their calling was ordinary.

But Timothy and Titus, their calling was by education, trial, and ordination.

And therefore their calling was ordinary.

The proposition needs no probation; for they who were called to be preachers of the gospel, by ordinary means, without all question their calling was ordinary; for Timothy it is clear, for he had his education under his grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice; he was tried by the Apostle, and he had the approbation and commendation of the brethren who were at Lystra and Iconium, before he would receive him in his company; thereafter he had his breeding, for a greater progress in knowledge, under the Apostle Paul, before he was made a Presbyter, much more before he was made a Bishop; for this cause Paul saith to him, 'Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which

Epistles that were written to them, and make them only some particular and occasional writings, as they

is in Christ Jesus;' as for his ordination, it is without all question most clear and evident; all this also may be said of Titus, and therefore I conclude both their callings to be ordinary, Titus' calling as well as Timothy's.

Thirdly, I prove their calling to be ordinary by this argument.

That calling which was to continue until the end of the world was an ordinary calling.

But Timothy and Titus calling was to continue until the end of the world.

And therefore Timothy and Titus calling was an ordinary calling.

I prove the assumption—

That which was to be propagated until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the persons of Timothy and Titus successors, was to continue until the end of the world.

But Timothy and Titus calling was to be propagated in the persons of Timothy and Titus successors, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And therefore Timothy and Titus calling was to continue until the end of the world.

The proposition will be granted, I prove the assumption;

That which must be kept until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, must be propagated by Timothy and Titus successors until his appearing.

But the calling of Timothy and Titus, (in all the particular parts of it,) must be kept until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And therefore their calling was to be propagated in the persons of their Successors until his appearing.

The proposition is evident, because the parts of the ministerial function cannot be otherwise kept, but by propagation: and for this cause the Apostle commands Timothy to propagate. 2 Tim. ii. 2. 'The things that thou hast heard of me (saith he) before many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.'

The assumption is also manifest by that strict charge which he giveth unto Timothy in the latter end of the first epistle, chap. vi. 13, 14. 'I charge thee (saith he) in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate wit-

make Timothy and Titus to have been only some particular and occasional officers. But the Chris-

nished a good confession, that thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukeable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

Now this commandment that he would have Timothy to keep, doth comprehend all the particulars contained in his Epistle, both concerning Doctrine and Government, and in particular the whole parts of the Episcopal function, which is most obvious to any reader, and so still my conclusion stands good, That *the calling of Timothy and Titus is to be propagated in the persons of their Successors until the second coming of our Saviour, and consequently their calling was an ordinary calling.*—*Episcopal Government instituted by Christ* pp. 23-9.

⁹ "Adversarii eam potestatem quam *Episcopalem* dicimus, *Tito* atque *Timotheo*, non ut Ephesiorum at Cretensium Episcopis, sed ut evangelistis concessam volunt.—Per evangelistas autem intelligunt extraordinarios quosdam nascentis Ecclesiæ Christi ministros, Apostolis dignitate et autoritate proximos, quorum operâ Apostoli in Evangelio prædicando fundandisque ecclesiis utebantur; in quo quidem munere successores non habuerint, nec habere debuerint. *Primo*, quodnam fuerit eorum munus quos S. Paulus a Christo ecclesiæ evangelistas datos esse testatur, neque ex Scripturâ, neque aliunde certo constat. Sed si Pseudo-Ambrosio æque in omnibus fidem habeant adversarii, quod viros ingenuos deceret, non infra Episcopatum modo, sed Presbyteratum quoque subsidebat.—' *Evangelistæ* (inquit ad cap. iv. Epist. ad Ephes.) *Diaconi sunt, sicut fuit Philippus. Quamvis non sint Sacerdotes, Evangelizare tamen possunt sine Cathedra, quemadmodum et Stephanus et Philippus memoratus.*'—Quod si verum est, vides quam nihil ad rem effugium illud de *Timotheo* et *Tito* Evangelistis. *Secundo*, non magis constat *Titum* ac *Timotheum* fuisse ex eorum ministrorum numero. Nihil enim ex Scripturis afferri solet ad munus illud *Tito* asserendum. Et quæ verba de *Timotheo* in eam rem afferuntur, scilicet, *εργον ποιήσον ευαγγελιστου* (2 Tim. iv. 5) non magis evincunt eum fuisse Evangelistam non autem Episcopum, quam hæc ibidem immediate sequentia, *την διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον*, eum probant fuisse Diaconum, non autem Presbyterum. *Tertio* (quanquam vero similis est *ευαγγελιστου* quemadmodum *διακονίας* vocem hic generali significato usurpari,) demus

tian Church, preserving these Epistles as of constant and perpetual use, did thereby suppose the same

non tantum Timotheum sed Titum quoque fuisse Evangelistas. Demus etiam eos Evangelistas fuisse quibus Apostoli utebantur ad evangelium iis annunciandum ad quos nondum pervenerat, et ad ecclesias ex gentibus ac Judæis congregandas, quorumque adeo munus *προς καιρον* fuerit, non autem perpetuo post prædicatum per totum orbem Evangelium, et congregatas ubivis Gentium, Christianorumque Ecclesias, duraturum. Quid Ecclesiæ Ephesinæ, jam fidem Christi per Evangelii prædicationem amplexæ, jamque plurium Presbyterorum ministerio gaudenti, opus fuit Timotheo Evangelistâ, hoc est, eo Ministro cujus munus erat iis Evangelium annunciare qui de Christo nihil unquam audiverant? At Timothei Episcopi, qui jam a Paulo ordinatis Presbyteris consilio et autoritate præesset, qui in officio cessantes moneret, delinquentes corrigeret, et novos pro Ecclesiæ necessitate ipse ordinaret, (quod meris Presbyteris non licuisse, vel ex eo plusquam probabile est, quod illi, non istis, id muneris demandat Apostolus,) non fuit inutilis opera. Quando quis umquam vel fando audivit Evangelistarum muneris fuisse Presbyteros ordinare, monere, judicare, corripere, et jam constitutas Ecclesias integras regere? Ea omnia Apostolicæ præeminentiae erant, et eorum tantum quibus similem potestatem Apostoli concessam voluerant; ut Timothei, Titi, et aliorum, non quâ Evangelistarum, sed quâ Episcoporum, hoc est, Apostolicæ illius præeminentiae (quæ in Ecclesia perpetua esse debuit) successorum. Unde Primos illos Episcopos sacris Apostolorum ipsorum manibus ordinatos, *Apostolos* dictos apud veteres passim videre est. Vulgo notus est ille *Theodoreti* locus, *τὸς νῦν καλεμένος ἐπισκόπος, Ἀποστόλος ὀνόμαζον* (Vid. *Hammond. Dissert. 4 de Episcopat. c. 3.*) Ut Episcopi Apostolorum successores κατ' ἐξουχίαν jure merito dici possint, non exclusis tamen, in ea parte Apostolicæ successionis quæ versatur circa Verbi et Sacramentorum administrationem, Presbyteris. Ad Evangelistas autem quod attinet, si eorum officium ex iis æstimatur quæ narrantur Actium Apostolicorum capite viii. de *Philippo*, quem unum sacræ litteræ Evangelistam indigitant, ejusdem libri capite 21, 8, in hoc tantum situm fuit, ut iis fidem Christi prædicarent, quibus nondum innotuerat, et ut conversos ac credentes Sacri Baptismatis aquis abluerant. Nihil enim ultra sibi arrogasse Philippus legitur; advocatis Apostolis, qui Samaritanis, per

kind of office to continue, for the sake whereof these excellent Epistles were written by St. Paul. And we have no greater assurance that these Epistles were written by him, than we have that there were Bishops to succeed the Apostles in the care and Government of the Churches.”³—*Ecclesiastical*

illius prædicationem ad fidem conversis et ab eo baptizatis, ipsi manus imponerent, seu ad eos omnes in fide confirmandos, seu ad aliquos ad sacrum ministerium ordinandos. Quinto, licet Apostolus *Timothei Titique* ministerio usus sit ad Evangelistarum munus exequendum, quando et ubi ad id eorum opera visa est utilis, ad propagationem Evangelii, palam est, vel ipsis adversariis confitentibus, ex datis ad utrumque Epistolis, aliam illis, Episcopalem scilicet ab eo demandatam provinciam, cum istum Cretensium, illum Ephesiorum Ecclesiæ præficeret. Quod nobis satis est ad probandum Episcopatum esse Apostolicæ institutionis, proindeque juris Divini. ‘Denique quomodocunque tu appellaveris Titum et Timotheum et Marcum, (inquit celeberrimus Molinæus,) seu Episcopos seu Evangelistas, constat eos habuisse successores Episcopos, hæredes illius præeminentiæ.’—Sed ad alia, quibus hoc idem probetur ac confirmetur, pergamus;” to which I would refer the reader.—Durelli *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, cap. xxx. page 372.

¹ See Bishop Taylor’s *Episcopacy Asserted*, vol. vii. sects. 14, 15.

² Referring to ‘*The unbishoping of Timothy and Titus*,’ by W. Prynne, 1636.

³ “You are not able (writes Bishop Sage) to produce better evidence for this, that such a *gospel* (e.g. *St. Mark’s*,) or such an *Epistle* (e.g. *St. James’* or *St. Jude’s*, or any other you please,) ought to be embraced as part of the *Sacred Canon*, than I have produced for the *Apostolic Institution of Episcopacy*. For this, there is of bright evidence a great deal even in the genuine *Apostolical Monuments*, from which, at the same time, no evidence can be squeezed for the *canonicalness* of the name *Gospel* or *Epistles*. Enquire deliberately into the matter when you will, and you shall not find that the *canonical* books were separated from the *apocryphal*, till after the decease of all the

Cases, vol. i. p. 11. So that according to the maturest judgment of this great man, the office of

Apostles, that is till the *second century*. Nay, 'tis known, some books were not universally received even in the *third*. Our belief therefore of this, that such or such a *book* is *canonical*, must of necessity depend on the skill, credit, and integrity of those who outlived the Apostles, i. e. flourished in the second century.—Now, Sir, I dare boldly challenge you to produce as many testimonies of those who lived in the second century, for the *canonicalness* of any *Gospel* or *Epistle*, as I have produced for the *Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy*. The truth is, *Episcopacy* has on its side the *fuller* and the *clearer evidence*. Books were not received into the canon at random, but as being written by persons *divinely* inspired. Now they could be but few, in comparison of those who could not but understand the *form of Church Government* instituted by the Apostles, who could immediately know that such books were written by such persons. This could only fall to the share of those who were present with the *Apostles* or *Evangelists* when they wrote, or those *particular Churches* or *persons* to whom they wrote, or those who knew their hands or so. But to have those advantages did not fall to the share of one of four thousand of those who could not open their eyes, and look about them, without perceiving what *form of government* they lived under. Who sees not that it is much easier to prove that *James the sixth*, and *Charles the First*, were *Kings of Scotland*, and that, in their days, the *form of government* was *Monarchical*, than that the one was *Author* of Βασιλικῶν Δωρῶν, and the other Εἰκῶν Βασιλικῇ? But doth not this reasoning I have used tend to make it *dubious* and *uncertain* what *books* are to be holden *canonical*? Not at all; two *matters of fact* may, each of them, be sufficiently proved, and yet there may be fuller and clearer evidence for the one than for the other; e. g. you may be able sufficiently and clearly enough to prove that you wrote your *vindication* of your *sermon*; yet, I hope you will not deny that it may be more *fully* and *clearly* proved that you were *moderator* of your *last General Assembly*. We may be abundantly certain that such books are *canonical*, and such are not, so long as the principle shall hold, ‘*That the consentient testimonies of a competent number of competent and unexceptionable witnesses amount to a solid foundation for*

Timothy and Titus is of the same authority, and designed to be of the same continuance, with the Epistles that were written to them.

The superiority⁴ of a bishop to a presbyter con-

supporting the belief of a matter of fact. This, I am sure, was a principle upon which our Lord and His Apostles did always proceed, and 'tis a principle which you must grant, unless you will say that, in order to the *perpetuation of a revealed religion*, 'tis always *necessary* that there be a *perpetual succession* of persons immediately *inspired* to *perpetuate* it, and always endued with *power of working miracles* to *confirm* it."—Bishop Sage's *Reasonableness of Toleration*, page 161.

4 "The Holy Scripture also doth plainly enough countenance this distinction; for therein we have represented one Angel presiding over principal Churches which contained several presbyters; therein we find episcopal ordination and jurisdiction exercised: we have one bishop constituting presbyters in divers cities of his diocese; ordering all things therein concerning ecclesiastical discipline; judging presbyters, rebuking *μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς* 'with all authority,' (or imperiousness as it were, Tit ii. 15), and reconciling offenders, secluding heretics and scandalous persons. The primitive general use of Christians most effectually doth back the Scripture, and interpret it in favour of this distinction, scarce less than demonstrating it constituted by the Apostles. And how can we conceive that all the best monuments of antiquity, down from the beginning, (the Acts, the Epistles, the Histories, the Commentaries, the writings of all sorts, coming from the blessed Martyrs and most holy confessors of our Faith,) should conspire to abuse us; the which doth speak nothing but bishops; long catalogues, and rows of bishops, succeeding in this and that city; bishops contending for the faith against Pagan idolaters and heretical corrupters of Christian doctrine; bishops here teaching, and planting our religion by their labours, there suffering and watering it by their blood?"—Barrow, *Sermon* xxiv.

"Again, "As to the government of the Church by episcopal presidency, to which princes and presbyters agree, he (Bishop Brownrig) was too learned a man to doubt, and too honest to deny the universal custom and practice of the Church of Christ in all ages

sists in *potestas ordinis*, and *potestas jurisdictionis*⁵—the power of *order*,⁶ and the power of *jurisdiction*.⁷

and places for fifteen hundred years, according to the pattern (at least) received from the Apostles; who without doubt followed, as they best knew, the mind of Christ.”—*Memorials of Bishop Brownrig*, by Bishop Gauden. See also Hobart’s *Apology for Apostolic Order*.

⁵ “‘A bishop,’ saith St. Augustine, ‘is a presbyter’s superior;’ but the question is now, wherein that superiority did consist. The bishop’s pre-eminence we say, therefore, was two-fold. First, he excelled in latitude of the power of *order*; secondly, in that kind of power which belongeth unto *jurisdiction*. Priests in the law had authority and power to do greater things than Levites, the high-priest greater than inferior priests might do; therefore Levites were beneath priests, and priests inferior to high-priests, by reason of the very degree of dignity and of worthiness in the nature of those functions which they did execute, and not only for that the one had power to command and control the other. In like sort, presbyters having a weightier and a worthier charge than deacons had, the deacon was in this sort the presbyter’s inferior; and where we say that a bishop was likewise ever accounted a presbyter’s superior, even according unto his very power of order, we must of necessity declare what principal duties, belonging unto that kind of power, a bishop might perform, and not a presbyter.

“Again, the power of *ordaining* both deacons and presbyters, the power to give the power of order unto others, this also hath been always peculiar unto bishops. It hath not been heard of, that inferior presbyters were ever authorized to ordain. And concerning ordination so great force and dignity it hath, that whereas presbyters, by such power as they have received for administration of the Sacraments, are able only to beget children unto God, bishops having power to ordain, do by virtue thereof create fathers to the people of God, as Epiphanius fitly disputeth. There are which hold that between a bishop and a presbyter, touching the power of order, there is no difference. The reason of which conceit is, for that they see presbyters no less than bishops authorized to offer up the prayers of the Church, to preach the Gospel, to baptize, to administer the Holy Eucharist; but they consider not withal as they should, that the

As to the former, the power of *ordaining*, “ in latitude,”⁸ as Hooker expresses it, “ of the power of

presbyter's authority to do these things is derived from the bishop which doth ordain him therunto ; so that even in those things which are common unto both, yet the power of the one is as it were a certain light borrowed from the other's lamp. The Apostles being bishops at large, ordained everywhere presbyters. Titus and Timothy having received episcopal power, as apostolic ambassadors or legates, the one in Greece, the other in Ephesus, they both did, by virtue thereof, likewise ordain, throughout all Churches, deacons and presbyters within the circuits allotted unto them. As for bishops by restraint, their power this way incommunicable unto presbyters which of the ancients do not acknowledge ?

“ Touching that other chieftly, which is of *jurisdiction* ; amongst the Jews, he, which was highest through the worthiness of peculiar duties incident unto his function in the legal service of God, did bear always in ecclesiastical jurisdiction the chiefest sway. As long as the glory of the temple of God did last, there were in it sundry orders of men consecrated unto the service thereof, one sort of them inferior unto another in dignity and degree ; the Nethinims subordinate unto the Levites, the Levites unto the Priests, the rest of the priests to those twenty-four which were chief priests, and they all to the High-Priest. If any man surmise that the difference between them was only by distinction in the former kind of power, and not in this latter of jurisdiction, are not the words of the law manifest, which make Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, chief captain of the Levites, and overseer of them unto whom the charge of the sanctuary was committed ? Again, at the commandment of Aaron and his sons, are not the Gersonites themselves required to do all their service in the whole charge belonging unto the Gersonites, being inferior priests, as Aaron and his sons were high-priests ? Did not Jehoshaphat appoint Amarias, the priest, to be chief over them who were judges for the cause of the Lord in Jerusalem ? ‘ Priests,’ saith Josephus, ‘ worship God continually, and the eldest of the stock are governors over the rest. He doth sacrifice unto God before others, he hath care of the laws, judgeth controversies, correcteth offenders, and whosoever obeyeth him not is convict of impiety against God.’

order," that is peculiar to the bishop; and no instance has yet appeared of presbyters⁹ exercising that power. St. Paul gives it as a special charge to Timothy, to "lay hands suddenly on no man." This would have been a very useless charge, if the presbyters of Ephesus could have ordained; but not one word is said as to their possessing this power. The same silence as to presbyters exercising this authority, is observed by the Apostle in his Epistle to Titus, "For this cause left I thee in

"In the office of a bishop, Ignatius observeth these two functions, *ἱερατεῖαν καὶ ἀρχεῖν*: concerning the one, such is the pre-eminence of a bishop, that he only hath the heavenly mysteries of God committed originally unto him; so that otherwise than by his ordination, and by authority received from him, others besides him are not licensed therein to deal as ordinary ministers of God's Church.

"And touching the other part of their sacred function, wherein the power of their jurisdiction doth appear; first, how the Apostles themselves, and secondly, how Titus and Timothy had rule and jurisdiction over presbyters, no man is ignorant."—*Hooker*, vol. iii. p. 205, &c. See also Dr. Featley's *Sixteen Reasons for Episcopal Government*.

⁶ Bingham, vol. i. ch. iii. sect. 5, and Heylyn's *History of Episcopacy*, pt. i. ch. v.

⁷ Bingham, vol. i. chap. iii. sect. 8;—Mason's *Vindiciæ Ecc. Ang.* book 4, chap. 1,—and Bishop Carleton on *Jurisdiction*, ch. iv.

⁸ "The power of order in bishops, (besides all the power which is in the Presbyters,) is power by imposition of hands to convey grace, as the ordinary instrument of the Holy Ghost, either to parties baptized, for their confirmation, or to penitents for their reconciliation, or to parties designed to the ministry for their ordination."—Bishop Downname's *Defence*, b. 3. ch. 4.

⁹ Bingham, vol. i. ch. i. sect. 1, and chap. iii. sect. 6. See also Downname's *Defence*, book 3, ch. 4.

Crete, that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city." From these texts the Fathers observe, that none¹ but bishops,² in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, had the power of ordaining; so say SS. Cyprian, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome,³ and many

¹ Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 85, and Hobart's *Apology for Apostolic Order*.

² "For to clear the distinction of order, it is evident in antiquity, that bishops had a power of imposing hands, for collating of orders, which presbyters have not. What was done in this affair in the times of the Apostles I have already explicated; but now the enquiry is, what the Church did in pursuance of the practice and tradition apostolical? The first and second canons of Apostles command, that two or three bishops should ordain a bishop, and one bishop should ordain a priest and a deacon. A presbyter is not authorized to ordain; a bishop is. St. Dionysius affirms, *Sacerdotem non posse initiari, nisi per invocationes episcopales*, and acknowledges no ordainer but a bishop. No more did the Church ever; insomuch that when Novatus, the father of the old puritans, did *ambire episcopatum*, he was fain to go to the utmost parts of Italy, and seduce or entreat some bishops to impose hands on him, as Cornelius witnesses in his epistle to Fabianus, in Eusebius. To this we may add, as so many witnesses, all those ordinations made by the bishops of Rome, mentioned in the pontifical book of Damasus, Platina, and others, *Habitis de more sacris ordinibus Decembris mense, presbyteros decem, diaconos duos, &c. creat S. Clemens: Anacletus presbyteros quinque, diaconos tres, episcopos diversis in locis sex numero creavit*; and so in descent, for all the bishops of that succession, for many ages together."—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 32.

³ See Bishop Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, p. 238; and as the testimony of *St. Jerome* is so frequently adduced by the opponents to Episcopacy, as favouring their views, the following extract from Dr. Downname's *Defence* will be read with interest:—"Now I come to *Jerome*: for the Refuter thinketh it 'very strange, that I should bring him as a patron of the Bishop's sole power to ordain.' It seemeth that the Refuter conceiveth nothing aright. I

others ; to whom may be added the testimony of canons and sanctions apostolical, and the decrees of

bring in *Jerome* in this place, not as a patron of Bishops, but as one, who, pleading for the superiority of Presbyters above Deacons, and desiring to raise them as near as he can to Bishops, doth notwithstanding confess that Bishops are superior in ordination ;—*What doth a Bishop* (saith he) *excepting ordination, which a Presbyter may not do ?* To which the Refuter, having no answer of his own, intreateth another to answer for him ; which done, he craketh, as if ‘ he had laid me on my back.’—The answer is, that ‘ *Jerome* speaketh of his own time.’—No doubt ; for speaking in the present tense, whereby he signifieth *actum continuum*, he doth not exclude his own time.—But doth he therefore speak of his own time *only* ? or doth he signify, that there was a time since there were first Bishops, (which he confesseth was in the time of the Apostles,) when the Bishops had not this power ? If this could be shewed, then *Jerome* might be thought not to speak of the Apostles’ times. Nay, does not *Jerome* speak as well *de jure*, as *de facto*, when he saith, “ *What doth a Bishop,*” &c., that is—‘ what hath a Bishop right to do by the power of his order, which a Presbyter hath not a right to do by the power of his order, only except ordination ? That I confess to be above the Presbyter’s power !’—Well, and to what end doth *Jerome* speak this of his own time ?—That, ‘ having shewed before out of the Scriptures, and the practice of the Church at Antioch, that of old a Bishop and a Presbyter were all one, he might see that, in his time also, there remained a proof thereof ; because a Bishop then did nothing, except ordination, which a Presbyter could not do.’—Out of the Scriptures *Jerome* proveth, that in those times, when the Scriptures were written, the name *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* were confounded (*Epist. ad Evag.*) ; because, as the name *Episcopus* was given to *Presbyters*, (*Phil. i., Acts. xx., Tit. i.*) so the name *Presbyter* to *Apostles* and *Bishops*, as *1 Tim.*, c. iv., v. 14 ; where *Jerome* understandeth, as before, by *Presbyterium*, *Episcopatus*, *1 Pet. v. 1.* *Joan. Epist. ii. and iii.* And this is *Jerome*’s first argument, that Presbyters are superior to Deacons. But hence it doth not follow that therefore the offices of a Bishop and Presbyter are confounded ; especially, after the institution of a Bishop.—Doth *Jerome* think, that every Presbyter is equal in degree with *Timothy*,

eight famous councils[†] in Christendom, viz. Ancyra, Antioch, Sardis, Alexandria, two of Constantinople,

because the office of *Timothy* in *Jerome's* understanding is called *Presbyterium*? or that they are equal with *Peter and John*, because they called themselves *Presbyters*?—His second argument to prove the superiority of Presbyters above Deacons, is, because Bishops were chosen out of Presbyters, and by Presbyters, whereas, contrariwise, he that is chosen from among Deacons, by Deacons, is only an Arch-deacon.—The former part he first illustrateth by the end, which was to avoid schism; and then proveth it by the practice of the Church of Alexandria.—In his setting down the end, he lets fall one word, which if it be not favourably expounded, will make him contradict himself and the truth. For upon the allegation of *St. John's* second and third Epistle, he saith, '*Quod autem postea unus electus*'—that one 'afterwards' was chosen who should be set over the rest, it was provided as a remedy against schism, lest every one drawing after him should rend the Church of Christ.—What say you, *Jerome*—were Bishops first ordained after *St. John's* time? Do not yourself testify that *St. James*, a little after the ascension of Christ, was by the Apostles made Bishop of Jerusalem;—that *Mark* was Bishop of Alexandria;—that ever since his time, (and he died almost forty years before *St. John*,) there hath been a Bishop in a degree superior to other Presbyters;—that *Timothy* was Bishop of Ephesus, &c.?—That word 'afterwards' therefore is not to be referred to *St. John's* time, but to those testimonies where he proved the name *Episcopus* to be given to *Presbyters*; which custom, as he supposeth, continued until one of the *Presbyters*, being chosen from among the rest, was called *Bishop*. For indeed, while *Apostles*, or *Apostolic men*, were made *Bishops*, *Bishops* were called *Apostles of the Churches*. But when out of the *Presbyters* one was chosen, he began, for difference sake, to be called *the Bishop, the Angel of the Church*. Now that Bishops were chosen out of Presbyters, and by Presbyters, he proveth by the example of the Church at Alexandria; for even at Alexandria, from *Mark* the Evangelist, unto *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, Bishops, (who were not chosen from among the Presbyters,) the Presbyters have always called one, chosen from among themselves, and placed in a higher degree, *the Bishop*, even as if an army do choose their General,

the Arausican Council, and that of Hispalis. The next point in which bishops are superior to presby-

or Deacons choose from among themselves one, whom they know to be industrious, and call him the Archdeacon. His fourth argument is this.—There be many things which a Bishop by the power of his order may do, which a Deacon cannot; but there is nothing which a Bishop may do by the power of order, excepting ordination, which a Presbyter may not do. A Presbyter is therefore by so much superior to a Deacon, by how much he is nearer to the Bishop. This is the very scope of this place, and to the same are all the arguments following referred. The sum whereof is, that the Presbyter is a degree between the Bishops and Deacons.—You see then, what *Jerome* proveth out of the *Scriptures*; not that the *office*, but the *name* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were for a time confounded.—Now let us see what he proveth ‘by the practice of the Church at Antioch;’ he would say at Alexandria, ‘that of old a Bishop and a Presbyter were all one.—See you not how he proveth it, when he saith, that ever since Mark’s time the Bishop hath been ‘*placed in a higher degree above the Presbyters*?’—Was this to prove that a Bishop and Presbyter are equal, or all one? Or did *Jerome* intend any thing else, but to prove the *Presbyters* superior to *Deacons*, and that by such arguments as before I analysed? We have heard what *Jerome* proveth out of the *Scriptures*, and practice of the Church at *Alexandria*; now at the last, let us hear the end of his speech;—‘That he (I know not who) might see, that in his time also there remained a proof thereof, because a Bishop even then did nothing, except ordination, which a Presbyter could not do.’ *Toto cælo errat*; it was not *Jerome*’s end to prove the *Presbyter* equal with the *Bishop*, but superior to the *Deacon*; for if the former had been his intent, this, and the other from the practice of Alexandria, had been very untoward arguments to prove his purpose.—At Alexandria the Bishop, ever since Mark’s time, was superior to Presbyters in degree, therefore they were equal! The Bishop is superior in the power of ordination, therefore Presbyters be his equals! Hath not the Refuter now great cause, think you, to crake of this answer? Was this, among all the testimonies which I alleged, chosen as most misalleged, by occasion whereof he ‘might pay me mine own, and tell me that it was wherried in with oars by

ters, is the power of *jurisdiction*⁵; that consists in regulating divine service, and the administration of

him that looked another way.'—Blessed be God, that so guided me in the way of truth, that, among all my allegations, the Refuter hath not been able to charge me with misalleging any one. As for this, nothing could be more pregnant and pertinent to prove, that *Bishops were superior to Presbyters in ordination*, than as I said in the sermon, that *Jerome* himself, even when and where he seeketh to advance the Presbyters as high as he can, above the Deacons, doth confess *ordination* to be peculiar to *Bishops*.—Now, whereas *Jerome* saith a Presbyter may do any thing which a Bishop doth, excepting ordination, I did easily foresee it would be objected, that if Bishops be superior only in the power of ordination, then are they not superior in *jurisdiction*. This objection I prevented in these words.—'Where you are not to understand him, or other of the Fathers, speaking sometime to the like purpose, as though the Bishops were not superior in any thing else; but that, *potestate ordinis*, as touching power of order, he is superior only in ordination. For that he is superior *potestate jurisdictionis*, they every where acknowledge.' I know some* answer, that in *Jerome's* judgment Bishops are *jure divino*, superior to other ministers, only in the power of ordination; but in the power of jurisdiction *jure apostolico*; in that he acknowledgeth, that superiority of Bishops was brought in by the Apostles necessarily for the avoiding of schisms. Which answer I refusing, because *Jerome* † saith the like of the superiority of the Bishops in general, and of the power of ordination in particular, that it was reserved to the Bishop *ne a multis disciplina Ecclesie vindicata, concordiam sacerdotum solveret, et scandala generaret*, made choice of this other, as the more like to be true....Whereas therefore I expounded *Jerome* and some others, who say the Bishop is superior to the Presbyters only in ordination, as not meaning that he is not superior also in the power of jurisdiction, but that in respect of the power of order, he was superior only in the right of ordaining; because whereas other parts of the power of order be common to him with Presbyters, that of ordaining is his peculiar right and prerogative;

* *Bell. de Cler.* l. i. c. 15.

† *Advers. Lucifer.*—in *Titu* i.—*ad Evagr.*—*de 7 Ordin. Eccles.*

the sacraments, St. Paul gave Timothy this direction, that “first of all supplications, prayers,

I did not speak without understanding. *Jerome*, and some other Fathers, acknowledging the Bishop to be superior in jurisdiction, and yet affirming that he is superior only in the right of ordination or imposing hands, must thus be understood, as judging the Bishop to be superior only therein, *quoad ordinis potestatem, as touching the power of order*; they holding other things belonging to the power of order, as the ministry of the Word, and Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, to be common to Bishops with other ministers; but the power of ordination to be peculiar to the Bishops, and, in their judgments, not communicable to Presbyters; because as *Thomas* saith, ‘*ea quæ sunt ordinis non possunt committi nisi habenti ordinem.*’”—Bishop Downname's *Defence*, &c., Book iii., c. 4. See also *A Sermon defending the honourable function of Bishops*, by the same Author, pp. 87—93, in support of which the former work was published, against the objection of Paul Baynes.

⁴ See also Dr. Downname's *Defence*, book 3, ch. 4. “That the power of ordination was peculiar to the bishop in the judgment of the Fathers, I prove, first, by the authority of *Councils*; then by the testimonies of *Epiphanius* and *Jerome*. To the former he * answereth, ‘It is to no purpose to meddle with these allegations out of the councils, which were well nigh three hundred years after the Apostles' times, and some of them such as deserve neither imitation, nor approbation.’—Here let the Christian reader judge what credit he deserveth, that so contemptuously shaketh off the authority of antient Councils, even the second among the four antient general Councils, which are and have been, from time to time, received in the Church,† as it were four Gospels. But let us examine the particulars, and consider whether they deserve to be so lightly rejected. The first testimony was taken out of an epistle ‡ written by the Presbyters

* A ‘Nameless Author,’ who published a *Reply* to Dr. Downname's *Sermon*, preached at the Consecration of the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

† Greg. Mag. L. i. Epis. 24. “*Sicut Evangelii 4 libros, sic 4 concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor.*”

‡ *Athana. apol. 2. in Epist. Presb. et Deacon Mareot. ad curios. et Philagr. præfect. Ægypti.*

intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men ; for kings, and all that are in authority ; that

and Deacons of Mareot, in the behalf of *Athanasius* the Great, their bishop, who was accused, for that by his appointment *Macarius* had disturbed one *Ischyras*, a pretended Presbyter, in the administration of the Communion, and had broken the sacred cup. They testify these things to be false ; and, among the rest, they deny that *Ischyras* was a Presbyter, because he was ordained of *Colluthus*, the Presbyter, who was but an imaginary or phantastical* bishop, and afterwards by a General Council,† to wit, by *Osius* and the Bishops who were with him, commanded to remain a Presbyter as he had been before ; for which cause, all that were ordained of *Colluthus*, among whom was *Ischyras*, returned to their former place and order. The like is testified by the synod of *Alexandria*, ‡ which denieth that *Ischyras* could be ordained Presbyter by *Colluthus*, ‘*seeing Colluthus himself died a Presbyter, and all his ordinations were reversed, and all that were ordained by him were held as laymen.*’—καὶ πᾶσα χεῖρ αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἀκυρος.—Hereunto we may add another most pregnant testimony, expressed in the acts of the same general Council of *Sardica*, § wherein it was decreed, that ‘*forasmuch as Musæus and Eutychianus were not ordained Bishops, that therefore such clerks as they had ordained should be held as laymen.*’—My second testimony is out of the second general § Council, concerning *Maximus*, who being by birth an Alexandrian, and by profession a Cynic Philosopher, before he was converted to Christianity, and received into the clergy by Gregory the Divine, against whom he ambitiously sought the Bishoprick of Constantinople, bribing the Bishops of Egypt ; who being come to Constantinople, and excluded out of the Church, went into a certain minstrel’s house, and there unlawfully chose *Maximus* the Cynic to be Bishop of Constantinople.—The general Council therefore, assembled at Constantinople,

* φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπῆν.

† This seems to have been the general Council of *Sardica*, which was not 250 years after the Apostles’ times.

‡ *Epist. Synod. Alex. in Apol. 2. Athanas.*

§ *Vid. Balsam. in Conc. Sardic. c. 18, 19.*

§ *Constantinop. i. c. 4, Græc. et 6, Lat.—Balsam. in Conc. Constant. i. c. 4.*

men may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty." (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 7.) And

determineth thus concerning *Maximus*:—that 'he neither was nor is a Bishop, neither they clerks who had been ordained by him, in whatsoever degree of the clergy.'*—And to this I will add another testimony out of the fourth general Council, † where *Bassianus*, who had been Bishop of Ephesus, and now sought to recover it, alleged for himself,—'that if he were not Bishop, then were not they clerks which had been ordained by him.' . . . These testimonies plainly evince, that in the primitive Church, the power of ordination was so in Bishops, as that either themselves did ordain, or if this power were communicated to others, it was by leave and permission from them. And little reason had the refuter so lightly to esteem these testimonies, as being under age. For unless he be able to shew, that in the first 200 years the Presbyters either had *de jure* the power to ordain, or that *de facto* they did use to ordain, which he will never be able to shew, the worst of these testimonies for the Bishops, is of more worth than all that he shall be able to say against them. Let him produce, if he can, any one testimony of Scripture, any one sentence out of the Councils, Histories, or Fathers, proving that Presbyters without a Bishop had right to ordain, and I will yield to him.... But to return to my proofs: for one there remaineth yet out of the Councils, shewing that in ancient times, they were so far from permitting Presbyters without a Bishop to ordain, that when as a certain Bishop, in the ordination of one Presbyter and two Deacons, used only the help of a Presbyter to read the words of consecration, and to bless them, himself laying on his hands, but being not able from the pain of his eyes to read, the Council of *Hispalis*‡, reversed the ordination as unlawful. This is the Council which the refuter judged 'to deserve neither imitation nor approbation;' by which censure of this one, though he durst not give it of any of the aforementioned Councils; yet it being indefinitely propounded, he discrediteth the rest with the unlearned, who are not

* *Soz.* l. vii. c. 9. μητε κληρικες τες υπ' αυτου χειροτονηθεντας εν οω δηποτε βαδμω κληρυ.

† *Conc. Chalc. Act.* 11.

‡ *Concil. Hisp.* ii. c. 5. *Dist.* xxiii. c. 14.

this power of regulating divine service,⁶ necessarily implies the chief power of administering the sacra-

able to distinguish. But let us hear more particularly his grave censure of this Council ; ‘ What a toy was it for the Council of Seville in Spain to reverse the ordination,’ &c.—What a boy is this, (might these Fathers say), that presumeth thus to censure us ?—Was not *Isidor*, the Archbishop of Seville, the president of this Council, and author of these Canons, one of the most learned of the writers which have been in the Church within this thousand years ?—Was not this Council held against the hereticks called *Acephali*, and did it not learnedly and judiciously confute them ?—Did these grave Fathers toy, when by grave censures they sought to preserve the discipline and Canons of the Church, to maintain the lawful authority of Bishops, and to prevent the presumptuous usurpation of Presbyters, contrary to the Canons of the Church ? Had not the ancient Council of * Orange decreed.—‘ *That if any Bishop should by any infirmity or weakness, either fall into the dulness of his senses, (as this Bishop did,) or lose the faculty of speech, he should not suffer Presbyters, (as this Bishop also did,) under his presence, to do those things which are not done, but by Bishops ; but that he should call for a Bishop, to whom he may commit that which is to be done in the Church !*’—The testimony of *St. Jerome*, in favour of the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters *in potestate ordinis*, is given in the words of Dr. Downam in a previous note (see page 59, note 3.) For that of *Epiphanius*, I must refer the reader to the *Defence*, p. 94, book iii, c. 4, sect. 17.

⁵ “The primitive Church expressing the calling and offices of a bishop, did it in terms of presidency and authority. *Episcopus typum Dei Patris omnium gerit*, saith St. Ignatius, ‘the bishop carries the representment of God the Father,’ that is, in power and authority, to be sure, (for how else ?) so as to be the supreme *in suo ordine*, ‘in offices ecclesiastical.’ And again, *Quid enim aliud est episcopus quam is, qui omni principatu et potestate superior est ?* Here his superiority and advantage is expressed to be in his ‘power ;’ ‘a bishop is greater and higher than all other in power,’ viz. *in materia, or gradu religionis*. And in his Epistle to the Magnesians : *Hortor ut hoc sit omnibus*

* *Conc. Arausican*, c, 29.

ments;⁷ a power conferred immediately upon the Apostles by Christ Himself; the one at the last

studium, in Dei concordia omnia agere, episcopo præsidente loco Dei: 'Do all things in unity, the bishop being president in the place of God.' 'President' in all things. And with a fuller tide yet, in his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna: *Honora episcopum, ut principem sacerdotum imaginem Dei referentem, Dei quidem propter principatum, Christi vero propter sacerdotium.* It is full of fine expression, both for eminence of order and jurisdiction. The bishop is 'the prince of the priests, bearing the image of God for his principality,' that is, his jurisdiction and power; but 'of Christ Himself for his priesthood,' that is, his order. St. Ignatius hath spoken fairly; and if we consider that he was so primitive a man that himself saw Christ in the flesh, and lived a man of exemplary sanctity, and died a martyr, and hath been honored as a holy catholic by all posterity, certainly these testimonies must needs be of great pressure, being *sententiæ repetiti dogmatis*, not casually slipped from him and by incogitancy, but resolutely and frequently.....

"But the instances of this kind are infinite; two may be as good as twenty, and these they are. The first is of St. Ambrose: *Honor et sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari;* 'The honour and sublimity of episcopal order is beyond all comparison great.' And their commission he specifies to be in *pasce oves meas; unde regendæ sacerdotibus contraduntur, merito rectoribus suis subdi dicuntur, &c.*; 'The sheep are delivered to bishops as to rulers, and are made their subjects;' and in the next chapter, *Hæc vero cuncta, fratres, ideo nos prænisisse cognoscere debetis, ut ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc sæculo excellentius sacerdotibus, nihil sublimius episcopis reperiri: ut cum dignitatem episcopatus episcoporum oraculis demonstramus, et digne noscamus quid sumus, actione potius quam nomine demonstramus;* 'These things I have said, that you may know nothing is higher, nothing more excellent than the dignity and eminence of a bishop,' &c. The other is of St. Jerome: *Cura totius ecclesiæ ad episcopum pertinet;* 'The care of the whole Church appertains to the bishop.' But more confidently spoken is that in his dialogue *adversus Luciferianos: Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur*

supper, "Do this," that is, administer the Lord's supper, for that was the act in which our Saviour

potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes; 'The safety of the Church consists in the dignity of a bishop, to whom, unless an eminent and unparalleled power be given by all, there will be as many schisms as priests.'

"Here is dignity and authority and power enough expressed; and if words be expressive of things, (and there is no other use of them,) then the bishop is superior in a peerless and incomparable authority; and all the whole diocese are his subjects, viz. *in regimine spirituali*."—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 34.

Again,—“What the authority of Bishops was in the primitive Church in respect of government, (writes Dr. Downam), I will first shew absolutely, and then by way of comparison with Presbyters.—What the *αὐθεντία*, as the Council of Carthage (*C. Carth. Græ.* ch. 68,) calleth the authority of Bishops, was, may first appear by this, that they were accounted the governors and rulers of the Churches, meaning thereby Dioceses. For though there were many ministers, who were Angels, Pastors, Bishops, yet there was but one in every church, which was the Angel, the Pastor, the Bishop, the governor of the Church; bearing, as *Ignatius* saith, the sway of authority above and over them all. (*Ignat. ad. Trall.*) But I delight to hear *Jerome*, the only pretended patron of the Disciplinarians; who confesseth, as we have heard, (*contra Lucifer.*) that of necessity a peerless power and eminent above all, is to be attributed to Bishops, and that the safety of the Church dependeth thereon. He therefore, in his commentary upon *Esay*, chap. 60, v. 17, reading according to the *Septuagint*, (*Hier.* 1 *Esa.* 60.) ‘I will give thy Princes in peace, and thy Bishops in righteousness,’ saith, ‘Herein the majesty of the Holy Scriptures is to be admired, which calleth, *principes futuros Ecclesiæ, Episcopos*, the Princes or Rulers, which should be of the Church, *Bishops*; whose visitation is all in peace, and the name of their dignity,’ (meaning their superintendence,) ‘in righteousness.’ And on those words of the 45th Psalm (*Hier.* in *Psa.* 45.) ‘Instead of Fathers children shall be borne unto thee,’—‘O Church (saith he) the Apostles were thy Fathers, for they begat thee. Now, forasmuch as they are gone out of the world, thou hast Bishops who were borne

was engaged, "Do this in remembrance of me;" the other after His resurrection, "Go ye, and teach

of thee. For these also are thy Fathers, because thou art governed of them.' And on the words following—'Whom thou shalt make Princes in all the earth,' 'for (saith he) in the name of God the gospel is spread in all ends of the world, in which *Principes Ecclesiæ*, id est, *Episcopi*, the princes of the Church, that is to say, the *Bishops*, are placed.' On which words *Augustine* also doth comment to the like purpose. 'Instead of the Apostles, sons are borne to thee, *Bishops* are ordained; think not thyself forsaken, because thou seest not *Peter* and *Paul* who begat thee; of thine own issue is sprung a fatherhood; *Agnoscant qui præcisi sunt; veniant ad unitatem*, &c. Let them which are precise, or cut off by schism, acknowledge it, and come unto unity. The Church hath borne sons, and instead of her fathers, hath made them princes over all the earth;' (*Aug. in Psal. 45*) *Optatus* likewise calleth the Bishops '*apices et principes omnium*.' (*Lib. 2 advers. Parmen.*)"—Bishop Downname, having quoted the Council of *Carthage* and other authorities, again adduceth *Jerome*. "But what saith *Jerome*? He having intreated of the other degrees of the Clergy, at the last cometh to intreat *de præcipuo gradu Ecclesiæ*, of the chief degree of the Church, *qui ordo episcopalis est*, which is the order of *Bishops*; the power whereof he setteth down in these words; 'He ordaineth Priests and Levites,' that is Presbyters and Deacons, &c. He governeth the Church of God; he sheweth what every one ought to do; he condemneth, he receiveth, he bindeth, he looseth that which was bound; he hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven; he openeth and shutteth the throne of God, (meaning heaven,) having nothing (meaning no ecclesiastical order) above him,' &c. But the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters I shewed in the sermon by comparing the *jurisdiction* of Bishops with that which Presbyters have, both in regard of the greatness and largeness, and also in respect of the derivation thereof. The Presbyter's jurisdiction is over the flock of one parish; the jurisdiction of the Bishop is over the whole Diocese. The Presbyter's is private in the court of conscience; the Bishop's public, and in the external court also. The Presbyter governeth the people only of one flock; the Bishop governeth not only the people of the whole diocese, but the

all nations, baptizing them," &c. ; and through them upon the bishops, the successors of the Apostles. Presbyters, indeed, have the power of administering the sacraments, but cannot exercise it without authority from the bishop⁶. This we are expressly taught by Ignatius⁹, who was nearly contemporary with Timothy, and perfectly well acquainted with several of, if not all, the Apostles. The councils of Laodicea, Arles, and Toledo, say, " The presbyters shall do nothing without the consent of the bishop,

Presbyters also themselves. The Presbyters receive institution unto their jurisdiction from the Bishop, and exercise it under the Bishop of the Diocese, who having, (as the council of *Antioch* and *Jerome* say,) the care of the whole Church or Diocese, admits the Presbyters *in partem sollicitudinis*, into part of their care, by giving them institution to their several parishes. The Presbyters do answer to the sons of Aaron, and are successors of the seventy disciples, as divers of the Fathers do teach ; but the Bishops answer to *Aaron*, and are the successors of the Apostles, as I prove by the testimony of *Jerome*, (*Hieron. ad Marcel. advers Montan.*) who saith, that in the true Church Bishops do hold the place of the Apostles ; and of *Irenæus*, (*Lib. iii. c. 3.*) that the Apostles left the Bishops their successors, delivering unto them their own place of government."—Bishop Downname's *Defence*, book iii. ch. v. p. 111.

⁶ Bingham, vol i. p. 111. See also Archbishop Potter on *Church Government*, ch. iii. p. 66. ; and Heylyn's *Hist. of Epis.* pt. i. ch. v. sec. 8.

⁷ Bingham, vol. i. pp. 80—82. See Archbishop Potter, ch. iii. p. 70, et seq. ; and Heylyn's *Hist. of Epis.* pt. i. ch. v. sec. 9.

⁸ Bingham, vol. i. p. 81.

⁹ " *Quemadmodum enim Dominus sine Patre nihil facit, ' nec enim possum facere a meipso quicquam : ' sic et vos sine Episcopo, nec Presbyter, nec Diaconus, nec laicus ; nec quicquam videatur vobis consentaneum, quod sit præter illius judicium ; quod enim tale est, et Deo inimicum.*"—*Epist. ad Magnesianos.*

without his privity or knowledge." Under this head may be placed the bishop's authority to prevent presbyters from preaching false doctrine¹, "Charge them not to preach doctrines which rather minister questions than godly edifying." (1 Tim. i. 3, 4.) But what was Timothy to do if they did not obey his charge? He must silence them, as Titus was particularly directed to do. "There are many," writes St. Paul, "whose mouths must be stopped, teaching things that they ought not." (Titus i. 11.) "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject," (Titus iii. 10.) is the command given directly to Titus by St. Paul; a passage respecting which even Calvin writes, *Tito scribens Paulus. non disserit de officio magistratus, sed quid episcopo conveniat*; and St. Jerome (notwithstanding his desire to elevate the presbyter²), declares, that this power belongs to the

¹ Bingham, vol. i. p. 83. And Heylyn's *Hist. of Epis.* pt. 1, ch. 5, sec. 11.

² "Wherein, if a man suppose that Jerome and Chrysostom knew no difference at all between a presbyter and a bishop, let him weigh but one or two of their sentences. The pride of insolent bishops hath not a sharper enemy than Jerome; for which cause he taketh often occasions most severely to inveigh against them; sometimes for showing disdain and contempt of the clergy under them; sometimes for not suffering themselves so be told of their faults, and admonished of their duty by inferiors; sometimes for not admitting their presbyters to teach, if so be themselves were in presence; sometimes for not vouchsafing to use any conference with them, or to take any counsel of them. Howbeit, never doth he in such wise bend himself against their disorders, as to deny their rule and authority over presbyters."—Hooker, *Episcopal Jurisdiction Asserted by Jerome*, book vii. ch. vi.

office of a bishop. "I wonder," says he³, speaking of Vigilantius, a presbyter, who propagated false doctrines, "I wonder that the bishop, in whose diocese he is a presbyter, has so long given way to his impiety, and that he has not rather broken in pieces, with the apostolic and iron rod, this unprofitable vessel." This was the very rod which was put into the hands of Timothy and Titus by St. Paul. It was peculiar to the bishop in Jerome's day, and he calls it an *apostolic* rod, and consequently it was no usurpation. But episcopal jurisdiction extends beyond this; it appertains to the correction of morals⁴, so far as it can be done by

Again, "The ancient Christian people, yea, and the ancient Christian presbyters, owned their bishops as fathers, in a precedency and presidency of place, degree, dignity, and authority ecclesiastical.

"Thus did St. Jerome write with respect to St Austin as a bishop, and his junior in age, yet so far his superior; although St. Austin's humility, indeed, so far compliments with, and cools the other's heat, as to say, that although bishop Austin's precedency before Presbyter Jerome was by ecclesiastical use and custom, (very old, apostolic, and universal,) yet, as to the truth of personal worth and eminency of merit, Presbyter Jerome was above Bishop Austin."—Dr. Gauden's *Sermon at the Funeral of Dr. Brownrig, bishop of Exeter*.—See also Dr. R. Mocket's *Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. 5.—Downname's *Defence*, Book iii. ch. iv., p. 101.—Brokesby's *Primitive Church*, ch. xiv.—Saravia's *Treatise on the different degrees of the Christian Priesthood*, ch. xxiii.—And Note 3, p. 59.

³ "*Miror sanctum episcopum, in cujus parochia presbyter esse dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, et non virga apostolica virgaque ferrea confringere vas inutile.*"—Ep. 53. ad Ripar.

⁴ See Archbishop Potter on *Church Government*, ch. iii. p. 67.

ecclesiastical censure⁵. Both presbyters and people were in this respect subject to the bishop.⁶ St. Paul says to Timothy, "Against an elder (i. e. a presbyter⁷) receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses," and, "them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear." (1 Tim. v. 19, 20.) Presbyters then were subject to censure; but to whose? To that of their *congregation*? No such absurdity; but to their bishop's⁸, to Timothy's.

⁵ Bingham, vol. i. book ii. ch. iv.

⁶ The reader may peruse with advantage the fifth section of the second part of Bishop Hall's *Episcopacy by Divine Right*.

⁷ See *Whitby, ad loc.*

⁸ "St. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Church of Trallis, *Necesse itaque est*, saith he, *quicquid facitis, ut sine episcopo nihil tentetis*. So the Latin of Vedelius, which I the rather choose, because I am willing to give all the advantage I can. 'It is necessary,' saith the good martyr, 'that whatsoever ye do, you should attempt nothing without your bishop.' And to the Magnesians: *Decet itaque vos obedire episcopo, et in nullo illi refragari*; 'It is fitting that ye should obey your bishop, and in nothing to be refractory to him.' Here is both a *decet* and a *necesse est* already; 'it is very fitting, it is necessary.' But if it be possible, we have a fuller expression yet, in the same epistle: *Quemadmodum enim Dominus sine Patre nihil facit, 'Nec enim possum facere a meipso quicquam:.' sic et vos sine episcopo, nec diaconus, nec laicomus*, nec laicus; nec quicquam videatur vobis consentaneum quod sit præter illius judicium; quod enim tale est, et Deo inimicum*. Here is obedience universal, both in respect of things and persons; and all this no less than absolutely necessary. 'For as Christ obeyed his Father in all things, saying, 'Of myself I can do nothing;' so nor you without your bishop, whoever you be, whether priest, or deacon,

* *Sic* in Bp. Heber's edition of Bp. Taylor's Works, and in folio, 3rd edit., 1674. In the original the words are, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μηδὲ διάκονος, μηδὲ λαϊκός.

The *laity*⁹ also were subject to Timothy's correction :
 " an elderly man," he was to " entreat as a father ;"

or layman ; let nothing please you which the bishop dislikes ; for all such things are wicked, and in enmity with God.' But it seems St. Ignatius was mightily in love with this precept, for he gives it to almost all the churches he writes to. We have already reckoned the Trallians and the Magnesians. But the same he gives to the priests of Tarsus, *πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτασσέτωσαν ἐπισκόπῳ*, ' Ye presbyters, be subject to your bishop.' The same to the Philadelphians : *Sine episcopo nihil facite*, ' Do nothing without your bishop.' But this is better explicated in his epistle to the Church of Smyrna : *Sine episcopo nemo quicquam faciat eorum, quæ ad ecclesiam spectant* ; ' No man may do any thing without the bishop,' viz. ' of those things which belong to the Church.' So that this saying expounds all the rest ; for this universal obedience is to be understood according to the sense of the Church ; viz. to be in all things of ecclesiastical cognizance, all Church affairs. And therefore he gives a charge to St. Polycarp, their bishop, that he also look to it that nothing be done without his leave. *Nihil sine tuo arbitrio agatur, nec item tu quicquam præter Dei facies voluntatem* ; ' As thou must do nothing against God's will, so let nothing (in the Church) be done without thine.' By the way, observe, he says not, that as the presbytery must do nothing without the bishop, so the bishop nothing without them : but, so the bishop nothing without God. But so it is, ' nothing must be done without the bishop ;' and therefore, although he encourages them that can to remain in virginity ; yet this, if it be either done with pride or without the bishop, it is spoiled. For, *Si gloriatus fuerit, periit ; et si id ipsum statuatur sine episcopo, corruptum est*. His last dictate in this Epistle to St. Polycarp, is with an *Episcopo attendite, sicut et Deus vobis* ; ' The way to have God to take care of us, is to observe our Bishop.' *Hinc et vos decet accedere sententiæ episcopi, qui secundum Deum vos pascit ; quemadmodum et facitis, edocti à Spiritu* ; ' You must therefore conform to the sentence of the bishop ; as indeed ye do already, being taught to do so by God's Holy Spirit.'

" There needs no more to be said in this cause, if the authority of so great a man will bear so great a burden. What the man was, I said before ; what these epistles are, and of what authority, let it rest upon

(1 Tim. v. 1.) the “younger men” were to be “rebuked” with greater freedom, but still with lenity.

Vedelius, a man who is in no wise to be suspected as a party for episcopacy; or rather upon the credit of Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Ruffinus, who reckon the first seven, out of which I have taken these *excerpta*, for natural and genuine. And now I will make this use of it. Those men that call for reduction of episcopacy to the primitive state, should do well to stand close to their principles, and count that the best episcopacy which is first; and then consider but what St. Ignatius hath told us for direction in this affair, and see what is gotten in the bargain. For my part, since they that call for such a reduction hope to gain by it, and then would most certainly have abidden by it, I think it not reasonable to abate any thing of Ignatius' height, but expect such subordination and conformity to the bishop, as he then knew to be a law of Christianity. But let this be remembered all along, in the specification of the parts of their jurisdiction.”—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 35.—See also Dr. Downam's *Defence*, book iii. ch. v., and *Sermon, Defending the Honorable function of Bishops*, pp. 46—50,—and Heylyn's *Hist. of Epis.* pt. i. ch. v. sect. 13.

⁹ “I shall not need to derive hither any more particular instances of the duty and obedience owing from the laity to the bishop; for this account will certainly be admitted by all considering men. God hath intrusted the souls of the laity to the care of the ecclesiastical orders; they, therefore, are to submit to the government of the clergy in matters spiritual, with which they are intrusted. For, either there is no government at all, or the laity must govern the Church, or else the clergy must. To say there is no government, is to leave the Church in worse condition than a tyranny. To say that the laity should govern the Church, when all ecclesiastical ministries are committed to the clergy, is to say Scripture means not what it says; for it is to say, that the clergy must be *præpositi*, and *πρωτοῦτες*, and *prælati*: and yet the prelation, and presidency, and rule, is in them who are not ever, by God's Spirit, called presidents or prelates, and that it is not in them who are so called. In the mean time, if the laity, in matters spiritual, are inferior to the clergy, and must, in things pertaining to the soul, be ruled by

Thus the Apostle minutely enumerates the several powers in the commission with which Timothy was invested'. And as if this were not enough, he par-

them to whom their souls are intrusted; then, also, much rather they must obey those of the clergy, to whom all the other clergy themselves are bound to be obedient. Now, since by the frequent precept of so many councils and fathers, the deacons and presbyters must submit, in all things, to the bishop, much more must the laity; and, since the bishop must rule in chief, and the presbyters, at the most, can but rule in conjunction and assistance, but ever in subordination to the bishop, the laity must obey *de integro*. For that is to keep them in that state in which God hath placed them."—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 35.

See also Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 97—100. In book ii. chap. iv. sect. 1, Bingham writes, "The power of the bishop over the people will, upon enquiry, be found to extend itself over all persons, of what rank or quality soever, within their diocese, or the bounds and limits of their jurisdiction.....Ignatius makes bold to say, that 'as he that honours his bishop is honoured of God, so he that does any thing covertly, in opposition to him, is the servant of Satan.' And St. Cyprian defines the Church to be 'a people united to its bishop, a flock adhering to its pastor;' whence 'the Church may be said to be in the bishop, and the bishop in the Church; and if any are not with their bishop, they are not in the Church.'—See also Dr. Downname's *Defence*, &c. book iii. ch. 5,—and Heylyn's *Hist. of Epis.* pt. i. ch. v. sect. 14.

¹ "Nec minùs liquidum est, tum ex ipsis Scripturis Sacris, tum ex veterum monumentis, Beatos Apostolos quam a Christo Domino acceperant potestatem Episcopalem, in reliquos Evangelii ministros non omnibus promiscuè, ita ut unus quisque non nisi omnium fratrum cœtui subjiendus foret, sed quibusdam tantum *συνεργῶσις* communicasse, et ministerium variis ordinibus ac gradibus distinctum in Ecclesiâ constituisse; et ut esset unus aliquis, ad quem et novorum ministrorum ordinatio, et in jam ordinatos inspectio peculiari modo pertineret, cum autoritate delinquentes et in officio cessantes, pro delicti ratione, monendi atque corrigendi, ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem. Eam potestatem à sancto Christi Apostolo *Paulo*, Timotheum et Titum accepisse, luculen-

ticularly defines the limits of those powers which were conferred upon the *presbyters*. When he met

tius est quam ut negari queat, nisi ab eo qui adeo cœcutit, ut ne ea quidem cernat quæ ipsius oculis obversantur. Hæc enim legas in Epistolis quas ad eos scripsit Apostolus. '*Permane in eis quæ didicisti*, (inquit Timotheo,) *et quæ tibi concredita sunt, sciens a quo didiceris.*' (2 Tim. iii.) '*Et quæ audisti ex me inter multos testes, hæc committe fidelibus hominibus, qui idonei sint ad alios quoque docendos*' (2 Tim. ii.) '*Manus cito ne cui imponito, ne cum alienis communices peccatis.*' (1 Tim. v.) '*Hujus rei gratia reliqui te in Creta, (sic Titum alloquitur,) ut quæ reliqua sunt pergas corrigere, et constituas oppidatim Presbyteros, sicut ego tibi mandavi,*' (Tit. i.) Ex quibus patet, utrique ab Apostolo commissam fuisse potestatem ordinandi ministros ad Evangelii prædicationem. Ostendunt autem sequentia, eos, quos ad sacrum ministerium ordinaverant, licet ipsorum in opere Evangelii συνεργοι fuerint, in inferiore gradu substituisse; adeo ut Timotheo et Tito potestas, sic præcipiente Apostolo, reservata fuerit eosdem monendi, judicandi, corripiendi, exauthorandi. '*Denuncia quibusdam ne diversam doctrinam doceant, nec attendant fabulis.*' (1 Tim. i.) *Adversus Presbyterum accusationem ne admittito, nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus. Eos qui peccant coram omnibus argue, ut reliqui timeant.*' (1 Tim. v.) '*Sunt multi refectarii, et vaniloqui, et mentium deceptores, quibus oportet os obturari. Domos enim totas subvertunt, docentes quæ non oportet, turpis lucri causâ. Hos severe redarguito, ut sani sint in fide, neque attendant Judaicis fabulis et mandatis hominum aversantium veritatem. Hæreticum hominem post unam aut alteram admonitionem rejice.*' (Tit. 1, 2, 3.) Ex iis quæ habentur in 1 Tim. v. 19—22, de accusatione adversus Presbyterum non recipiendâ, et de manibus nemini temerè imponendis, fateri cogitur Cl. Beza in Annotatis ad ea loca, '*Timotheum in Ephesino Presbyterio tum fuisse Antistitem.*' Quod autem hic vel maximè observandum, erant in Ephesiorum Ecclesia, quod supponit Beza, plures Presbyteri; (Act. xx,) antequam S. Paulus illius curam Timotheo committeret; quorum collegio si concessa fuisset ab Apostolo potestas alios Presbyteros ordinandi, et in singulos jurisdictio, quid opus erat novoInspectore Timotheo, ad ea munia obeunda? Idem de Tito et Cretensibus Presbyteris quæri potest; cum verisimile non sit, quod quibusdam placet, in

them at Miletus, he gave them this solemn charge, "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood." (Acts xx. 28.) Upon which it has been justly remarked, that "when St. Paul gives his charge to Timothy, it is in plain words, that he is to govern and ordain²

ea regione nullos ab Apostolo fuisse Evangelii ministros ordinatos, in qua tanta fuit fidelium multitudo, ut in una quaque civitate, *κατα πόλιν*, constitui debuerint Presbyteri; hoc est, in iis civitatibus in quibus non jam erant aliqui constituti."—Durelli *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, cap. xxx. p. 371.

² "Next I will prove Timothy and Titus to have the *power of ordination* of Presbyters; this is the argument:—

They, who are commanded to ordain Elders, have the power of ordination.

Timothy and Titus are commanded to ordain Elders.

And therefore Timothy and Titus had the power of Ordination.

The proposition cannot in reason be denied, for Paul would never have commanded them to do that which they had no power to do; yea, the same power of ordination is a part of that commandment which he is bidden to commit to faithful men, to be kept and propagated until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. The assumption is manifest. 1 Tim. v. 22—and Tit. i. 5.

That they had the *power of Jurisdiction* is proved thus:—

They who are commanded to rebuke, censure, and correct, with all authority, and not suffer themselves to be despised, to stay foolish questions and vain babblings, to excommunicate the obstinate, to try and prove those who desire the office of a Bishop, and either to admit or reject them, according to their weakness or ability, have the power of jurisdiction spiritual.

But Timothy and Titus are commanded to do all these things. 1 Tim. iv. 11, 12. 1 Tim. iii. 2,—v. 17, 19, 20. 1 Tim. vi. 17. Tit. i. 11—13, and Tit. iii. 10.

presbyters : when he gives his charge to these presbyters, it is to feed the flock of lay-Christians³.”

And therefore Timothy and Titus have the power of jurisdiction spiritual.

The strength of this argument I refer to the consideration of the learned, for I hope no wise man will say, that these privileges can be divided from the power of jurisdiction. Now, I will use one argument yet, to prove that Timothy and Titus had the *power of Ordination and Jurisdiction jointly*.

If those Bishops, of whom the Apostle Paul speaks in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus, received the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, by those instructions and precepts which the Apostle Paul sets down in those Epistles, then Timothy and Titus much more received the power of ordination and jurisdiction by those instructions of the Apostle Paul set down in those Epistles.

But the first is true, and therefore the second is true also.

The connexion of the proposition is valid enough, for if inferior Bishops (whom the Apostle calleth also elders in that place,) received the power of ordination and jurisdiction, (as is asserted by all the opposers of Episcopacy,) by the apostle's injunctions in those epistles, much more have superior Bishops (as Timothy and Titus were) this twofold power by those injunctions : this is an argument strong enough *ad hominem*, although I confess, that properly Timothy and Titus have not this twofold power here by the Apostle Paul, but only are commanded to put that power in execution which the Apostle Paul before had conferred upon them at their ordination, which also they are commanded to propagate and transmit unto others, for the preservation of the calling, and propagation of the gospel of Christ until his second coming to judgment.”—*Episcopal Government instituted by Christ*, p. 30.

³ “I will prove by three unanswerable Reasons, that *Presbyters did not succeed the Apostles*—

My first Reason I will form thus—

They that were inferior in degree to the Apostles, were not the Apostles' successors in that same order and degree.

But Presbyters were inferior in degree to the Apostles.

It is frivolous to argue from the community of names to the sameness of office. “Although,”

And therefore Presbyters were not the Apostles' successors in that same order and degree.

The proposition I take for granted, for I hope no man will deny it. I prove the assumption, first, by the consent of all the Divines that ever were in this world, next, by the clear evidence of Scripture, throughout all the Book of God, where the Apostles, who were chief Bishops and Overseers both of the Pastors and the people, are clearly distinguished from inferior Bishops, who only have the oversight of the people, as is evident by the Apostle Paul in his directions to the Elders of Ephesus, *Acts xx.*

My second reason I will form thus—

If Elders be the Apostles' Successors, then that same power and authority necessary for the government of the Church, is committed to them by the Apostles, as amply as they themselves had it.

But that same power and authority necessary for the government of the Church, is not committed unto Elders, as amply as the Apostles themselves had it.

And therefore Elders are not the successors of the Apostles.

If any man deny the proposition, I will ask him how it can be possible that Elders can be the Apostles' successors, unless they succeed them in that same power and authority? Truly it is beyond my capacity to conceive and understand it; I know they cannot succeed them in those things that are extraordinary, but in their ordinary power and authority, and that which is perpetually necessary for the government of the Church of Christ, under the gospel, they must succeed them, and they be their successors.

I prove the assumption.—Any one of the Apostles might ordain Elders; so Paul ordained twelve Elders at one time at Ephesus, (*Acts xix*): any one might ordain Bishops; so Paul ordained Timothy and Titus bishops of Ephesus and Crete; for Timothy it is clear, *2 Tim. i. 6*: any one of the Apostles might command Elders and Deacons to preach the gospel any where, as is evident throughout all Paul's epistles, and in the Acts of the Apostles, and which I think no divine will deny: any one of them might prescribe rules and laws to inferior Elders; so did the Apostle Paul to the Elders of Ephesus, (*Acts 20.*)

says Bishop Taylor, "it was so that 'episcopus' and 'presbyter' were distinct in the beginning after the Apostles' death, yet sometimes the names are used promiscuously; which is an evidence that confusion of names is no intimation, much less an argument, for the parity of offices, since themselves, who sometimes, though indeed very seldom, confound the names, yet distinguish the offices frequently and dogmatically⁴." And therefore, though the words bishop and presbyter be used promiscuously, and mere presbyters frequently termed ἐπίσκοποι, if spoken of in conjunction with bishops⁵, yet this by no means proves that therefore the powers⁶ which belong ex-

to Archippus, (*Col.* iv. 17,) who by the declaration of all the antients was a bishop, and so superior to an Elder: any one of the Apostles might command, rebuke, censure, and correct Elders, at their own pleasure, as is most evident in Scripture, and in particular in St. Paul's Epistles: now these things no Elder can do by himself; and therefore, *That same ordinary and necessary power which the Apostles had, is not committed to inferior bishops, but to superior.*"—*Episcopal Government instituted by Christ*, p. 23.

⁴ *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 24; see also sect. 23, and Saravia's *Treatise on the Different Degrees of the Christian Priesthood*, ch. 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.

⁵ Bishop Taylor remarks, that "although bishops be called presbyters, yet, even in Scripture, names are so distinguished, that mere presbyters are never called bishops, unless it be in conjunction with bishops; and then in the general address, which in all fair deportments is made to the more eminent, sometimes presbyters are, or may be, comprehended."—See sects. 23 and 24 of Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*.

⁶ See Bishop Hall's *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, part ii. sect. 1. —Dr. Downname's *Defence*, &c. book iii. chap. iv. p. 88,—and Jackson's *Diss. on Epis.* pp. 33—47.

clusively to those we now call bishops, and who had this distinctive appellation immediately upon the death of the Apostles⁷, before, or at the very beginning of, the second century, were ever vested in presbyters. To reason thus would be to argue that the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, are all one ; for the Apostles are sometimes called *διάκονοι*, (deacons or ministers,) as well as presbyters, nay, our Saviour Himself is called by that name ; (Rom. xv. 8.) and yet no one would argue that deacons have a power to ordain, and are Apostles and bishops, because during the lifetime of the Apostles there was a community of names⁸. And yet this is the

7 "I hesitate not to affirm, upon the authority of St. Clement, (authority little inferior to that of St. Paul,) that episcopal government was a characteristic mark of the Christian Church, as soon as it had acquired any regular establishment ; and although the language of the Apostles has by some been considered as not sufficiently decided on this point, yet, according to the tenor of the answer given by Charles the First to Henderson, there does not appear to be any authority more proper to determine the sense of sacred Scripture, than the authority of the primitive Church."—Daubeny's *Appendix to Guide to the Church*.

8 "If the presbyterians will say, (because they have nothing left to say,) that all London (for example) was but one parish, and that the presbyter of every other parish was as much a bishop as the Bishop of London, because the words *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, bishop and presbyter, are sometimes used in the same sense, they may as well prove that Christ was but a deacon, because He is so called (Rom. xv. 8.), *διάκονος*, which we rightly translate a 'minister'; and *bishop* signifies an *overseer*, and *presbyter* an *ancient man*, or *elder man*; whence our term of *alderman*. And this is as good a foundation to prove that the Apostles were aldermen, in the city acceptance of the

utmost of the argument that can be adduced from the promiscuous use of the words bishop and pres-

word, or that our aldermen are all bishops and apostles, as to prove that presbyters and bishops are all one, from the childish jingle of the words.

"It would be the same thing if one should undertake to confront all antiquity, and prove against all the histories, that the emperors of Rome were no more than generals of armies, and that every Roman general was emperor of Rome, because he could find the word *imperator* sometimes applied to the general of an army.

"Or as if a commonwealth-man should get up and say, that our former kings were no more than our dukes are now, because the style of *Grace*, which is now given to dukes, was then given to kings.

"And suppose that any one were put under the penance of answering to such ridiculous arguments, what method would he take, but to show that the Emperors of Rome, and former kings of England, had generals of armies and dukes under them, and exercised authority over them?

"Therefore when we find it given in charge to Timothy, the first bishop of Ephesus, how he was to proceed against his presbyters when they transgressed, to sit in judgment upon them, examine witnesses against them, and pass censures upon them, it is a most impertinent logomachy to argue, from the etymology of the words, that notwithstanding of all this, a bishop and a presbyter are the same thing; therefore that one text (1 Tim. v. 19.) is sufficient to silence this pitiful clamour of the Presbyterians; our English reads it, 'against an elder,' which is the literal translation of the word *presbyter*, κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου, 'against a presbyter receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses;' and, 'them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear.' Now upon the Presbyterian hypothesis, we must say that Timothy had no authority or jurisdiction over that presbyter against whom he had power to receive accusations, examine witnesses, and pass censures upon him, and that such a presbyter had the same authority over Timothy; which is so extravagant and against common sense, that I will not stay longer to confute it, and think this enough to have said concerning the Presbyterian argument

byter⁹. The only way to prove that the power of *ordination* and *jurisdiction* belongs to presbyters, is to show that whoever had a power to preach and administer the sacraments had also a power to ordain and exercise jurisdiction; or that whoever were called by the name of presbyters or bishops, were invested with such authority. This is a position¹ that never has and never can be proved; on the contrary, it is clear that many, who were authorized to preach and administer the sacraments, had no power of *ordination*² or of *jurisdiction*³. The fact is, as Bishop

from the etymology of the words *bishop* and *presbyter*.”—Leslie’s *Works*, vol. vii. p. 105.—See also Hammond’s *Vind. of Diss. on Epis.* ch. ii.

⁹ Potter on *Church Government*, ch. iii. pp. 116—121.—“It is very strange to see men quarrel about the *name* when the *thing* or *office* is so clearly distinguished; St. Paul calls Timothy a *Deacon*, was he therefore not so much as a *Presbyter*? St. Peter calls Judas a *Bishop*, was he therefore not an *Apostle*? And he calls himself a *Presbyter*, was he therefore not a *Bishop*? Such arguments as these are against all orders whatever. The Fathers themselves tell us, that this very dispute would happen about the name of Bishop, (*Clemens Epis. ad. Corin.* 1.) and they decide it by saying, that though at first the name was promiscuous, yet, upon settling the external form, it became proper; and then it was as ridiculous to misapply it, as to call a King, *Tyrannus*, or a Soldier, *Latro*.” Oldisworth’s *Timothy and Philatheus*, vol. iii. p. 37.—See also Heylyn’s *Hist. of Epis.* pt. i. ch. ii. sect. 15.

¹ Bishop Taylor’s *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 32; and Bishop Sage’s *Reasonableness of Toleration*, page 176.

² Bingham’s *Antiquities*, vol. i. ch. iii. sect. 5, 6, 7.—Barwick’s *Treatise on the Church*, pt. i. ch. 2, 3.

³ “Now for the better clearing of this doctrine, I will prove that Presbyters, or inferior Bishops, have no ways the power of ordination

Beveridge has shown, that all the writers⁴ at the close of the first century, and after that time,

and jurisdiction. I desire any opponent to shew me the place where it is recorded in the Scripture : in the epistles to Timothy and Titus they find it not ; Timothy and Titus are commanded to put all the parts of the Apostolical power in execution, but not those Elders and Deacons of whom the Apostle speaks there, they get no commandment to use that power ; for it is more than evident, that all the injunctions set down in these epistles are given to Timothy and Titus, and all those who were to succeed them in that same order and degree, yea to them as they are singular men, and as superior in order and degree to all those towards whom they are to exercise that power ; and the reason is this, because one man in that same order and degree cannot have power over another in that same rank and order ; one Bishop cannot have power over another, one Presbyter cannot have power over another ; that man that hath power over another, must be superior to him in degree, or he can have no authority over him, that is his own properly ; delegate he may have, but that is not his ; it is his in whose name he exercises that power.

But it will be replied, that this power is given to a company of Presbyters, and not to one in particular. *Answer*, This power is given here to Timothy and Titus as singular persons, and therefore I will make the matter manifest by a formal argument.

That power which is committed to certain particular and singular men in the Ministry, is not committed to a representative body of Ministers.

But the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction is committed to certain particular and singular men in the Ministry.

And therefore it is not committed to a representative body of Ministers.

The proposition cannot be denied, for that which is committed to one singular man in a calling, cannot be said to be committed to the whole company and trade indefinitely : for example, that power which is committed to one alderman in the city, to wit, the master or Lord Mayor, is not committed to the whole council of aldermen ; he hath a different and superior power to all the rest.

As to the assumption, that this power was committed to certain singular men, as to Timothy and Titus, and all those who were to succeed them in the same rank and order, it is more than evident :—

constantly speak of the three^s orders under the three determinate titles of bishops, priests, and

Now to note this by the way, since Presbyters do not succeed to Timothy and Titus, in that same order and degree, the power of ordination cannot be committed unto them.

Furthermore, if the power of ordination and jurisdiction be committed to Presbyters, as they are singular men, every Presbyter hath alike power and authority within his own charge, every one is Pope in his own parish, and may command, rule, and govern, as he thinks good, for who can controul him? None of his brethren have any more power over him, than he hath over them, for every one hath equal power and authority transmitted unto them, and this is downright Brownism.

But it may be replied, that the Presbytery hath power over all particular ministers.

Answer. Who hath given them this power? It is not given them by Christ, nor his Apostles.

If you reply, it is agreed upon by common consent. I answer,—then at least, Presbyterianial government is not of divine ordination. But I would ask this question,—What if I should refuse to give my consent to such a government, or to subject myself to it,—how can I be forced to obey their canons and laws,—by whose authority? The representative church, (such as the Presbytery is,) cannot compel me, before I subject myself to her authority; the civil magistrate cannot do it either, by the doctrine of all my opposites; and some would say, if any should usurp authority and compel by violence, it would be destroying our Christian liberty, and tying us whom Christ hath made free, and, in a word, the demolishing of that platform of government, which Christ himself did establish; any defender of parochial government may reason in this kind.

But it will be again replied, that this authority is given to a company of Presbyters, *Acts* viii. 14, and xi. 22, and xv. 6, 7, 8, to 30, and 1 *Cor.* v. 3, 4, 5.

Answer. These things were done in the infancy of the church, before the government was established, and so can be no rule for after ages, some will so answer.

I answer further; there is not a word there that will confirm

deacons, and that no argument can be drawn from the above objection against the threefold order in

Presbyterial government, for none of the meetings spoken of in those places consists of persons having the like and equal authority, but all that was done in them was done by Apostolical power; by the power of the Apostles they were convened together,—by the Apostles' moderation those meetings were governed,—by their authority all things were concluded,—they had full and absolute power in their own hands, although it pleased them to do nothing without the consent of their brethren of an inferior order; ye will find all that I have said true, if ye will be pleased to see the places.

But most clearly it appeareth, 1 Cor. v. 3, 4, 5, where *the Apostle, by his power and authority, commandeth the Corinthian ministers to excommunicate the incestuous person in an open assembly, or rather to intimate that excommunication which he had already pronouned, for thus he speaketh: 'For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.'*

I hope this meeting was enjoined by the Apostle upon an extraordinary occasion, and nothing was done but by his special appointment. Here is nothing to warrant the authority of Presbyterial government; there seems something to be in the words for parochial; if there had been parishes and lay-elders in those days; and truly if I were not of that judgment, that the calling of the Apostles were an ordinary calling, and to be continued with the same latitude of power and authority in their successors until the end of the world, I might easily be moved to approve of parochial government; but never of Presbyterial; and truly, if the callings of the Apostles and Evangelists be not acknowledged to be instituted by Christ for the perpetual government of God's church, Parochial government is that which hath greatest show of warrant in the Scriptures; as for *Presbyterial, it hath not so much as any show at all in the whole book of God.*"—*Episcopal Government instituted by Christ*, pp. 31—34. See also Bingham, book ii. ch. iii. sect. 8.

the Christian Church, or any thing urged in prejudice to the *Divine right of Episcopacy*. It is there-

⁴ I would direct the reader's attention to the fourth and fifth chapters of Brett's *Account of Church Government*.

⁵ "I know that it will be objected, that there should be but *two* orders of Church Governors now under the Gospel, because Christ himself appointed but two, Apostles and Evangelists, both of them called, at first, Disciples, only distinguished by their number, twelve, and seventy.

Answer. Christ appointed but two indeed, because he supplied the room of the High Priest himself; neither would he have any more during his own ministry; he was chief Governor of the Church himself, and he would have no suffragans as long as he lived. Where the king is present himself, he needs not a commissioner, nor a viceroy. Again, had Christ chosen *three* orders in his own time, then there should have been *four* orders of Church Governors all the while of Christ's ministry upon earth. First, Christ himself, (for I hope no man will refuse Christ for one, and for the chief too,) and the other three ordained by Christ. Now our blessed Master and Saviour, because he would keep analogy, (so far as I can conceive,) with the number and degrees of Church Governors under the law, he would choose but two, and leave the third to be added by the Apostles after his departure; which they did with all diligence, as we may see *Acts 6*.

That our Saviour used this analogy in this, I will prove by other particulars, wherein he observed the like analogy; and first in the number of the Sacraments; as his Father appointed but two under the law, *Circumcision*, and the *Paschal Lamb*, so he appointed but two under the gospel, *Baptism*, and the *Supper of the Lord*; the one to succeed in the place of *Circumcision*, the other in the place of the *Paschal Lamb*. And again, as Circumcision did represent unto us the guilt of sin, so our Saviour would have Baptism to represent to us remission of sins; and as the Passover represented to the people of Israel their bodily deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, so our Saviour would have his last Supper to represent to us our spiritual deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan.

fore, I conceive, clear, that none but such as receive ordination from the hands of a bishop⁶ have any

When our Saviour instituted Baptism he devised no new ceremony, but took that ceremony of washing which the Jews used in their purification, and appointed it to represent our spiritual washing from sin. So likewise in the institution of the other Sacrament, he did not devise any new ceremony to represent his death and passion, but took the last part of the Paschal Supper, and appointed it for that use. The custom of the Jews was, after the Supper was ended, and the Pascal Lamb eaten, he that was master of the feast took as many pieces of bread as there were present at the eating of the Lamb, (and there behoved to be between the number of ten and the number of twenty, for there might not be fewer than ten, nor more than twenty,) and gave every one a piece, saying these words, '*This is the bread of affliction which your fathers eat in the wilderness*'; and thereafter he took the cup, and gave it to them, saying, '*This is the cup of affliction which your fathers drank in the wilderness.*' Now our Saviour Christ renewed the same ceremony; for the text saith, that first 'he took bread,' and after that 'he had given thanks, he brake it,' and gave to every one a portion, and said, 'This is my body which is broken for you, Do this in remembrance of me:' and in like manner 'he took the cup, saying—This cup is the new Testament and Covenant in my blood, drink ye all hereof,'—and—'as oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shew the Lord's death 'till he come,' saith the Apostle Paul. 1 Cor. xi. 26.

Moreover, Christ chose *twelve Apostles*, in analogy to the *twelve Patriarchs*, that like as the whole people of God under the law did proceed out of the loins of the twelve Patriarchs, so also God's children under the Gospel should be begotten by the ministry of the twelve Apostles and their successors. He chose also *seventy disciples*, in analogy to the *seventy elders* of the Jews, whom Moses elected to govern the people of Israel under himself; so that our Saviour would have those seventy Disciples, and their successors, to be spiritual governors of the people of God under the Gospel.

Moreover, Christ fasted *forty days* in the wilderness, in reference to Moses fasting *forty days* upon Mount Sinai. Christ entered into his ministry in the *thirtieth year* of his age, in similitude of the Priests

authority to minister in holy things, since the power of ordination is appropriated to this highest order

and Levites entering in their several functions. So that there is nothing more probable in the Scriptures than that, as Christ, by way of analogy, did imitate the Jews in many things, so also would he have as many degrees of Church Governors under the *Gospel* as there were under the *Law*, and that he would be chief Governor himself of both Churches.

But, that ye may believe the truth of these things the better, I will let you see that the Apostles also followed the example of their Master in the imitation of the Jews in many things: as in the use of *lots*, conform to the ancient custom of the Jews, Matthias is chosen to be an Apostle; so also they continued the use of an *holy kiss* at their meetings, (yet, if they had been as precise as many people now-a-days, they would have abolished that ceremony, because Judas betrayed his Master with a kiss,) and gave it in commandment; 'Greet one another with an holy kiss,' saith the Apostle Paul: so also the use of *Love feasts* proceeded from the Jews; for as after their sacrifices they feasted one another, so after the celebration of the Lord's Supper, they had their *Agapæ*, and Love feasts, which the Apostle Paul did not discharge, but forbade them in public, and licentiates them in their own private families; 'Have ye not houses to eat and drink in, or despise ye the Church of God,' saith he? The day of celebration of the Sacrament of the Supper was ever a festival day to them, but not a day of fasting as it is with many now. So also the custom of *laying on of hands* was borrowed from the Jews. *Num. viii. 10.* In these and some other forms and ceremonies, the Apostles did imitate the nation of the Jews; but let these serve for an example.

The primitive Church also followed the example of Christ and his Apostles in this analogizing; and in particular, as in the consecration of Priests, some pieces of the sacrifices were put in the Priest's hands, (*Exod. xxix.*) even so they put the Bible in the hands of the Minister at his ordination; this was done both by the Jewish Church and the Christian; to teach both, 'That no man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God:' so also, they erected a mother-Church, wherever there was a Bishop, even as the Jews had but one Mother-Church, the Temple of Jerusalem, because they had but one

in the Christian Church. And to what has been necessarily briefly said, it might be easy to add the

High Priest; and therefore in respect that Bishops succeeded in the room of the High Priest in the government of the Church, wherever there was a Bishop, there they built a Mother-Church, and all the rest of the Churches of the Diocese were but pendicles of her, as the Jewish Synagogues were to the Temple of Jerusalem: yea, and these Mother-Churches, they built them according to the similitude of the Temple of Jerusalem; for as the Temple had the most holy place, holy place, and *atrium*, called the Court of the Temple, or *Sol.* Porch, this for the people, the holy place for the Priests, and the most holy place for the Lord of Hosts, to be as it were the place of His habitation, to dwell between the wings of the two cherubims, there to give His oracle; even so in the Christian Churches, there was a place appointed for the people, another for Churchmen, the third as the most holy place where the Sacrament of the Supper was celebrated, as the only memorial of His presence left by Himself under the new Testament, as the ark of the covenant was under the old. So then, since both the Apostles and the Churches of Christ, in the primitive times, did imitate the Jewish forms by way of analogy, it seems to me that in so doing they followed the example of Christ, who kept an analogy himself with the Jewish Church, in many things, but in special in the number and degrees of Church Governors.

Now I would ask my author, by what reason he thinks Christ should have *diminished* the number of Church Governors? Was the number of three typical, or was the Church Government typical? Truly neither; the number of three is mystical indeed, but not typical; neither was the Government typical, but as necessary now under the Gospel, as it was under the Law; for as Christ did not govern his Church immediately by his Spirit under the Law, so no more doth he govern his Church immediately by his Spirit under the Gospel; but as he committed the government to certain governors under the Law, so hath he committed it to certain governors under the Gospel. But it may be answered, that he hath not committed it to so many degrees of Church governors now under the Gospel as he did under the Law: I persuade myself that my opponent shall never be able to prove that Christ behoved to do this *de jure*, or shew

joint testimony of all Christendom⁷ for nearly 1500 years ; whilst our opponents may be challenged to

me a reason why it behoved to be so : yes, he will say, of necessity the first degree behoved to be taken away, because the High Priest was a type and figure of Christ ; and all types and figures were abolished by Christ's coming.

Reply. I grant all types and figures were abolished by Christ's coming : but I deny that the High Priest was a type and figure of Christ, as he was chief Governor of the Church : and that for these reasons.

First, because then all Church Government should have been abrogated by Christ's coming ; for, if Aaron's government was a type and figure of Christ's government, then it will follow that Christ now under the Gospel should govern his Church immediately by himself, without any subordinate Governors ; for, if Church Government under the law was typical, and all types abrogate, it follows necessarily that there should be no Church Government now, but Christ's only.

Secondly, if Aaron, as he was chief Governor under the law, was a type and figure of Christ, then it will follow, that Christ was not supreme Governor of his Church under the law : for types are of things to come, and neither of things present nor by-past.

Thirdly, the High Priest, as he was Chief Governor, he could not be a type and figure of Christ, because if there had been but two ranks of Church Governors, one of them behoved to be chief, and so still there should have been a Chief Governor.

And lastly, the order that was among Church Governors was not ceremonial, but moral, and as necessary for the government of the Christian Church as the Jewish ; for God is the God of order now, I am sure, as well as he was then : now nothing that was moral was typical, and therefore Aaron was not a type and figure of Christ, as he was Chief Governor of the Jews.

Now I will show you in what respect he was a type and figure of Christ. First, as the High Priest was one man, he did typify Christ as the one High Priest of our profession, and therefore Christ would not commit the chief Government of the Church to one any more, but to many in one and the same rank and order. Next, the High Priest's

produce *one*⁸ instance of a valid ordination by any other hands during that entire period⁹.

offering of one sacrifice once in the year within the veil, was a type of that only one propitiatory sacrifice once offered up for the sins of the quick and the dead, by our Saviour Christ: Thirdly, the High Priest's once in the year only entering within the veil, was a type of our Saviour's once entering into heaven, to make intercession for us; for these respects then, Aaron was a type and figure of Christ, but no ways in relation to his Government, for the reasons before alleged.

I have another reason yet that moves me to think that there can be no fewer than *three* ranks of Church Governors now under the Gospel: and it is this. The number of *three* is *mystical*, as is evident by many examples, both in Scripture, things above nature, natural things, and spiritual things. In supernatural things we see the truth of this assertion, and in the *Divine Essence*, which subsists in the number of *three persons*, which is the mystery of all mysteries: in the Divine Essence also, there are *three communicable properties*, goodness, power, and wisdom, to these three all the rest may be referred, as life, love, justice, &c.; *three incommunicable properties*, simplicity, eternity, ubiquity, of these no creature is capable. According to this similitude, the faculties of the soul were formed by God himself; for the soul hath three chief faculties, judgment, memory, and will; yea, the renewed mind consisteth of three theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity, which are the three dimensions of every Christian soul: the bodily substances of all creatures are composed of three, longitude, latitude, and profundity, without the which the creatures can have no subsistence: there are also three degrees of life, vegetative, sensitive, and rational, and all these in analogy to the three persons of the Godhead; it were easy to shew you divers resemblances between them, if it were necessary and to the purpose. It was more than the light of nature that taught Aristotle to esteem the number of three to be the perfectest number of all numbers, yea, to be all in all; '*Qui dicit tria* (saith he,) *dicit omnia, et qui dicit ter dicit omnifarium*; *He that saith three, saith all, and he that saith thrice, saith always.*'

But to come to the Scriptures: saith not *John* (1 John v. 7, 8.) that '*there are three things that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one*:' and that '*there*

And now one word in conclusion. From the authority of the sacred writings we determine, that, where

are three things that bear witness on earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood; and these three agree in one.?’ Christ loved *three* disciples above all the rest with whom he conversed most familiarly, Peter, James, and John; to them he shewed himself in his glory at the transfiguration, and also in his greatest agony and humiliation in the garden of Gethsemane. Our Saviour fulfilled his ministry in the space of *three* years; he lay *three* days in the grave; *three* times appeared to the eleven after his resurrection; and many more than these are to be found in the new Testament. In the old Testament you shall find many numbers of *three*, wherein some mystery may be found; we read of *three* only that went to heaven bodily, Enoch, Elias, and Christ: to teach us that salvation both in body and soul is obtained under all the three kinds of Church government; for God hath governed his Church three several ways since the creation, one way before the Law, another way under the Law, and a third way under the Gospel. The worship of God hath been also of *three* several forms, according to the several ages of the world; *three* men saved in the flood of Noah, of whom the world hath been replenished the second time, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; *three* great Patriarchs, out of whose loins the Church of God did spring; *three* great sabbaths, the seven days sabbath, the seven years sabbath, and the year of Jubilee; *three* great feasts, the feast of Tabernacles, Easter, and Pentecost; *three* ranks of Church governors, the High Priest, inferior Priests, and Levites, and a number more; so that I say, if there be any number *mystical*, it is the number of *three*; we have not so great reason to call *seven* mystical; as for *nine* it is only thought mystical because it contains *thrice three*.” *Episcopal Government instituted by Christ*, pp. 7, 13. See also Saravia’s *Treatise on the different degrees of the Christian Priesthood*, ch. 6, 8.

6 “ This succession is preserved and derived only in the bishops; as the continuance of any society is deduced in the succession of the chief governors of the society, not of the inferior officers. Thus, in kingdoms we reckon by the succession of the kings, not of sheriffs or constables; and in corporations, by the succession of the mayors

the Christian sacraments are duly administered by persons regularly appointed to that sacred office¹,

or other chief officers, not of the inferior bailiffs or sergeants : so the succession of the churches is computed in the succession of the bishops, who are the chief governors of the churches, and not of presbyters, who are but inferior officers under the bishops.

“ And in this, the matter of fact is as clear and evident as the succession of any kings or corporations in the world.

“ To begin with the Apostles : we find not only that they constituted Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete, as in the subscriptions of St. Paul’s Epistles to them, but in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical historians, you have the bishops named who were constituted by the Apostles themselves over the then famous Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, and many other churches, and the succession of them down all along.

“ St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was disciple to St. John the Apostle, and St. Irenæus, who was disciple of St. Polycarp, was constituted bishop of Lyons, in France.”—Leslie’s Works, vol. vii. p. 102.

⁷ See Mason’s *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* ; Bishop Taylor’s *Episcopacy Asserted* ; Hickes’s *Dignity of the Episcopal Order* ; and Madox’s *Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship of the Church of England*, p. 64, edit. 1733.

⁸ “ We prove, that the Apostles had the right of ordaining ;—that this right was from them derived to their substitutes, and to their successors ; to their substitutes, as to *Timothy* in Ephesus, and *Titus* in Crete, to *Mark* at Alexandria, to *Polycarpus* at Smyrna, to *Evodius* at Antioch, to *Linus* at Rome, &c. : to their successors, as to *Simon* the son of Cleophas, the successor of *St. James* at Jerusalem, &c. ; that from these substitutes and first successors of the Apostles, the same was derived to their successors, which without all doubt were the Bishops of the several churches. And hereunto we may add the general consent of the Fathers and Councils ; many of them affirming and confirming ; not one, I say *not one*, denying the superiority of Bishops in ordaining, the perpetual practice of all true Christian Churches, *not one* approved instance to be given to the contrary ; and yet he (the refuter) shameth not to avouch the

according to the plan laid down by Christ and His Apostles, there we find the *Church*² of Christ,

Bishop's right in ordaining to be but usurpation.—As touching Presbyters, that they have right to ordain, we see no warrant in the Word, but rather the contrary; no testimony of Fathers, no decree of Councils for it, but many testimonies and decrees against it; no approved example to warrant it; how then could he say the Presbyters have as good right to ordain as Bishops?—But, because he shall not carry the matter without proofs, this I will offer him; that *if he can bring any one pregnant testimony or example out of the Scriptures, any approved authority or example out of the antient Fathers, Councils, or Histories of the Church, proving that the Presbyters had, by and of themselves, an ordinary power or right to ordain Ministers, I mean Presbyters and Deacons, I will promise to subscribe to his assertion. But if he cannot do this, as I know he cannot, then let him for shame give place unto the Truth.*—Bishop Downname's *Defence*, book iii. ch. iv. sect. 18.

⁹ The following testimonies of the most ancient Fathers upon this subject may be read with interest.

“To begin with Ignatius, who suffered martyrdom about the tenth year of Trajan, which was only four years or thereabouts after the death of St. John the Apostle, at which time he had been forty years bishop of Antioch, being promoted to that dignity, upon the death of Evodius, the first bishop of that Church, by St. Peter; so that we cannot suppose him unacquainted either with the state of the Church in the first age after the Apostles, or with the doctrine and practice of the Apostles.

“There are many passages in the epistles of this glorious saint which shew, not only that the Christian Church was governed, in the age wherein he lived, by the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, but that these were of Divine institution, and essential to the regular constitution of any Church; and that no religious acts could lawfully be done in the Church without some of them, nor by the priests and deacons without the bishop's consent; and that communion could not be maintained with Christ, without adhering to the communion of the bishop. And he calls Christ to witness that he spoke some part of this,

From the same authority we learn, that this Church is to continue to the "end of the world." The

namely, that 'nothing was to be done without the bishop,' by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

"St. Clement, bishop of Rome, the disciple of the Apostles, tells us, that 'the Apostles, preaching through countries and cities, constituted their first-fruits, (that is, the first of their disciples in any place,) when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should believe.' He also tells us, that 'the Apostles, having it revealed by our Lord Jesus Christ that contentions would arise about Episcopacy or Church government, on this account ordained bishops and deacons, and gave them this prescript, that upon their death, other approved men should succeed in their ministry.' So that there was to be a succession of Church officers after the death of those whom the Apostles ordained, and consequently to the end of the world.

"But farther, Linus was ordained first bishop of Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul together. Polycarp was constituted bishop of Smyrna by St. John, by whom several other Asian bishops were ordained. Timothy was made bishop of Ephesus; and there was an uninterrupted succession of twenty-seven bishops from him, to the time of the great Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, besides a constant succession of many bishops for several ages after. Titus was ordained bishop of Crete by St. Paul. James was ordained bishop of Jerusalem before the rest of the Apostles left it; and after his death, the surviving Apostles ordained Simeon, the son of Cleophas, mentioned in St. John's Gospel, to be his successor. Simeon presided in the Church till the time of Trajan. And after Simeon there succeeded bishops of the Jewish race, before the final excision of the Jews by Adrian. Irenæus, who was a disciple of Polycarp, was ordained bishop of Lyons in France, who tells us he 'could reckon up those whom the Apostles ordained to be bishops in the several churches, and who they were that succeeded them down to this time;' and moreover adds, that 'the Apostles themselves committed the care of the churches into their hands, leaving them to succeed not only in the place, but to the jurisdiction of the Apostles.' At the same time lived Hegesippus, who travelled through a great part of the world on purpose to learn the doctrine and traditions left by the Apostles to the churches which they founded; and he says he had 'con-

unity,³ consequently, of the Christian Church must mean the same now as it ever did, and a separation⁴

versed with many bishops, and received the same doctrine from them all, that there had been a succession of bishops in all churches.'

"Another who lived in this age was Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who, in a Synodical Epistle to Victor, bishop of Rome, about the time of keeping Easter, appeals to the tradition of former bishops and martyrs; among others, he mentions 'Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna; Traseus, bishop of Eumenia; Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea; and several bishops of his own kindred, and great multitudes of bishops who assembled with him to consult about the time of keeping Easter;' and he says, that 'when he wrote this Epistle, he had been sixty-five years a Christian;' so that here is a witness beyond exception, who lived the greatest part of the next age after the death of the Apostles, that bishops were settled in all churches about him. Contemporary with these was Clemens of Alexandria, who speaks of 'the gradual promotion of bishops, presbyters, and deacons;' so that here are manifestly three orders of ministers. In another place he reports that, 'St. John, returning from Patmos, the place of his banishment, to Ephesus, went about the neighbouring nations, and in some places ordained bishops, and in others established entire churches, and in others set such apart for the clergy, as were pointed out to him by the Spirit.' So that St. John the Apostle ordained bishops, and also inferior clergymen, by the particular direction of the Holy Spirit, in the countries about Ephesus.

"Another, who flourished about the same time, was Tertullian, from whom it appears that bishops were universally settled in all churches in a direct line from the Apostles to his time. And in his treatise of Baptism he affirms, 'That the power of baptizing is lodged in the bishop; and that it may be also exercised by presbyters and deacons, but not without the bishop's commission.' Which is a full evidence of the superiority of bishops over the two lower orders in that age.

"In the beginning of the next century flourished Origen; who, speaking of the debts in the Lord's Prayer, says, 'There is a debt due to deacons, another to presbyters, and another to bishops, which is the greatest of all, and exacted by the Saviour of the whole Church, who will secretly punish the non-payment of it.' So that he plainly makes

from it must be attended with consequences as dangerous in the present day as at any former

bishops superior to presbyters and deacons, by the appointment of Christ.

“In the same age flourished Cyprian, who affirms, ‘that no Church was without bishops.’ Hence, as from an unquestionable matter of fact, he argues against Novatian, that ‘there being only one Church and one Episcopacy all the world over, and orthodox pious bishops being already regularly ordained through all provinces of the Roman empire, and in every city, he must needs be a schismatic who laboured to set up false bishops in opposition to them.’ In another place he affirms, ‘that bishops are of our Lord’s appointment, and derive their office by succession.’

“One of Cyprian’s contemporaries was Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, who agrees with him in calling bishops the successors of the Apostles, and affirms, ‘that the power of remitting sins, which our Lord conferred on His Apostles, was derived from them to the bishops, who succeeded in their places.’

“In the declining part of the third century, and the beginning of the fourth, flourished Eusebius, who, after a most diligent search into the ancient records of the Church and the Christian writers who lived before him, derives the bishops of all churches from the Apostles; and has given us such exact and authentic catalogues of the bishops who presided in all the principal cities of the Roman empire, from the Apostles down to his own time, that it is as impossible for an impartial man who shall compare this historian with the rest of the primitive Fathers, to doubt whether there was a succession of bishops from the Apostles, as it would be to call in question the succession of Roman emperors from Julius Cæsar, or the succession of kings in any other country.”—*Excellency and Beauty of the Church of England*, p. 312

The reader who is interested in the inquiry, will thank me for referring him to Leslie’s “*Authorities for Episcopacy, as distinct from, and superior to, presbytery, taken out of the fathers and councils in the first four hundred and fifty years after Christ.*”—*Qualifications requisite to administer the Sacraments*—(Supplement :) “a detail (says Archdeacon Daubeny) which appears to leave nothing undone, that human evidence is capable of doing, for the satisfaction of every intelli-

period ; for the Church of Christ is but *one*^s, and the promises of the gospel are made to that one

gent reader on this subject.”—*Guide to the Church*, p. 63. I would also refer him to Bishop Sage’s *Reasonableness of a Toleration*, Letter 4th, pages 133—190, and to Saravia on *the Christian Priesthood*, chap. 20.

¹ “I was made a minister,” says St. Paul, “according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me.” (Eph. iii. 7.) “The Apostle,” Bishop Andrewes observes, “is here speaking of his office, and nothing else. The Apostleship was a grace, yet no saving grace, else should Judas have been saved. Clearly, then, it is the grace of their calling whereby they were sacred, and made persons public, and their acts authentical, [and they enabled to do somewhat about the remission of sins, that is not (of like avail) done by others, though perhaps more learned and virtuous than they, in that they have not the like commission. To speak with the least ; as the act of one that is a public notary is of more validity than of another that is none, though, it may be, he writes a much fairer hand. This grace of an holy calling to the ministry of the Gospel was conferred on the Apostles by Christ, has been derived from them to us, and from us to others, to the world’s end.”—*Bishop Andrewes’ Sermon on John xx. 22*.

² “‘The Church’, says Bishop Grove, in his discourse on Church Communion, ‘is a body of men separated from the rest of the world, or called out of the world, (as the word *ἐκκαλεῖν*, ‘to call out,’ from whence *ecclesia* is derived, signifies,) united to God and themselves by a Divine covenant. The Church is united to God, for it is a religious society instituted for the worship of God ; and they are united among themselves and to each other, because it is but one body, which requires an union of all its parts. This union with God and to each other, which constitutes a Church, is made by Divine covenant ; for the Christian Church is nothing else but such a society of men as is in covenant with God through Christ.’ Now as no covenant can originally be made for God but by God Himself, it hence follows, that God only can make or constitute a Church.

“From this description of the Church, as the body of Christ, the term *schism*, in its application to it, denotes a division among the

Church. In this one Church we have the sacraments of Christ's appointment, as seals of that

members of which that body is composed, occasioned by a want of obedience to the government, which Christ, by His Apostles, settled in the Church, and a consequent separation from its communion, in contradiction to the Divine plan of its establishment; the design of which was, that all Christians should be joined together in the same mind and in the same worship; 'continuing,' according to the primitive pattern, 'in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.' (Acts ii. 42.)"—Daubeny's *Guide to the Church*, Discourse iii. p. 44. See also the present Bishop of Exeter's *Ordination Sermon*, pp. 25. 38; (1843.)

3 "Ecclesia quoque una est." (Cyp. *De Unit. Eccl.*) "And therefore doth not consist of many distinct independent congregations," &c. (*Marshall's Notes*.) I may refer the reader to *Cyprian*, and to the *Notes* of his learned translator.

4 "*Schism* (writes Bishop *Sage*,) is not only condemned as naturally tending to subvert our Lord's *kingdom*, (*Matt.* xii. 25.); it is not only disgraced with the abominable name of being a *work of the flesh*, (1 *Cor.* iii. 1, 3, 4. 2 *Tim.* iv. 3. 2 *Pet.* ii. 10. *Jude* v. 19.); such a work of the flesh as is *earthly, sensual, devilish*, (*Jas.* iii. 15.); such a work of the flesh as excludes from an *inheritance in the kingdom of God*, (*Gal.* v. 20, 21.); it is not only by our Lord Himself, (*John* xv. 4, 5, 6.) made such a crime as consigns the criminal to *everlasting burnings*;—for, that the '*abiding*' mentioned there, signifies continuing in the unity of the visible body of Christ, the one Communion of the one Church Catholic, and that the *separation* mentioned there, is a separation from the one communion of that one visible body, of necessity you yourself must confess; unless you will say, (what your *Confession of Faith* cannot allow you to say,) that the members of the invisible church, that is, the elect themselves, may be *severed* or cut off from Christ, become *withered branches*, and be *cast into the fire*;—*Schism*, I say, is not only so noted in the New Testament, but also it is expressly made a *sin against the Holy Ghost*. (*Heb.* vi. 4, 5, 6, 7, and *Heb.* x. 25, &c.) Nay, if we may believe *St. Austin*, 'tis the sin against the Holy Ghost, mentioned *Matt.* xii. 32. I say *St. Austin*, for he insists largely to this purpose in divers places, particularly in his eleventh

covenant⁶ by which fallen man obtains eternal life. In this one Church we have the “ambassadors for

sermon on the words of our Lord. Such an hideous thing is *schism*.—In consequence of this, no sinners are more hideously represented in Holy Writ than *schismatics*. They are *exotick* plants, (*Matt. xv. 13, 14.*) *Withered branches*, (*John xv. 6.*) *False brethren*, (*2 Cor. xi. 26.—Gal. ii. 4.*) *False Apostles*, (*2 Cor. xi. 13.*) *False Prophets*, (*Matt. vii. 15.—Matt. xxiv. 11, 24.—1 John iv. 1.*) *False Christs*, (*Matt. xxiv. 24.*) *Antichrists*, (*1 John ii. 18.*) *Grievous wolves*, (*Acts xx. 29.*) *Murderers*, (*1 John iii. 15.*) They are said to be *proud, knowing nothing*, (*1 Tim. vi. 4.*) *unruly, vain talkers, deceivers, whose mouths must be stopped*, (*Tit. i. 10. 11.*) *without Christ*, (*Eph. ii. 12.*) *without the Spirit*, (*Jude 19.*) Their prayers are not heard; (*1 John x. 14.*)—Dreadful woes are pronounced against them by our Lord Himself; (*Matt. xviii. 17.—Mark ix. 42.—Luke xvii. 1, &c.*) Under all these, and perhaps many more hard censures, they fall, either directly, or by clear analogy and consequence. And not only so, but they are such as Catholic Christians are not so much as bound to *salute*, (*Phil. iv. 21.—Tit. iii. 15.—Heb. xiii. 24.—1 Pet. v. 13.*) or, rather, bound not to do it (*2 John x.*). Now, sir, though there were no more to be said, might not what I have said be sufficient to shew the unlawfulness of joining with schismatical communions? But I have more to say—Communion with schismatics is most plainly forbidden. *I wish they were cut off*, (i. e. at least refused your communion,) *who trouble you*, saith *St. Paul*, (*Gal. v. 12.*) οἱ ἀνασταυντες ὑμᾶς, those who endeavour to crumble you into factions, and divide your unity. But perhaps you will say, this is but a *wish*. 'Tis no more. But then 'tis *St. Paul's* wish; and so a wish of weight; and it must import at least, that it is good not to communicate with schismatics. But then let us hear him further.—*Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother*, (ever professor of Christianity,) *that walketh ἀτάκτως disorderly, and not after the tradition which ye received of us*, (*2 Thess. iii. 6.*) Now, who can walk more *disorderly*, than he that breaks the unity of the Church, and sets up a separate communion in opposition to the one Catholic communion? By consequence, have we not here a plain precept not to communicate with schismatics? Hear him again, (*v. 14.*)

Christ," whose sacred office is to administer, in the name of Him whom they are commissioned⁷ to re-

*And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, (μὴ συναγαμίνησθε, do not mix with him, especially in religious assemblies,) that he may be ashamed. And, 2 Pet. iii. 17, we are commanded to beware of being led away with the errors of the wicked. In short what can be a plainer precept than that, Rom. xvi. 17, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine, which ye have heard, and avoid them? Or that, Tit. iii. 10, a man that is an heretick, after the first and second admonition, reject. 'Tis certain that the word heretick, naturally means the same thing which we mean by the word schismatic. 'Tis certain that in the Apostolic age, and many after ages, heresy and schism were words indiscriminately used, to signify any communion opposite to the one Catholic Communion. This might be largely proved; but 'tis needless. That heretick, in the text mentioned, signifies schismatic, or separatist, is plain from the next verse; he is to be rejected; why? ὅτι ἐξίστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, καὶ ἀμαρτάνει, he is turned out of the true way, he strays, forsakes the true Christian way, the way of one Catholic Communion; and thereby he is self-condemned, ὡς αὐτοκατάκριτος; not that his own conscience condemns him, perhaps it does not; but he excommunicates himself: he is in the same state those are in, who are deservedly excommunicated by their lawful ecclesiastical superiors. (Vid. Cyp. epis. 69.—Hieron. in loc.—Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 6.) And now, sir, will you say, 'tis lawful to communicate with excommunicates? With those whom our Saviour Himself (Matt. xviii. 17,) has classed with heathens and publicans?"—Bishop Sage's *Reasonableness of a Toleration*, p. 72.*

⁵ D. Cyp. *De Unit. Eccl.* passim. Brett on *Church Government*, chap. i. Sclater's *Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, ch. ix. On the *unity* of the catholic Church, Bishop Sage thus writes,—“What is it then? I answer, 'tis *one communion*; or, to use other words, the *unity* of the *Catholic Church* consists in this,—that all who profess the *religion* of *Jesus Christ*, and are baptized in His name, in their respective stations and capacities, own all others who profess the same religion, and are baptized in the same name, as their brethren; and, as they have occasion, *communicate* with them in all the *public offices*;

present, the sacraments of that covenant which God on His part has promised to fulfil. In this one

in the same prayers, and the same praises, and the same *sacraments*, &c., as becomes those who are united in the same *body*, under one *Head*, by one common *charter*. Nothing less than one external visible *communion* can unite all *Christians* in one external visible body. To profess the same faith, or entertain the same hopes, or love one another, as I have proved, is not enough. We must *confirm* one another's *faith*, we must *encourage* one another's *hope*, we must *provoke* one another's *love*, by *communicating* one with another in the same *religious offices*; but every man in his proper station; Ecclesiastics in their respective orders and subordinations, and private Christians in their own rank. This, and nothing less, and nothing other, can unite all *Christians* into one *body*, in one *catholic society*. If you would have scripture comparisons, turn to *Deut. i. 15*. There *Moses* ranges the children of *Israel* after this manner. He takes the chief of the tribes, wise men, and known, and makes them heads over the people; captains over thousands, captains over hundreds, captains over fifties, and captains over tens. So he distributes the whole people, about six hundred thousand men, besides women and children, into greater and lesser bodies, for order's sake, and for the easier administration of government and discipline. And all these thus distinguished bodies, of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, continued united in one great body. They made but one, not many nations; but one, not many churches. As they continued united in one *civil*, so did they in one *ecclesiastical body*. They were all under one *Chief Priest*, and they had all one *common Altar*. When, afterwards, they erected synagogues, they did not thereby break their *unity*. Nothing did that but the setting up of *opposite Altars* and *opposite communions*; as first in the days of *Jeroboam*, and next of *Alexander the great*; when, as *Josephus* (*Antiq. Lib. xi. Cap. 8.*) tells us, the *opposite altar* was erected in the schismatical temple on Mount *Gerizim*. Just so, all Christians, all the world over, by our Lord's institution, are but one *chosen generation*, one *Royal Priesthood*, one *holy nation*, one *peculiar people*, obliged, in the *unity of one communion*, with one heart and one mouth, to shew forth the praises of Him who called them out of darkness into His marvellous light. And 'tis for order only, and the easier exercise

Church we have, moreover, the Spirit of Christ accompanying His own ordinances, according to the promise made at the original establishment of His Church, that He would be "with it always, even to the end of the world." When men leave the Church, then, they leave the ministers, and the due administration of the Sacraments⁸, behind them. They may,

of government and discipline, that they are distributed into districts, provinces, dioceses, parishes, or so, under their respective particular governors. Their being so distributed doth not at all divide them, nor allow them to divide, as to *communion*; nor deprive any particular person, much less any particular collection of persons, of the common rights and privileges of the general society."—Bishop Sage's *Reasonableness of a Toleration*, p. 54—6. See also pp. 59—64.

⁶ "Whoever hopes to receive benefit from religious services, must perform them according to God's will rather than his own; for let our religion be ever so right and good in our own estimation, it cannot, on that account, have any covenanted title to those privileges and blessings which are, by Divine authority, annexed to the Church of Christ. In this sense the primitive Fathers are to be understood, when they say that there is no salvation out of the Holy Catholic Church; by which is meant, that there is no covenanted plan of salvation, save that which is addressed to man as a member of that Church." Daubeny's *Guide to the Church*. See Dodwell's *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved Schismatical*, ch. 22.

⁷ To quote from Bishop Reynolds, (and I wish not better authority on this subject,) "Necessary ordinances presuppose necessary officers to administer them. Christ hath appointed necessary ordinances to be to the end of the world administered; therefore the officers who are to administer them are necessary likewise. He did not appoint a work to be done, and leave it to the wide world who should do it, but committed 'the ministry of reconciliation' to stewards and ambassadors by Him selected for that service." (1 Cor. iv. 1.—2 Cor. v. 19.)

⁸ "The commission to administer the sacraments of the Church

indeed, “ heap to themselves teachers,” (2 Tim. iv. 3.) and institute other ordinances ; (1 Kings xii. 26

was originally delivered by our Saviour to His Apostles, accompanied with a power to invest others with the same important office. From this Divine fountain all authority in this case must be derived. ‘ The priest is ordained,’ says the Apostle, ‘ for men in things pertaining to God.’ (Heb. v.) He then who is to act in things pertaining to God in the affairs of His Church, must certainly have a commission from God to authorize him so to do. ‘ No man,’ the Apostle tells us, ‘ taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God.’ (Heb. v. 4.) And in the Church, as a visible society that must be governed by some external polity, an outward and visible appointment to the offices in it is necessary, because without such an appointment no visible society could exist, and without the existence of such visible society as the Church, the profession of Christianity would in time be extinguished.

“ ‘ It cannot but be observed,’ says a judicious writer, (Rogers on *the Visible and Invisible Church*,) who paid particular attention to this subject, and whose work I take leave to recommend, ‘ that all the sects and denominations of religion, whose names have been ever heard of in the world, have appeared under the form of visible societies ; and if any particular enthusiasts have pursued any chimerical scheme of an invisible Church, their project has perished with them ; and if Christ had left His Church without any obligation to external union as a visible society, His religion had had the same fate, and been long since forgotten.’

“ ‘ From whence it has followed, that a regular reception of the Divine commission, through the channel appointed to convey it, has been a circumstance which in every age of the Church, from the times of the Apostles down to the present day, has been considered essential to the validity of the ministerial office. For when Christ said to His Disciples on the Mount, ‘ I am with you always, even to the end of the world,’ it has been understood that His Spirit and authority were to be with them as governors of the Church, and their appointed successors, in the due exercise of the commission with which He then invested them, to the end of time. Now to suppose that nothing on this occasion was exclusively promised, is to suppose that

33.) but let it be observed, that such teachers are not⁹ the “ambassadors for Christ¹,” nor are the

nothing was exclusively granted, and that the commission delivered to particulars was designed to be exercised by mankind at large; an absurdity against which we presume it unnecessary to argue.”—*Appendix to Daubeny's Guide to the Church*, 260, &c.—See also Dodwell's *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved schismatical*, ch. xix. &c., Edit. 1679.

⁹ Cyp. *Epis ad Magnum*.

¹ “If I pretend to succeed any man in an honour or estate, I must name him who had such an estate or honour before me, and the man who had it before him, and who had it before him, and so up all the way to him who first had it, and from whom all the rest do derive, and how it was lawfully deduced from one to another.

“This the bishops have done, as I have shown, and can name all the way backward, as far as history goes, from the present bishop of London, for example, to the first plantation of Christianity in this kingdom; so from the present bishop of Lyons up to Irenæus, the disciple of St. Polycarp, as before is told. The records are yet more certain in the great bishopricks of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and others, while they lasted in the world. And though the records may not be extant of every small bishoprick, which was less taken notice of, as the names of many kings are lost in obscure nations, of many mayors or sheriffs, who notwithstanding have as certainly succeeded one another as where the records are preserved; I say, though every bishop in the world cannot tell the names of all his predecessors up to the Apostles, yet their succession is certain; and in most Christian nations there are bishops who can do it; which is a sufficient proof for the rest, all standing upon the same bottom, and being derived in the same manner.

“Now to balance this, it is desired that the presbyterians would show the succession of any one presbyter in the world, who was not likewise a bishop, in our acceptation of the word, in the like manner from the Apostles; till when, their small criticisms upon the etymology of the words *bishop* or *presbyter*, is as poor a plea as if I should pretend to be heir to an estate, from the likeness of my name to somebody who once had it.” Leslie's Works, vol. vii. p. 110.

ordinances which they administer the sacraments of Christ ; for the essence of an ambassador's office is, that he should be commissioned by the party whom he represents, and in whose name he acts ; and the essence of a covenant, of which the sacraments are seals, is, that it should be binding upon the party in whose name it is made. But ministers of the separation are not ambassadors of Christ, because they have never been sent by him² ; and with respect to the benefit to be derived from the ordinances administered by them, their disciples must not look for the promises annexed to the *due* administration of the sacraments ordained by Christ Himself³. And

² "Pastor haberi quo modo potest, qui (manente vero pastore, et in Ecclesia Dei ordinatione succidanea præsidente) nemini succedens, et a se ipso incipiens, alienus fit et prophanus dominicæ pacis ac divinæ unitatis inimicus?" Cyp. *Epist.* 76. *ad Magnum*.

³ "If it were put to our choice, (we ought) rather to die than lose the sacred orders and offices of episcopacy, without which no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the sacrament, no absolution, no rite or sacrament, legitimately can be performed, in order to eternity."—Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*.

"I now proceed to show, *that the validity of the sacraments depends on the authority of the persons by whom they are administered*. I mean, that the benefit of such sacraments cannot be expected even by communicants, in other regards *worthy* in respect of moral dispositions ; for unworthy communicants cannot expect it even then when they are administered *validly*. No one doubts of this, and I am not at present concerned for it.—By *valid administrations* I do not mean an accurately justifiable administration in regard of all *circumstances* attending it. It is not every little circumstance, that, if it fail, does disannul a proceeding, otherwise legal, but only a *substantial* defect in point of *power*. He who wants this *power* acts invalidly, so as to oblige to

though I do not believe that it is essential to salvation to be an episcopalian, yet I believe episcopacy

nothing, how punctual soever he may have been in the observation of all *legal circumstances*. The receiver is not the better for what is given him by such a person, and the law will not secure him any right in such a donative. But he who has the *power*, if he fail in a circumstance not essential to the thing, may himself be to blame for his failure, nay, may be obnoxious to the laws for it.—But he who receives from him what he had power to give him, is not responsible for his personal faults, but has a just title to the thing conferred by him, and such as will be secured to him by the law, by which he is empowered to give it to him. And therefore by an *invalid administration*, I mean such a one only as is performed by him who has no *legal power* of administering the sacraments. From such a one the *communicant* now described, may indeed receive the *external symbols*, but God is not obliged by any act of his to confer the *spiritual benefits* signified and intended to be legally conveyed by those symbols. And it is from God that these spiritual benefits are to be received, if they be received at all. And further yet, by this *validity* I mean such a one as may be *known* and *judged of* by the *communicant*. That he who receives the *symbols* from him whom he *knows* to have no *legal power* of administering them, or whom he might know not to have that *power*, by such rules as all societies take care of for deriving *power* to *succession*, and which withal they all take care that they should be *notorious* to all, even the meanest capacities who use their diligence to know them, (as all are certainly obliged to do when their practice is concerned in them,) for the preventing *usurpations of power*, and all the consequent mischiefs which societies must suffer from such usurpations; I mean, that such a communicant, who, (by these means as they are contrived for the settlement of *christian societies* as *Christians*,) can know that he from whom he receives these symbols, was never legally invested with a power of administering them, can never rationally expect that God should second such a *ministry*, by making good the *spiritual benefits* which are symbolically conveyed by this ministry; and that he who knows this, or may know it, by the means now mentioned, cannot rationally look on it otherwise than as a perfect *nullity*, obliging God to nothing, and therefore cannot enjoy any rational solid comfort from

to be essential to an *apostolic* Church ; and while I would extend the utmost allowance to those who,

such ordinances. Therefore the *spiritual advantages* of the *sacraments* are not immediately conveyed in the *external participation* of them. And all laws make a real difference between these two sorts of conveyances, when the *thing* itself is immediately conveyed, and when only a *right* to it is conveyed by which the receiver may recover it from him who has it in possession. For example, he who is actually put in possession of a piece of land by him who has no authority to give him possession, does however continue in possession till he be again legally dispossessed. And the nullity of such a giver's act does not appear in the immediate effect, but only in this, that, because he can confer no legal right, therefore he cannot secure the possession he has given whenever the law shall take notice of what he has done. But he who has the same land conveyed to him only by *promises* before witnesses, or by *instruments*, or even by *earnest*, is not as yet put in possession of the land itself, but is still left to the law, to recover the possession of the land so conveyed, from him who is as yet possessed of it. And if the *promise*, or *instrument*, or *earnest* be given by such a person, who has no *legal power* to give them, the *nullity* of such a grant is such as will never be likely so much as to gain him an *actual possession*. This is exactly the case of the *sacraments*. The act of the *minister* does not give possession of the *spiritual benefits* of them ; but the giving of the *symbols* by the *Minister* confers a *legal right*, and obliges *God* to put well-disposed *communicants* in actual possession of those *spiritual graces*, where the *symbols* themselves are validly administered, that is, where the person who administers has received a *power from God* of acting in his *name* in their administration. But on the contrary, where the *person* who gives the *symbols* is not *empowered* by *God* to act in His *name* in giving them, as they cannot convey the *thing* itself, so neither can they have any *right* to it from *God*. They cannot oblige *God* to perform what is further to be done by *Him*, but by *acting* in His *name* ; nor can any *acting* in His *name* oblige *Him*, but that which is by *His own appointment*. So that such a *gift* as this is can have no effect in *law*, seeing it confers neither the *right* nor the *possession* of the thing designed by it. Which is that I mean by a perfect *nullity*."—Dodwell's

through some unavoidable necessity, have it not in their power to place themselves under episcopal rule and government, yet I cannot but fear for those who wilfully abandon the privileges which are within their reach, yea, who separate from a Church of which they were once made members in holy baptism. St. Ignatius, who wrote within a hundred years after our Saviour, having enumerated the three orders, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, expressly tells us, that “without these there can be no Church, no congregation of saints, no holy assemblies.” Again he says, “Whoever belongs to God and Jesus Christ, must be in communion with the bishop.” “Be not deceived; he that joins himself to those who make divisions, cannot inherit the kingdom of God.” And further, he assures us, that “no one can do any thing that pertains to the Church, without the bishop;” and, that “none but the bishop, and such as are constituted and ordained by him, have authority⁴ to administer the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper,” and, that “the ministrations of all others are null and ineffectual.” Such is the voice of antiquity⁵.

Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved Schismatical, chap. xviii. page 405.

⁴ Bingham, vol. i. ch. iii. sect. 2. I shall be pardoned for suggesting a perusal of Thorndike’s *Primitive Government of Churches*; Bishop Sage’s *Principles of the Cyprianic age, with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction*, and *Vindication of the same*; and Cawdwell’s *Extent of the Primitive Churches*, and *The Order of the Primitive Churches*.

Of course I am not ignorant of the cavils and objections which have been and are still made to the

2 "If the canons and sanctions apostolical; if the decrees of eight famous councils in Christendom, of Ancyra, of Antioch, of Sardis, of Alexandria, two of Constantinople, the Arausican council, and that of Hispalis; if the constant successive acts of the famous martyr-bishops of Rome making ordinations; if the testimony of the whole pontifical book; if the dogmatical resolution of so many Fathers, St. Denis, St. Cornelius, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Epiphanius, St. Austin, and divers others, all appropriating ordinations to the bishop's hand; if the constant voice of Christendom, declaring ordination made by presbyters to be null and void in the nature of the thing; and never any act of ordination by a non-bishop approved by any council, decretal, or single suffrage of any famous man in Christendom; if that ordinations of bishops were always made, and they ever done by bishops, and no pretence of priests joining with them in their consecrations, and after all this it was declared heresy to communicate the power of giving orders to presbyters, either alone or in conjunction with bishops, as it was in the case of Acrius; if all this, that is, if whatsoever can be imagined, be sufficient to make faith in this particular,—then it is evident that the power and order of bishops is greater than the power and order of presbyters, to wit, in this great particular of ordination, and that by this loud voice and united vote of Christendom." Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 32.

"I shall desire your patience to say a little more upon this head. *St. Ignatius (Epis. ad Magnes.)* plainly denotes a superior order in the Bishop, and distinguishes all three orders from each other, when he tells us, that neither Presbyter, Deacon, or Layman, can do any thing without the Bishop. Other Fathers assure us that heretofore Presbyters could neither baptize, preach, nor administer sacraments, without the Bishop's leave; and that ordination was vested solely in the Bishop by Scripture. (*Tertul. de Baptis.—Hieron. adv. Lucif.—Possidon. de vit. August.—Leo. Epis. 88.—Concil, Carth. 2. c. 9.—Hier. ad Evag.—Chrys. Hom. 11.*)—And indeed we have a whole cloud of witnesses to satisfy us of this truth, that all affairs of the Church were under the sole and superior direction of the Bishop. (*Canon Apos.*

position which I have endeavoured to support. Mere sciolists, men whose theological knowledge is neces-

38.—*Ignat. Epis. ad Smyr.*—*Concil Ancy.* c. 13.—*Laodic.* c. 56.—*Arlat.* 1. c. 19.—*Tolet.* 1. c. 20.) *Timothy*, as *Bishop*, has authority to receive accusations against and to judge the *Elders* or *Presbyters*. (1 *Tim.* v.) *St. Paul* asserts his Episcopal right of summoning, convening and commanding the *Presbyteries*. (*Acts* xx.) *St. Ignatius* makes the *Bishop* the head, and the *Presbyters* his council or senate, and says, that the *Presbyteries* ought to obey him as the representative of *Christ*. (*Epis. ad Trall. ad Antioch. ad Smyrn. ad Philadel.*) All causes and complaints against *Priests* and *Deacons*, were to be heard and determined by the *Bishop*. (*Concil. Afric.* c. 20.) The power of confirmation is not only vested in the *bishop*, but expressly taken away from the other two orders, and that agreeable to the sense of *Holy Scripture* in the case of *Philip*. *St. Jerome* tells us that there is the same difference between a *bishop* and a *presbyter*, as between *Aaron* the *High Priest*, and his sons. (*Adv. Lucif.*) He elsewhere lays it down for a rule, that *bishop*, *priest*, and *deacon*, are not names of different deserts, but of offices and orders. (*ad. Nep.*) *St. Ambrose* avers that *Timothy* was a *presbyter* before he was a *bishop*, and thereby plainly distinguishes the two orders; and he elsewhere (1 *Epis. ad Tim.* c. 3.) says that every *bishop* is a *presbyter*, but not every *presbyter* a *bishop*. *Epiphanius* (*Hæres.* 75) proves from *St. Paul*, that *bishop* and *presbyter* were as distinct by *Scripture* as the *Church* could make them; and *Oecumenius* adds, that the *presbyters* could not ordain a *bishop*, (*Cap.* 9. 1 *Tim.* 4.); and the same is confirmed by *St. Ambrose*, (1 *ad Tim.* c. 3.); nor could these orders be otherwise than distinct, if, as the same *Father*, (in 3 *cap.* 1 *ad Tim.*) together with *Eusebius*, informs us, there must always be a college or a certain number of *presbyters* under one *bishop*. *Imposition of hands* is by *St. Chrysostom* declared to belong only to the *bishop*, and not to the *presbyters*; so that when *Colluthus*, a *presbyter* of *Alexandria*, revolting from his *bishop*, had ordained other *presbyters*, this was declared null. (*Hom.* 13. 1 *Tim.* c. 4, et *Hom.* 1 in *Epis. ad Philip.*) The *presbyters* that he had undertaken to ordain were ordered to return to their former state, and *presbyters* in general were pronounced incapable of giving orders even to *presbyters*. The

sarily much confined, talk and write upon these points, as if they had really been the subject of their study and of their reflections. Far easier, however, is it to cavil than to refute ; far easier to use harsh terms³, than to prove that such terms are appropriate.

same was also decreed in the case of *Maximus* at Constantinople, and after that at the council of *Hispalis*; though *Tertullian* and *St. Augustine* both declare that this was obligatory long before councils made it so, being of Apostolical institution. *St. Ambrose* places bishops in the Apostles' stead, and the presbyters next to the bishop. *Irenæus*, *Geminus*, *Malchion*, *Diodorus*, *Heliodorus*, *Theodorus*, *Mochinus*, *Pantenus*, *Clemens*, *Origen*, *Maximus*, *Dioscorus*, *Demetrius*, *Lucinus*, *Faustinus*, *Aquila*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Cecilius*, and *Chrysostom*, with many others, were the *Antistites*, or *Primi Presbyterorum*, at several times in several churches, yet all of them subject to the bishop, and some of them succeeded in those sees where before they had been presbyters. To bring back a bishop to the degree of a presbyter was declared to be sacrilege. (*Act. Synod. Chalced. de Photi.*) *St. Augustine* calls the bishops rulers of the church and clergy ; and elsewhere they are styled Fathers, and sometimes Angels of the church, as in the Revelations. The bishop, and only he, hath power to excommunicate presbyters and to degrade them. *St. Jerome* asserts that the bishop is without any equal in the church, and that the contrary notion is schismatical. And *St. Ambrose* declares, that what powers the apostle gave to *Timothy*, were for the good and direction of his successors. Lastly, and to mention no more instances, in all presbyteries, or colleges, or assemblies of presbyters, where the affairs of the church were debated, the bishop not only sat as president or chairman, but as ruler and sovereign, and without whose consent and authority nothing could be transacted." Oldisworth's *Timothy and Philatheus*, vol. 3. page 41.

The reader will find much interesting information on the above subject in Archbishop Usher's *Original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid down*, and Chillingworth's *Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy Demonstrated*.

Bigotry is sometimes a very convenient word in the mouths of opponents, as *Papist* is in the mouths of Protestants, and *Arminian* in the mouths of Calvinists. Once apply the epithet to which reproach is annexed by a *party*⁴, and the man becomes a mark for

3 "*Nihil est tam bonum quin dicendo malum effici possit.*"

4 "Those who in their mind, their principles, their designs, and all their practice, appear void of that charity, that meekness, that calmness, that gravity, that sincerity, that stability, which qualify worthy and true guides; who, in the disposition of their mind are froward, fierce, and stubborn; in their principles, loose and slippery; in their designs and behaviour, turbulent, disorderly, violent, deceitful; who regard not order or peace, but wantonly raise scandals and dissensions, abet and foment disturbances in the Church; who, under religious appearances, indulge their passions, and serve their interests, using a guise of devotion, and talk about holy things as instruments to vent wrath, envy, and spleen, to drive forward schemes of ambition and avarice; who will not submit to any certain judgment or rule, will like nothing but that which their fancy suggests, will acknowledge no law but their own will; who *for no just cause, and upon any slender pretence, withdraw themselves, and seduce others from the Church in which they were brought up, deserting its communion, impugning its laws, defaming its governors*, endeavouring to subvert its establishment; who manage their discipline, (such as it is, of their own framing,) unadvisedly and unsteadily, in no stable method, according to no settled rule, but as present conceit, or humour, or advantage prompteth; so that not being fixed in any certain judgment or practice, they soon clash with themselves and divide from one another, incessantly roving from one sect to another, 'being carried about with divers and strange doctrines, like children tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine:' such persons as these, *arrogating to themselves the office of guides, and pretending to lead us, we must not follow nor regard*, but are, in reason and conscience, obliged to reject and shun them, as the ministers of Satan, the pests of Christendom, the enemies of souls." Thus wrote Dr. Isaac Barrow in the *seventeenth* century!—See Sermon xxiv.

the shaft of ignorance and intolerance. This may be good policy, but I doubt its being Christian charity.

Such is that "honour which no man taketh unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." And when a minister calls to mind the commission which he has received, the hand by which it was originally imparted, the employment to which he has been consecrated, and the divine end for which his office has been instituted by God, will it be possible that he should fail to cultivate, with unceasing earnestness and zeal, the purity which should adorn the ministerial character? Can he fail to "watch thereunto with all perseverance;" Will he not bow his knees daily to the Father of all mercies, for wisdom to direct him, and grace to help him in time of need? Will he not "seek for it as for silver, and search for it as for hidden treasure?" Purity is the seasoning of his ministry, the sweetness and amiableness of his character, and the means, under God, of preserving his flock from ruin and corruption. "Ye," says our Lord, "are the salt of the earth." And what minister would not watch, and strive, and pray unceasingly, that, in an office so sacred, with a distinction so dignified, and in a cause so momentous, he may walk worthy of his high calling, to the edification of the people confided to his care, and to his own "great and endless comfort?" At the same time, let every *minister* and every *congregation* strongly realize the *excellence* as well as the *importance* of this sacred office. To a minister labouring diligently to perform

the duties of an office, instituted, approved, and commanded by God, sustained by the glorious Redeemer while He tabernacled in the flesh, so honourable in itself, destined only to the most benevolent and most holy purposes, the means of preserving this great world from absolute destruction, and the chief instrument of restoring to mankind righteousness, truth, peace, and immortality, the members of every *congregation* are *bound*, however unpalatable the assertion, both by the authority of God, and for their own supreme good, to lend continually their countenance and their support. By these solemn obligations they are required to receive and welcome the doctrines of the Church which he delivers ; to assist all his benevolent efforts to promote the common good as well as that of individuals ; meekly to receive his reproofs and exhortations ; generally to render his life useful and pleasing, and his weight and influence as a minister as effectual as they can. “ We beseech you, brethren to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you ; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work’s sake.” (1 Thess. v. 12.) The best minister is but a man, and of course surrounded by human imperfections. St. Peter has taught us, what he well knew by unhappy experience, that, in the language of his “ beloved brother Paul,” “ we have this treasure in earthen vessels,” made of humble materials, frequently defective in their structure, and easily broken. A congregation,

therefore, is required, both by reason and revelation, to regard the imperfections of a minister with lenity and tenderness. And, while the *minister* is indispensably bound to labour diligently and faithfully in the performance of his high functions, his *flock* are equally bound to perform *their* part ; to regard him kindly in all his exertions on their behalf ; to remember his work and labour of love ; to consider the difficulties with which he is surrounded ; and to keep in view the numerous imperfections within, and discouragements without, with which he is obliged to struggle. Even St. Paul could not help exclaiming, “ Who is sufficient for these things ? ” And most of the principal obstacles which he had to encounter, scarcely even excepting *persecution* itself, still remain, and are still attached to the ministerial office. If the flock would remember this, and consider its importance, if they would regard their pastor with Christian affection, if they would treat him with Christian kindness, if they would aid him with continual and fervent prayers to God, he and they would be mutually blessed in this present world, and become to each other “ a crown of rejoicing ” in another and a better world, in the day of Jesus Christ.

SERMON II.

COLOSSIANS ii. 5.

“Though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order,¹ and the stedfastness of your faith in Christ.”

It is a very common assertion in the present day, made by those who reject the doctrine of the apostolical succession, and who question the necessity of episcopal ordination, that “the doctrine was unknown to, or unnoticed by, our Protestant Fathers, that is, the Divines, who, in the sixteenth century, opposed the Church of Rome; and therefore we Protestants need not concern ourselves about it.” Now it might be sufficient to reply to this objection, in the language of the author² whose words I have

¹ τὴν τάξιν ὑμῶν, *id est* εὐταξίαν, *intellige* ‘*Disciplinam Ecclesiasticam bene ordinatam;*’ nam τάξις denotat ‘*cohortem militum instructam et ordine apto conglobatam.*’—Poli. Syn. Crit.

² Perceval on *Apostolical Succession*.

quoted in stating the assertion, that “the Divines of the sixteenth century were neither the founders of the Christian Church, nor the writers of the sacred Scriptures ; and therefore, neither the Scriptures nor the Church are to be tried by them, but they and their doctrine are to be tried by the testimony of the Scriptures, and by the voice of the Church.” This reply, I say, would be sufficient to test the force of the objection ; especially as the Reformers themselves appealed to the “primitive Church” in proof of their sentiments being in unison with “the word of God.” To “the most holy word of God ;” to “the holy Catholic Church of Christ ;” to the usage of the primitive Church ;” to the “verity of God’s word,” and to “the consent of the Catholic Church ;” we find Cranmer, and Ridley, and Coverdale appealing, with a host of other martyrs, during the Marian persecution, in proof of the soundness and Catholic character of the doctrines of the Anglican Church. Our Reformers did that which the Canon of 1571 requires all preachers to do, viz. to “take heed that they teach nothing in their preachings which they would have the people religiously to observe and believe, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and that which the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that same doctrine.” But this is not the extent of my reply. It will be my endeavour, by God’s blessing, in my present discourse, to show, that the Divines of the sixteenth century,

the Reformers of the English Church³, men who had no sympathy with Rome or Romish doctrines—men to whom the Church of England is so much indebted for her formularies, did clearly, distinctly, and unreservedly, promulge the doctrine of the apostolical succession, maintain the necessity

³ “Having thus explained those texts of Scripture which speak of episcopacy, by the concurrent sense of those who lived with the Apostles, and were taught the faith from their mouths, who lived zealous confessors, and died glorious martyrs of Christ, and who succeeded the Apostles in those very Churches where themselves had sat bishops; and having deduced their testimonies, and of those who succeeded them, down for four hundred and fifty years after Christ, (from which time there is no doubt raised against the universal reception of episcopacy,) and this not only from their writings apart, but by their canons and laws when assembled together in council; which one would think sufficient evidence against none at all on the other side, that is for the succession of Churches in the presbyterian form, of which no one instance can be given, so much as any one Church in the world so deduced, not only from the days of the Apostles, (as is shown for episcopacy,) but before Calvin, and those who reformed with him, about one hundred and sixty years last past; I say, though what is done is sufficient to satisfy any indifferent and unbiassed judgment, yet there is one topic yet behind, which with our Dissenters weighs more than all fathers and councils, and that is the late reformation, from whence some date their very Christianity. And if even by this, too, episcopacy should be witnessed and approved, then is there nothing at all in the world left to the opposers of episcopacy, nothing of antiquity, precedent, or any authority, but their own wilful will against all ages of the whole Catholic Church, even that of the Reformation, as well as all the rest.

“Let us then examine: first for the Church of England; that is thrown off clearly by our Dissenters, for that was reformed under episcopacy, and continues so to this day.”—Leslie's Works, vol. vii. p. 177.

of a commission to administer the Word and Sacraments, from the hands of those duly qualified and empowered to communicate the same, and held, in the language of Bishop Beveridge, that “nothing can be more necessary to establish the means of grace, than that they who administer be rightly ordained and authorized to do it, according to the institution and command of Him who established these means of grace;” and moreover, that “unless these means be rightly and duly administered, they lose their force and energy, and so can never attain the end wherefore they were established.” These were the sentiments of our Reformers⁴, and the doctrines of our Church, as expressed in her formularies, from the earliest dawn of the Reformation by the Church in 1537, to the final review of the Prayer Book in 1662. I shall, however, confine

⁴ “Let the clergy teach their flocks from whom bishops have their authority over priests, and both bishops and priests their authority over the people, and in whose name and place they absolve them, and preach, and minister sacraments to them, and that they are Christ’s messengers, Christ’s Ambassadors, Christ’s Ministers, and Christ’s Spiritual Governors to them, and over them, in His kingdom upon earth.....Let them preach and teach the same principles which Archbishop *Cranmer* taught King *Edward 6th*, in his sermon of the *Power of the Keys*; and which, as it is evident from that sermon, worthy of his great name as a bishop, a reformer, and a martyr, were not only his principles, but, as is also evident from the *Preface* of the Reformers before our own *Ordinal*, the principles of the *Reformation*, upon which it began, and proceeded, and upon which, I trust, it will ever continue and subsist.” Dr. *Hickes’ Preface to The Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, page 52.

myself to the first twenty-five years of this period ; the writings of our divines from Elizabeth's time to our own day, in support of my position, being too well known and acknowledged to require any especial reference to be made to them. In proving my assertion, I must have more frequent recourse to dates and documents than is usual, or perhaps in general desirable, in the pulpit ; but the subject requires it ; and I have only to ask the exercise of your patience, and to solicit your attention, if you are interested in the investigation of a subject which is of great moment, and on which, at the present time, so many unguarded opinions are expressed.

The first authority to which I shall refer is that of *The Institution of a Christian Man* ; a book published in the year 1537, at the first dawn of the Reformation, and called the *Bishops' Book*, as having been composed by Archbishop Cranmer, and several other prelates, and subscribed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, and twenty five archdeacons, and professors of ecclesiastical and civil law. " It passed also," as Collier tells us, " the test of the Court, and was published by the King's printer ;" and, according to Strype, " established by Act of Parliament." And what are the opinions expressed in this formulary respecting Apostolical succession ? " We think it convenient," (that is, *proper* and *right*,) " that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed

unto their spiritual charge: 1st, How that Christ and His Apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, that, besides the civil powers and governance of kings and princes, which is called *potestas gladii*, 'the power of the sword,' there should also be continually in the Church militant certain other ministers or officers, which should have special power, authority, and commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God unto His people; to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them, and by the same to confer and give the graces of the Holy Ghost; to consecrate the blessed body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; to loose and absolve from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and to excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order, and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves. It appeareth evidently that this power, office, and administration, is necessary to be preserved here in earth for three special and principal causes: 1st, For that it is the commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. 2nd, For that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument whereby He will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the graces of His Holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right

inheritors of everlasting life, there to reign with Him for ever in glory, but only His word and sacraments. And therefore the office and power to minister the said word and sacraments may in no wise be suffered to perish, or to be abolished. 3rd, Because the said power and office, or function, hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost with all His graces, and finally our justification and everlasting life." Again, "This office, this power and authority, was committed and given by Christ and His Apostles unto certain persons only; that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto, by their prayer and imposition of their hands . . . Orders is a holy rite or ceremony instituted by Christ and His Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts; that is to say, of a spiritual and invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. . The invisible gift or grace conferred in the sacrament is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned. The visible and outward sign is the prayer and imposition of the bishop's hands upon the person that receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destitute of such ministers as should have and execute the said power of the keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same sacraments should be applied and administered by the

bishop, from time to time, unto such other persons as had the qualities necessarily required thereunto ; which said qualities the Apostles did also very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, and the first chapter of his Epistle to Titus.”⁵

In the year 1543, we have another formulary from the pen of our earliest Reformers, published with the royal sanction, under the title of *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, and usually termed the *King's Book*. Before its publication it was approved by the Convocation then sitting, in which it was examined in parts, as appears evident from the minutes of that assembly in *Wilkins' Concilia*. This book certainly proves, that those who drew it up had obtained much more just and clear views of several important doctrines than they possessed at the date of the former publication, in the year 1537 ; showing, as Gloucester Ridley observes,⁶ “ what a good step the Reformation of religion had made ;” yet, as regarded the doctrine of *Apostolical succession*, and the necessity of *episcopal ordination*, for the due administration of the sacraments, their sentiments remained perfectly unchanged, as may be learnt from the following brief extracts : “ Order⁷ is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ's Church given of God to Christian men, by the consecration and imposition of the bishop's hands

⁵ *Formularies of Faith*, p. 101—5.

⁶ Life of Bishop Ridley.

⁷ *Formularies of Faith*, p. 277.

upon them ; and this was conferred and given by the Apostles, as it appeareth in the Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, whom he had ordained and consecrated priest, when he saith thus : ‘ I do exhort thee that thou do stir up the grace of God, the which is given thee by the imposition of my hands.’ (2 Tim. i. 6.) And in another place he doth monish the same Timothy, and put him in remembrance of the room and ministry that he was called unto, in these words : ‘ Do not neglect the grace which thou hast in thee, and the which is given thee through prophecy and with imposition of hands, by the authority of priesthood ;’ (1 Tim. iv. 14.) whereby it appeareth that St. Paul did consecrate and order priests and bishops by the imposition of his hands. And as the Apostles themselves, in the beginning of the Church, did order priests and bishops, so they appointed and willed the other bishops after them to do the like, as St. Paul manifestly sheweth in his Epistle to Titus, saying thus : ‘ For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city, according as I have appointed thee.’ (Titus i. 5.) And to Timothy he saith, ‘ See that thou be not hasty to put thy hands upon any man.’ ” (1 Tim. v. 22.)

Now, I need not be told, that these documents cannot pretend to any authority, in the legal sense of the word, in the present day ; I am, of course, aware that nothing antecedent to the reign of Edward the Sixth has any title to that character. It was *then*

only that the errors of popery were formally renounced, and the pure doctrines of our Church authoritatively established in this kingdom ; yet it must be remembered, that these formularies were drawn up *after* the secession^s of Henry the Eighth from

^s Perhaps, after all, the term "secession" is erroneous. "I affirm" says Archbishop Bramhall, "that neither the king of England, nor the Church of England, nor convocation, nor parliament, did break the two necessary bonds of Christian unity, or either of them, or any part of them ; but that the very breakers and violaters of these rules were the pope and court of Rome ; they did break *the rule of faith*, by adding new points to the necessary doctrine of saving truth, which were not the legacies of Christ and His Apostles, nor delivered unto us by universal and perpetual tradition. The pope and court of Rome did break the second rule of *unity of discipline*, by obtruding their excessive and intolerable usurpations upon the Christian world, and particularly upon the Church of England, as necessary conditions of their communion."—*Schism Guarded*, sect. i. cap. 4. Again Bramhall says, (*Defence of Protestant Ordination*,) "I deny that the Protestant bishops did revolt from the Catholic Church ; nay, they are more catholic in that than the Roman Catholics themselves, maintaining a communion for the foundations and principles of Christian religion, both with the western and eastern churches, whom the Church of Rome excommunicates from the society of the mystical body of Christ, limiting the Church to Rome, and such places as depend upon it, as the Donatists did of old to Africk. It is true, the Protestants separated themselves from the communion of the Roman Church, yet not absolutely, nor in such fundamentals, and other truths which she retains, but respectively in her errors, superstrutions, and innovations. And they left it with the same mind that one would leave his father's or his brother's house, when it is infected with the plague, with prayers for their recovery, and with desire to return again, so soon as it is free, and that may be done with safety. This was not to forsake the Church of Rome, but to provide for themselves. 'Come out of her, my people, lest ye be partakers of her sins, and taste of her plagues.' It is truly called the grand imposture of the

the Church of Rome, and that, in fact, the original publication of these formularies was altogether owing to this secession. And any one who wishes for information, and will peruse these important documents, will learn, that whilst the writers speak of “orders being continued in the Church by succession from the Apostles,” they, in the same page⁹, reject as unscriptural the five orders in the Church of Rome, which are subordinate to that of deacon. The fact is, that, although in both the before-mentioned treatises, viz. *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chris-*

world, to obtrude upon us the Roman Church for the Catholic Church.” Tom. iv. dis. 7. See also, *The grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome considered*, by the Bishop of Durham; Field on the *Church*, App. ch. iii.; Stillingfleet’s *Protestants no Schismatics*; Jones on the *British Church*, sect. 12; Chillingworth’s Works, ch. iii. sect. 1. and Twisden’s *Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism, as it stands separated from the Roman*.

⁹ Bishop Burnet tells us, that “after this, (the publication of these documents,) I do never find the inferior degrees under a deacon mentioned in this Church (of England;) so it seems at this time they were laid aside.” And moreover they speak of the pope thus: “Whereas the bishop of Rome hath heretofore claimed and usurped to be head and governor of all priests and bishops of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, by the laws of God; it is evident, that the same power is utterly feigned and untrue, and was neither given to him by God in His holy Scripture, nor allowed by the holy Fathers in the ancient general Councils, nor yet by the consent of the whole Catholic Church.” And yet we are told, that the doctrine of Apostolical succession, as maintained by the Church of England, is popery!

tian Man, some superstitious tenets may be discovered, which were afterwards rejected ; yet, as Bishop Lloyd remarks¹, “ the attentive reader will not fail to observe, that, in many points, the name only of the doctrine appears to be retained, while the principle is, in fact, surrendered ; and every portion of those doctrines which had been found by experience to be productive of evil, and of dangerous influence on the moral or religious practice of mankind, is mitigated and explained away.” The bishop adds, “ these documents are of great importance to all, who are anxious to acquaint themselves with the rise and progress of the Protestant opinions in this country, or who would examine critically into the history and intention of those formularies which were afterwards established, and which are still of primary authority in the Church of England.” “ Indeed,” to quote the language of Dr. Laurence², “ the Reformation of the succeeding reign ought not to be considered as distinct from that which had been effected in this, but rather as a continuation and completion of it.” And Fox, the martyrologist, in his *Life of Cranmer*, remarks respecting *The Institution of a Christian Man*, that it was “ a godly book of religion, not much unlike the book set forth by king Edward the Sixth.” I would only add, that the name of *Latimer*, as bishop of Worcester, is subscribed to these documents.

¹ *Formularies of Faith.*

² *Bampton Lecture.*

I would now refer you to another important document, which you will find in the *Appendix* to Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, viz. "The resolutions of several bishops and divines, of some questions concerning the sacraments; by which it will appear," (I am quoting the language of Bishop Burnet,) "with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation; taken from the originals, under their own hands." Time will not permit me to give the quotations³. I am quite

³ The date of this paper is about A. D. 1540. To the tenth question, "Whether bishops or priests were first?" The Archbishop of York said, "We think that the Apostles were priests before they were bishops, and that the divine power which made them priests, made them also bishops; and that they had both visible and invisible sanctification, we may gather from the Gospel, where it is written, 'As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you,' &c. and we may well think that then they were made bishops, when they had not only a flock, but also shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a governance committed to them by the Holy Ghost to oversee both." "I find," said the bishop of Rochester, "in Scripture, that Christ being both a priest and bishop, ordained his Apostles, who were both priests and bishops; and the same Apostles did afterwards ordain bishops, and commanded them to ordain others." Dr. Symmons said, "Christ is and was the Great High Bishop, and made all His Apostles bishops; and they made bishops and priests after Him, and so hath it evermore continued hitherto." To the eleventh question, "Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture or no; and whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest?" The Archbishop of York said, "That a bishop may make a priest, may be deduced from Scripture; for so much as they have all authority for the ordering of Christ's Church, derived from the Apostles, who made bishops and priests, and not without authority; and that any other than bishops or priests may make a priest, we neither find in Scripture nor

aware that the divines who were consulted on the occasion referred to, were not unanimous in their replies to the questions propounded⁴; but this want of complete unanimity appears to have arisen, not so much from any difference of opinion

out of Scripture.' The Bishop of Carlisle said, "It appears that a bishop, by Scripture, may make deacons and priests, and that we have no example otherwise." "A bishop," said Dr. Edgworth, "hath authority by Scripture to make a priest, and that any other ever made a priest since Christ's time I read not." This was also the expressed opinion of Drs. Cox, Redmayn, Symmons, Tresham, Leyghton, and others, to whom these questions were propounded. On the question of consecration and ordination of bishops and priests, we find the following sentiments expressed, "The appointing to the office *per manuum impositionem*, is in Scripture; and the consecration of them hath of long time continued in the Church." Again, "There is a certain kind of consecration required, which is imposition of the bishop's hands, with prayer; and the appointing only is not sufficient." I will adduce one other authority, that of the Bishop of Carlisle, who answered the question in the language of Archbishop Anslem, "The imposition of hands is that by the which Timothy was ordained and received his office. Let bishops, therefore, who have power to make priests, consider well under what law the order of ecclesiastical constitution is bounden; and let them not think those words of the Apostle to be his, but rather the words of Christ Himself." The reader will find a full examination of *The resolutions of the Bishops and Divines in 1540*, in the Postscript of my *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England unbroken*. pp. 76—85.

⁴ See some interesting and important remarks on the opinions expressed in the reply of Archbishop Cranmer, by Dr. Hickes, in his Preface to *the Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, page 41, which are given in a subsequent note; (see page 140,) and also in Dr. Durell's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. 28, p. 326. See also the Postscript of my *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England Unbroken*, pp. 93—7.

respecting a ministerial succession, as from the idea of bishops being a higher rank in the priesthood, rather than a distinct order from elders. "In this writing," says Bishop Burnet, "and in *The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, bishops and priests are spoken of as one and the same office. In the ancient Church they knew none of those subtleties which were found out in the latter ages. It was then thought enough that a bishop was to be dedicated to his function by a new imposition of hands, and that several offices could not be performed without bishops, such as ordination, confirmation⁵," &c.

⁵ Burnet thus continues, "They did not refine in these matters, so much as to inquire whether bishops and priests differed in order and office, or only in degree. But after the schoolmen fell to examine matters of divinity with logical and unintelligible niceties, and the canonists began to comment upon the rules of the ancient Church, they studied to make bishops and priests seem very near one another, so that the difference was but small. They did it with different designs. The schoolmen having set up the grand mystery of transubstantiation, were to exalt the priestly office as much as was possible: for the turning the Host into God was so great an action, that they reckoned there could be no office higher than that which qualified a man to so mighty a performance. Therefore, as they changed the form of ordination from what it was anciently believed to consist in, to a delivering of the sacred vessels, and held that a priest had his orders by that rite, and not by the imposition of hands; so they raised their order or office so high as to make it equal with the order of a bishop*. But as they designed to extol the order of priesthood, so the

* "Though most of the schoolmen asserted bishops and priests to be of the same order, for the reason here specified, their being equally appointed to the consecration of the Eucharist, which they thought to be the highest and most perfect function; yet they allowed the bishops a

I need hardly add, that, in this respect, the Church of England differs from the Church of

canonists had as great a mind to depress the episcopal order. They generally wrote for preferment, and the way to it was to exalt the papacy. Nothing could do that so effectually as to bring down the power of bishops. This only could justify the exemptions of the monks and friars, the popes setting up legatine courts, and receiving at first appeals, and then original causes, before them; together with many other encroachments on their jurisdiction: all which were unlawful, if the bishops had, by Divine right, jurisdiction in their dioceses: therefore, it was necessary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the power they held was rather as delegates of the apostolic see, than by a commission from Christ or His Apostles. So that they looked on the declaring episcopal authority to be of Divine right, as a blow that would be fatal to the court of Rome; and therefore they did after this at Trent use all possible endeavours to hinder any such decision. It having been then the common style of that age, to reckon bishops and priests as the same office, it is no wonder if at this time the clergy of this Church, the greatest part of them being still leavened with the old superstition, and the rest of them not having enough of spare time to examine lesser matters, retained still the former phrases in this particular.

“On this I have insisted the more, that it may appear how little they have considered things, who are so far carried with their zeal against the established government of this Church, as to make much use of some passages of the schoolmen and canonists, that deny them to be distinct offices; for these are the very dregs of Popery, the one raising the priests higher for the sake of transubstantiation, the other pulling the bishops lower for the sake of the Pope’s supremacy, and by such means bringing them almost to an equality. So partial are some men to their particular conceits, that they make use of the most mischievous topics when they can serve their turn, not

superiority of jurisdiction, which some of them were content to call a superior order; as the canonists did also generally, notwithstanding their endeavours to depress the episcopal authority for the advancement of the papal.”—*Granger’s Corrections.*

Rome⁶. We maintain, that “from the Apostles’ time there have been *three orders* of ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons⁷,” the

considering how much further these arguments will run, if they ever admit them.” Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 346.

6 “The learned amongst the Papists themselves confess, that that wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter is not a distinct order or power of order, but a kind of dignity or office and employment only. ‘Episcopacy is not another order distinct from the priesthood,’ says Capreolus. ‘No prelate hath more concerning sacramental power, or of order, than simple priests.’ So Armachames, ‘as concerning sacerdotal order, and things that pertain to order, they are equal.’ Thus Bellarmin himself, ‘Although a bishop and presbyter are distinguished, yet as concerning sacrifice they exercise the same ministry, and therefore they make one order, not two.’ Cusanus goes farther, ‘All bishops, and haply also presbyters, are of equal power in respect of jurisdiction, though not of execution; which executive exercise is shut up and restrained by certain positive laws.’ And Johannes de Parisiis, (*de Potest. Regal. et Papal.*, cap. 10.) ‘Some say the presbyter hath the same power in his parish that a bishop hath in his diocese.’” Brown’s *Answer to Cox*.—“The priesthood has two degrees, the presbytery and the episcopate. In the first degree are the minor priests, called presbyters; in the other, the greater priests, who are the bishops; and these, by Divine institution, are superior both in dignity and in authority to simple priests; and to assert to the contrary is condemned by the sacred council of Trent.” (Sess. xxiii., can. 6, 7.) *Moral Instructions on Christian Doctrine*, by P. Idelfonso de Bressanvido, ch. lxii.—See also Dodwell’s *Separation proved schismatical*, ch. 23.

7 See Bishop Taylor’s *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 28. 34.—“It is true that some Popish writers make Bishops and Presbyters to be but one order; but you must withal take the reason of that Popish conceit: They hold, that the Sacrament of the Altar, (as they call it,) is the Sacrament of Sacraments, whereunto the Sacrament of Orders is subordinate; all their orders of clerks being ordained to the ministry of the Altar; and that every one of their seven orders, (all

Church of Rome declares, “that,” (I quote the Trent Catechism⁸), “the order of priesthood is essentially

which they call sacraments,) is only to be counted a sacrament, as it hath reference to the eucharist: to which purpose Thomas Aquinas doth somewhat ridiculously distinguish their seven orders, according to their divers offices referred to that Sacrament. And forasmuch as in the whole power of order this is the Supreme act, by pronouncing the words of Consecration to make the very body of Christ, which is as well performed by a Priest as a Bishop, therefore they teach, that Bishops and Priests are both of one order; and that the order of Bishops, as it is a Sacrament, is not superior to that of Presbyters, but only as it is an office, in respect of certain sacred actions; and in this sense, saith Thomas, that the bishop hath power in Sacred and hierarchical actions in respect of Christ’s mystical body above the Priest, the office of Bishop is an order. For you must understand that they make all Ecclesiastical power to have reference to the body of Christ, either *verum*, his true body in the Sacrament of the Altar, which they call the power of order; or *mysticum*, mystical, (that is the Church and the members thereof,) which they call the power of jurisdiction.

This new popish conceit, therefore, of confounding Bishops and Presbyters into one order, ariseth from their idol of the mass, and their doctrine of transubstantiation, whereby every Priest is as able to make his Maker, as the Pope himself. I call it new, because all the ancient writers do confess, (as before hath been shown,) Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons to be three distinct degrees, and consequently orders of the ministry: for what is an order, but that degree, which, among things or persons which are subordinate one with another, some being higher, some lower, any one hath obtained?

Wherefore, laying aside these popish conceits, let us consider what is to be determined concerning this matter, according to the truth.”—Downname’s *Defence*, &c., p. 103, book iii. ch. iv.—See also Bingham, book ii. c. i. sec. 1.

⁸ “*Quamvis unus sit sacerdotii ordo, non tamen unus est sacerdotum gradus. Qui tametsi unus est, varios tamen dignitatis et potestatis gradus habet. Primus est eorum, qui sacerdotes simpliciter vocantur, quorum*

one, though it has different degrees of dignity and power. The first is confined to those who are simply called priests, and whose functions we have now explained. The second is that of bishops, who are placed over their respective sees, to govern not only the other ministers of the Church, but also the faithful; and with sleepless vigilance and unwearied care, to watch over and promote their salvation." That "to the bishop belongs exclusively the conferring of holy orders," is equally allowed by both Churches, and I should imagine that it will be readily granted, in the language of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, that "this is a matter of certainty, and is easily proved by the authority of Scripture, by traditional evidence the most unequivocal, by the unanimous attestation of all the holy Fathers, by the decrees of councils, and by the practice of the universal Church."

My next authority is that of Archbishop *Cranmer's Catechism*, a work which, though "first framed in Germany,⁹ and translated into Latin by Justus Jonas," who lived with the Archbishop, "was by

functiones hactenus declaratae sunt. Secundus est episcoporum, qui singulis episcopatibus præpositi sunt, ut non solum ceteros ecclesiæ ministros, sed fidelem populum regant, et eorum saluti summa cum vigilantia et cura prospiciant."—Cat. Con. Tri. pars ii. cap. 7, quæst. 25. See also Le Blanc's *Theses Theologicæ, De membris Ecclesiæ Militantis*, cap. 2, 3, 4.

⁹ Bishop Burnet affirms it to have been entirely composed by the zealous and indefatigable archbishop, "without the concurrence of any other." *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. book i. pt. 2.

Cranmer himself, or by his special order, turned into English, published in his own name, and owned as his own book." In this Catechism, as Bishop Burnet has remarked, and as we shall presently learn, Cranmer "fully owns the Divine institution of bishops and priests¹." It was published in the

¹ "I have (says Dr. Hickes) made this sermon public again, because I think the doctrines set forth in it are as beneficial to the Church now, as when they were published one hundred and sixty years ago. I say *the doctrines*, for in order to explain the *power of the Keys*, he hath treated of the *sacerdotal mission* of God's ministers, to whom the power of the Keys is committed, and delivered his doctrine about it in several propositions, as, 1st.—That it is necessary to have preachers, or ministers of God's most Holy Word. 2nd.—That they must not aspire to that high office, before they are called, ordained, and appointed to it, and sent to us by God. 3rd.—That except they be so called, and sent, they cannot fruitfully teach, because God doth not work with the preacher, whom he hath not sent, &c. I have set all this in the reader's view, for the honour of Archbishop Cranmer's memory, to show that when he wrote this book, he could not be of the opinion, that '*the form of Church Government is mutable, that there is no distinction between a Bishop and a Priest, and that a man appointed to be a Bishop, or a Priest, needs no consecration by the Scripture; election, or appointment, being sufficient thereunto*, as is said of him, with great triumph, in the 178 page of the book of *Rights**. These loose opinions, which are so apparently contrary to what the Archbishop published in this sermon, that fraudulent writer took from a manuscript as cited by *Dr. Stillingfleet* in the 8th ch. of the 2nd book of his *Irenicum*; though *Dr. Durel*, who saw the manuscript afterwards, told the world how it was manifest from it, that the Archbishop changed his opinion, and came over to that of *Dr.† Leyghton*, who, in answer to the 11th question, asserted—that '*a Bishop had authority*

* By *Matthew Tindal*, answered by *Turner*, in his *Vindication of the Rights of the Christian Church*, and by *Hickes*, in his *Christian Priesthood, and Dignity of the Episcopal Order*,—see *Preface*.

† Collection of Records in the 3rd Book of the Bishop of Sarum's *History of the Reformation*, page 227.

year 1548, and dedicated to King Edward VI. I extract the following from the sermon on the *Authority*

from God in Scripture, as His minister, to make a Priest, and that he had not read that any other man had authority to make a Priest by Scripture, or knew any example thereof.' And, in answer to the 12th he said,— 'I suppose that there is a consecration required, as by imposition of hands, for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles;' who, in answer to the 10th question, he had said—'were made Bishops and Priests by Christ,' and that 'after them the seventy two * Disciples were made Priests.' This account of the Archbishop changing his opinion as to the point of Church Government, *Dr. Durel*, afterwards Dean of Windsor, gave † from the manuscript itself, wherein it appeared that *Th. Cantuariensis* was written with the Archbishop's own hand underneath *Leyghton's* opinion, to signify his approbation of it; and his sermon, which I have here reprinted, shews that it was his final opinion, and that he thought the people were to be instructed in it, as part of the erudition of a Christian man.—*Dr. Stillingfleet*, afterward Bishop of Worcester, never wrote, or, that I heard, said any thing to contradict *Dr. Durel's* account of his manuscript, all his life long. And the Bishop of Sarum also acknowledges, that the Archbishop did retract his opinion, though he printed his manuscript in another order and method than the original is written in, contrary to the advice of *Dr. Stillingfleet*, as *Dr. Grove* told the world in his shuffling answer to *Dr. Lowth's* letter to *Dr. Stillingfleet*; which was a fancy, or rather a liberty in his Lordship, which perhaps he would censure in another historian. I am sure it cannot be justified in any, and, in matters of law, it would be called altering a record. I must also observe, that Archbishop *Cranmer's* book must be written in 1547, or some time before, because it was printed in 1548. Which also further shews the great mistake of *Bishop Stillingfleet*, when he wrote his *Irenicum*, in dating the birth of his manuscript from the first settlement of King Edward vi., as a paper containing the principles upon which the Reformation proceeded in 1547, ‡ to the great dishonor

* On the Number of Disciples, whether 70 or 72, see Heylyn's *His. of Epis.* p. 19. † *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. xxvi. p. 326.

‡ It may be added that *Edward*, Archbishop of York, who subscribed the Paper of Questions, died in 1544.

of the Keys: “ By the words ‘ How shall they call on him on whom they believe not ? How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard ? How shall they hear without a preacher ? How shall they preach except they be sent ? ’ (Rom. x. 14.) St. Paul evidently declares unto us two lessons : the first is, that it is necessary to our salvation to have preachers and ministers of God’s most holy word, to instruct us in the true faith and knowledge. The second is, that preachers must not run to this high honour before they be called thereto ; but they must be ordained and appointed to this office, and sent to us by God. Again, the teachers, except they be called and sent, cannot fruitfully teach ; for the seed of God’s word doth never bring forth fruit, unless the Lord of the harvest doth give increase, and by His Hely Spirit do work with the sowers. But God doth not work with the preacher whom He hath not sent, as St. Paul saith, ‘ How shall they preach if they be not sent ? ’ Wherefore it is requisite, that preachers should be called and sent

of our Reformers, and the disgrace of our Reformation, and giving our adversaries of Rome great occasion to misrepresent our Church to be *Erastian* in its foundation, as giving the Prince the power of the Apostles, and other unconsecrate laymen authority to ordain Bishops and Priests, and to excommunicate, and administer the Sacraments, if the law of any kingdom *alloweth thereunto*.”—Dr. Hickes’ *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, pp. 38—41. The reader will find the opinions of Archbishop Cranmer considered at length in the Postscript of my *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England Unbroken* pp. 85—79.

of God ; and they must preach according to the authority and commission of God granted unto them." And to the intent that we may know to whom this commission is granted, the Archbishop adds, that " Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself hath both ordained and appointed ministers and preachers to teach us His holy word, and to minister His sacraments ; and also hath appointed them what they shall teach in His name, and what they shall do unto us. He called and chose His twelve Apostles. And after Christ's ascension, the Apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men to minister God's word, chiefly in those places where there were Christian men already which lacked preachers, and the Apostles themselves could not longer abide with them. Wherefore, when they found godly men, and meet to preach God's word, they laid their hands upon them, and gave them the Holy Ghost, as they themselves received of Christ the same Holy Ghost to execute their office. And they that were so ordained, were indeed, and also were called, the ministers of God, as the Apostles themselves were, as St. Paul saith unto Timothy : and so the ministration of God's word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the Apostles unto other after them, by imposition of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, from the Apostles' time to our own days ; and this was the consecration, and orders, and unction of the Apostles, whereby they, at the beginning,

made bishops and priests; and this shall continue in the Church unto the world's end. And whatsoever they do to you, as when they baptize you, when they give you absolution, and distribute to you the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, these you shall so esteem as if Christ Himself, in His own person, did speak and minister to you; for Christ hath commanded His ministers to do this unto you, and He Himself, although you see Him not with your bodily eyes, is present with His ministers, and worketh by the Holy Ghost in the administration of the sacraments. And," adds the Archbishop, "on the other side, you shall take good heed and beware of false and privy preachers, which privily creep into cities, and preach in corners, having none authority, nor being called to this office; for Christ is not present with such preachers, and therefore doth not the Holy Ghost work by their preaching; but they, no doubt of it, do err, and sow abroad heresy and naughty doctrine." Such is the testimony of one of our Protestant martyrs in favour of the Divine right of Episcopacy².

² Bishop Burnet remarks, with reference to *Cranmer's Catechism*, that, "it is plain that he had now quite laid aside those singular opinions which he formerly held of the ecclesiastical functions; for now, in a work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully sets forth their Divine institution." *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. book i. pt. 2. See a previous note page 140.

Let me now direct your attention to the *Preface* to the *Ordination Service*, as contained in our own Prayer-book. This office³ was drawn up in the year 1549, under the authority of King Edward VI., by six archbishops and bishops, and six other eminent Reformers, Cranmer being the chief. The act of Parliament, under which this Ordinal was framed, runs thus: "It is requisite to have one uniform fashion and manner for making and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Be it, therefore, enacted by the King's Highness, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that such form and manner of making and Consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, be devised, and set forth," &c.: whereby it is evident, that different offices were contemplated and actually framed for different orders. Now mark the opinions⁴ expressed in the

³ See Mason's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, pp. 183—198.—and my *Succession of Bishops*, &c. p. 76.

⁴ "To which may be added," says Daubeny, (Appendix, p. 465,) "the judicious remark on this subject of that learned divine, Bishop Stillingfleet; together with the demonstration of that acute reasoner, Mr. Chillingworth. 'The universal consent of the Church being proved, there is as great reason to believe the Apostolical succession to be of Divine institution, as the canon of Scripture, or the observation of the Lord's day. We do not doubt but it is unlawful to add to, or to diminish from, the canon of Scripture, and yet there is no plain text for it, with respect to all the books contained in it; and some of the books were a long time disputed in some Churches: but the Churches coming at last to a full agreement in this matter, upon

preface⁵: “It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that

due search and inquiry, hath been thought sufficient to bind all after-ages to make no alterations in it. And as to the Divine institution of the Lord's day, we do not go about to lessen it, but only to show that some examples in Scripture, being joined with the universal practice of the Church in its purest ages, hath been allowed to be sufficient ground, not only for following ages to observe it, but to look on it as at least an Apostolical institution. Now it cannot but seem unequal, not to allow the same force where there is the same evidence; and therefore our Church hath wisely and truly determined, that, “since the Apostles' times, there have been three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons,” and in a regular well-constituted Church, are to continue to the world's end.’—‘Episcopal government,’ says Mr. Chillingworth, at the end of his demonstration, (*The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy demonstrated*,) ‘is acknowledged to have been received universally in the Church presently after the times of the Apostles; between the Apostles and this *presently after*, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of so great an alteration; and therefore there was no such alteration as was pretended.’ From whence it follows, that ‘Episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and catholic, must be also granted to be Apostolic.’ *q. e. d.* ‘For so great a change as between Presbyterian government and Episcopal, could not possibly have prevailed all the world over in a little time. Had episcopal government been an aberration from, or a corruption of, the government left in the Churches by the Apostles, it had been very strange that it should have been received in any one Church so suddenly, or that it should have prevailed in all for many ages after. *Variasse debuerat error ecclesiarum; quod autem apud omnes unum est, non est erratum, sed traditum.* Had the Churches erred, they would have varied; what, therefore, is one and the same among all, came not sure by error, but by tradition. Thus Tertullian argues, very probably, from the consent of the Churches of his time; and that, in matter of opinion, much more subject to unobserved alteration. But that in the frame and substance of the necessary government of the Church—a thing always in use and practice—there should be so sudden a change as presently after the Apostles' times, and so univer-

from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops,

sally as received in all Churches, this is clearly impossible.'" See *Stillingfleet's Ordination Sermon*, preached in 1684; and *Chillingworth's Works*, p. 389.

5 "That our Church did believe our bishops to succeed the Apostles in those parts of their office, I shall make appear by these things. In the preface before the book of Ordination, it is said, that 'it is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers' in Christ's Church, bishops, priests, and deacons.' What is the reason that they express it thus, '*from the Apostles' time*,' rather than '*in the Apostles' time*,' but that they believed while the Apostles lived, they managed the affairs of government themselves; but as they withdrew, they did in some Churches sooner, and in some later, as their own continuance, the condition of the Churches, and the qualification of persons were, commit the care and government of Churches to such persons whom they appointed thereto? Of which we have an uncontrollable evidence in the instances of Timothy and Titus; for the care of government was a distinct thing from the office of an evangelist; and all their removes do not invalidate this, because while the Apostles lived it is probable there were no fixed bishops, or but few. But as they went off, so they came to be settled in their several Churches. And as this is most agreeable to the sense of our Church, so it is the fairest hypothesis for reconciling the different testimonies of antiquity; for hereby the succession of bishops is secure from the Apostles' times, for which the testimonies of Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and others, are so plain; hereby room is left to make good all that St. Jerome hath said, and what Epiphanius delivers concerning the differing settlements of Churches at first; so that we may allow for the community of names between bishop and presbyter for a while in the Church; *i. e.* while the Apostles governed the Churches themselves; but afterwards, that which was then part of the apostolical office, became the episcopal, which hath continued from that time to this by a constant succession in the Church."—*Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 269.

Priests, and Deacons ; which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same ; and also, by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And, therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, it is requisite that no man, (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon,) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following⁶." Now, the Divine appointment of the several orders is expressly declared in the first and subsequent Ordinals. " Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by Thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in Thy Church ; mercifully behold this Thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a Bishop," or Priest, or Deacon, as the case may be. The preface remained the same, and the forms, with one or two trifling alterations, in the Prayer-book of 1552 ; and the slight variations in the preface, and the alterations in the forms themselves, adopted at the last review, in 1662, tend to develope more clearly the views of our Church in favour of Episcopacy and the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. The objec-

⁶ See the present Bishop of Exeter's *Ordination Sermon*, (1843), p. 27.

tion, that the words for conveying the bishops' and priests' character are the same in the Ordinal set forth in King Edward's reign, (which, in fact, they are not,) has been ably refuted by Collier,⁷ Bishop Madox, and others.

⁷ I subjoin the remark of Collier. "The objection that the words for conveying the bishops' and priests' character are the same in the ordinal set forth in King Edward's reign, goes partly upon a mistake; for at the ordination of a priest, the words run thus: 'Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.; take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed.' But at the consecration of a bishop, the form stands as follows: 'Remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee, by imposition of hands: for God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness.'

"I grant there is some resemblance in these forms, but then there is a plain distinction in other parts of the office. For instance, there is an express declaration of two bishops, that the person presented is to be consecrated to their own order. There are more questions put to him by the archbishop than are mentioned in the office for ordaining priests; some of which suppose a superior authority in his character; and that the exercise of discipline, and the government of a diocese, are branches of his function. The archbishop and two other bishops lay their hands upon the head of the elect; whereas at the ordaining of a priest, this ceremony is performed only by the diocesan, with some priests assisting. These short remarks may be sufficient to discover the weakness of the exception against this ordinal." *Collier*, vol. v., p. 383.

Dr. Chandler also observes, that "in the ordination of presbyters, a distinction of their office from that of bishop immediately follows. They are declared to have, and the declaration implies that they have, in virtue of that ordination, only the power of absolving penitents and of dispensing the word and sacraments; and that in such congregations as they should be appointed unto. There is not the least appearance of episcopal powers, nor of any authority which is not at this day given by the Church of England to presbyters; but in the

The 23rd and 36th Articles of our Church next demand our attention. I need hardly state, that these articles were drawn up by Cranmer and certain bishops and other divines, in the year 1552 ; they were revised in 1562, under Archbishop Parker ; and,

ordination of bishops there is not the least restraint ; the words are left general as they were used by Christ in ordaining his Apostles, and all the ordinary authority which they were originally intended to express is conveyed by them without diminution : so that in one case there is only a limited commission given, but in the other a commission without any restriction or limitation, and, consequently, extending to all ecclesiastical offices, which, in fact, is also intended."—*Appeal further defended*, pp. 42, 43.

Bishop Burnet also argues correctly and forcibly upon this point : "It is to be considered, that ecclesiastical orders being from the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, which being one, yet hath different operations for the different administrations, therefore the concomitant actions, words, and circumstances must show, for which administration the Holy Ghost is prayed for, since that general prayer is made for all ; but the functions being different, the same Holy Ghost works differently in them all. Therefore, it is plain from the practice of our Saviour, that there is no need of expressing, in the very words of ordination, what power is thereby given, since our Saviour did not express it, but what He said both before and after did determine the sense of those general words to the Apostolical function. The whole office of consecrating bishops (for instance) shows very formally and expressly what power is given in those (general) words ; so that a priest being presented to be made a bishop, the king's mandate being read for that effect, he swearing canonical obedience as bishop elect, prayers being put up for him as such, together with other circumstances which make it plain what they are about, those general words are by these qualified and restrained to that sense." *Vindication*, &c. p. 64. See also Madox's *Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship of the Church of England* ; pages 58—63. Edit. 1733. The above point is more fully considered in my *Succession of Bishops*, &c. pp. 42—68.

“when decreed, were,” in the language of Strype, “mostwhat the same with those made and constituted in the year 1552.” The 23rd, which I am now about to quote, was precisely the same: “It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same; and those we ought to judge lawfully” (that is, according to the *law of God*; for the judges, not the clergy, are the proper expositors of the *law of the land*,) “called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord’s vineyard.” The 36th article, as revised in 1562, says: “The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward VI., and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering; neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly; and therefore whosoever are consecrated and ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the afore-named King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.” This declaration of the Church was afterwards confirmed by act of Parlia-

ment in the eighth year of Elizabeth. Let any man compare these Articles with the "Preface to the Ordination Service," where he will read, that "to the intent these Orders of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, which have been from the Apostles' time in Christ's Church, should be *continued*, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite, that no man, (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon,) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following:" let a man, I say, compare these "Articles" with the "Preface to the Ordination Service," and the service itself—all drawn up under the same archiepiscopal head—and I think that he will not doubt the sentiments of our Reformers on the question of *Episcopacy* and the necessity of a *Divine Commission*.

The "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*" is another document which develops the views of the Reformers on the subject before us. This body of ecclesiastical laws was drawn up under an act of parliament, by thirty-two commissioners, who were divided into four sub-commissions, consisting each of two bishops, two divines, two canon and civil, and two common-law lawyers; and what was concluded by each class was to be transmitted to the rest, and examined by them. The principal matter was furnished by archbishop Cranmer, and the date of the work is 1552. In the third, fourth, tenth, and subsequent chapters of the twentieth title, we

have the offices of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop, clearly and specifically stated. The Deacon was to preach and administer the sacraments, "*modo episcopi permissione*," "only by permission of the Bishop;" and unless his zeal and assiduity should be attested by presbyters who were cognizant of his conduct, the Bishops were not to ordain him into the higher order of priesthood. The chapter on the office of presbyter refers us to the third chapter of St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy, and to the first chapter of his epistle to Titus, for an elucidation of their official character, and speaks of the flock of God *committed* to them; which commission we learn from the Ordination Service—which was drawn up under the same authority—was imparted by the imposition of the Bishop's hands. The chapter on the order and dignity of Bishops, and the subsequent chapters on the obedience due to them, are still more explicit. The first speaks of the Bishops as holding the chief place among the ministers of Christ's Church, and gives them authority to govern the inferior orders of the clergy—" *inferiores ordines cleri*;"—the others allude to the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction of the Bishops; and declare that the whole diocese, both clergy and laity—" *omnia Christi membra ejus curæ commissa*," "all the members of Christ committed to his care,"—were to be under the Bishop, and to be governed by his discipline and direction; not only on those points which are clearly specified in the word of God, but on such as appertain to the

maintenance of Church discipline, and the carrying out the requirements of the ecclesiastical laws. A subsequent chapter speaks of the Bishops as conferring the sacred orders ; and alludes to the imposition of the Bishop's hands as the mode of conferring these orders. A reference to the work itself will show that I have not mis-stated the sentiments of our Reformers ⁸.

⁸ I subjoin the chapters referred to in the original, as the work is somewhat scarce.—Tit. "*De Ecclesia, et Ministris ejus, illorumque officiis.*" Cap. 3. *De Diaconis.*—"Diaconus erit patronus pauperum, ut languidos confirmet, soletur vinctos, inopes juvet, eritque pater orphanis, patronus viduis, et solatium afflictis et miseris, quantum in illo est, omnibus. Nomina etiam pauperum Parocho diligenter deferet, ut ejus suasu ecclesia tota permota necessitatibus illorum prospiciat, ne mendicantes latè fratres obambulent, eodem et cœlesti patre nati et pretio redempti. Pastoribus suis, a quibus adsciti fuerint, in sacris precationibus et officiis perpetuo adsint. Lectiones ex verbo Domini quotidianas populo recitabunt, et, si quando necessitas incumbat, concionabuntur, et sacramenta (modo id episcopi aut ordinarii permissione faciant) administrabunt. His officiis nisi diligenter eos invigilasse per presbyteros ecclesiæ demonstratum sit, episcopi illos ad altiorem gradum non promoveant."

De Presbyteris, cap. 4—"In presbytero mores eluceant a D. Paulo descripti ad Tim. iii. et ad Titum primo. Gregem Dei sibi commissum verbo vitæ subinde nutriant, et ad sinceram tum Deo tum magistratui ac in dignitate positam obedientiam assiduè eliciant, et ad benevolentiam mutuam Christianos omnes sedulò invitent. Non sint compotores, non aleatores, non aucupes, non venatores, non sycophantæ, non otiosi, aut supini, sed sacrarum literarum studiis et prædicationi verbi et orationibus pro ecclesia ad Dominum diligenter incumbant. Nullus expers conjugii, mulierem sexaginta annis natu minorem in ædibus sinat diversari, nisi sit ejus mater, aut amita, aut matertera, aut soror. Presbyter quivis Biblia sacra habeat propria, non Anglicè modo, verum

Time will permit me to refer to one more document only in favour of the transmission of apos-

etiam Latinè ; vestis sit decens, et gravis, quæ ministrum deceat, non militem, juxta arbitrium episcopi.”

De Episcoporum gradu, ac dignitate in Ecclesia, cap. 10.—“Episcopi, quoniam inter cæteros ecclesiæ ministros locum principem tenent, ideo sana doctrina, gravi autoritate, atque provido concilio, debent inferiores ordines cleri, universumque populum Dei, regere ac pascere, non sane ut dominantur eorum fidei, sed ut seipsos vere servos servorum Dei exhibeant, sciantque auctoritatem et jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam non alia de causa sibi præcipue creditam esse, nisi ut suo ministerio et assiduitate homines quam plurimi Christo jungantur ; quique jam Christi sunt, in eo crescant et exædificantur ; atque si nonnulli deficient, ad pastorem Christum Dominum reducantur, et per salutarem pœnitentiam instaurentur.”

De obedientia Episcopis exhibenda, cap. 11.—“Omnes in ecclesia cum pacem sectari debeant, et ad concordiam quantum licet incumbere, episcopo qui ecclesiæ præficitur, non solum decanus, archidiaconus, archipresbyter, et reliqui ministri parebunt, sed omnia etiam Christi membra ejus curæ commissa sic ad ejus se voluntatem accommodabunt, ut et in his quæ juxta verbum Dei præcipiunt, et in illis etiam quæ mandabunt ad Christianam disciplinam, et ad nostras ecclesiasticas leges pertinentia, paratissime morem gerent.”

De variis et multiplicibus Episcopi muneribus, cap. 12.—“Verbi Dei sanam doctrinam cum primis tum per seipsum, tum per alios, episcopus tradat in sua ecclesia, quanta diligentia et sedulitate fieri potest : sacros ordines opportuno tempore conferat ; sed nemini, vel mercede conductus, vel temere manus imponat ; idoneos ministros ad ecclesiastica beneficia instituat ; indignos vero, ubi graves causæ ac morum perversitas id requisierint, submoveat, et ab ecclesiæ administratione dejiciat ; ecclesiæ testimonia et querelas de suis pastoribus audiat ; rixas inter ministros et ecclesias subortas componat ; vitia, et contaminatos mores, censuris ecclesiasticis corrigat ; edicta ad meliorem vivendi formam præscribat ; eos qui pertinaciter et obstinate reluctantur, excommunicet ; pœnitentes vero in gratiam recipiat ; diocesim totam, tam in locis exemptis quam non, tertio quoque anno visitet, et consuetas procuraciones accipiat : ut vero aliis temporibus, quoties

tolical authority to the bishops, as the successors of the Apostles, having been a doctrine held by our reformers. In the year 1559, at a disputation between the Papists and Protestants at Westminster, the latter maintained against the former, who were anxious to lower the episcopal in favour of the papal dignity, that "the Apostles' authority is derived upon after ages, and conveyed to the Bishops, their successors." The eminent names of Scory, Grindal, Cox, Aylmer, Guest, Jewel, and Horn, may be mentioned as the Protestant disputants who maintained the above proposition. And yet we are told that to maintain the apostolical succession is *popery*!!

It would be an easy task, and to me a pleasing one, to give you a *catena* of the writings of our reformers, and of other eminent divines, "famous in the congregation, men of renown," on this subject; but time forbids my doing so.⁹ I would only add,

visum fuerit, visitet propter novos casus qui incidere possint, ei liberum esto; modo suis impensis id faciat, et nova onera stipendiorum aut procurationum ab ecclesiis non exigat; statis temporibus annuatim synodos habeat; illi quoque sit curæ ut in Catechismo instructos certo anni tempore confirmet; testamenta quoque approbet. Et demum omnia et singula episcopis curæ sunt, quæ ad eos ex Dei præscripto spectant, et nostræ leges ecclesiasticæ illorum cognitioni et judiciis commiserunt."

⁹ I shall be pardoned for referring the reader to the Postscript of my *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England Unbroken*, for much additional information connected with the several documents above quoted. pp. 69—100.

that the opinions expressed in favour of episcopacy, clear, distinct, undeniable opinions, declarative, in the language of archbishop Hutton, of “bishops having their authority, not by any custom or decree of man, but from the Apostles themselves;” that these opinions, I say, expressed by such men as Whitgift¹, and Hutton², and Bancroft³, and Jewel⁴,

¹ Strype thus records the sentiments of Whitgift on the discipline of the Church of England as set forth in her formularies:—“Our doctor, towards the latter end of his answer, gave his judgment of this new (presbyterian) platform, (that such a stir was made to introduce,) set down by the authors in the second ‘admonition;’ where they prescribe the manner of electing ministers, where they treat of their exercises, of their equality, of the government of the Church, &c. ‘This surely,’ writeth he, ‘being well considered, will appear not only a confused platform, without any sound warrant of God’s word; but also a fantastical device, tending to the overthrow of learning, religion, yea, the whole state of the government of the commonwealth.’”—Strype’s *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 84. Again, Dr. Bowden (in his letters to Miller) remarks, that “The first attack made upon it (episcopacy) was by Cartwright and his associates, in the year 1572, twenty-four years after the Reformation. They published a book entitled, *An Admonition to the Parliament*; the design of which was to subvert the government of bishops. An answer was given to this book by Dr. Whitgift, then vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Strype says of this book, that ‘it contained a very learned and satisfactory vindication of the Church of England, and especially of the government of it by bishops.’ Some years afterwards, Sir F. Knollys, a great puritan, complains of Whitgift, that in this book he ‘had claimed, in the right of bishops, a superiority belonging to them over all the inferior clergy, from God’s own ordinance.’ In 1593, Whitgift, when promoted to the see of Canterbury, wrote a letter to Beza, in which he expostulates with him for intermeddling in the dispute between the Church and the puritans. In that letter he says, ‘We make no doubt, but the episcopal degree,

and those to whom I have previously referred as taking an active part in drawing up our existing

which we bear, is an institution apostolic and divine; and so hath always been held by a continual course of times, from the Apostles to this very age of ours.' Again, 'You may remember, learned Sir, the beginnings of that episcopacy, which you make to be only of human institution, are referred by the Fathers, with one mouth, to the Apostles, as the authors thereof; and that the bishops were appointed as successors of the Apostles; especially in certain points of their function. And what Aaron was to his sons and to the Levites, this the bishops were to the priests and deacons; and so esteemed of the Fathers to be by Divine institution.'—Bowden's *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy asserted*, p. 58.

² The following is extracted from Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*:—"In this interim (A. D. 1589,) while the calling of bishops and their authority, as founded upon Scripture, was so much opposed as contrary thereunto; a very learned discourse was seasonably made, in conference with the lord-treasurer and secretary Walsingham, the Queen's two great counsellors of state, at their motion, by Hutton, bishop of Durham, a man well studied in divinity, and sometime the public professor of that faculty in Cambridge immediately before Whitgift; and for whom the said Whitgift, now archbishop, had a great esteem for his learning. Those two great men, for their own satisfaction, heard that bishop discourse accurately this and some other points, mightily now-a-days insisted on by puritans. An account whereof the said bishop wrote soon after, in the month of October, to his friend the said archbishop, which is well worthy the recording in history. This discourse consisted of three heads. 1. Concerning the judicial law of Moses. 2. The authority of a prince in causes ecclesiastical. 3. The authority and lawfulness of bishops. This bishop being at court, the lord-treasurer had his company in his private chamber to dinner; where none was present but himself, the secretary, and the bishop. There designedly these two statesmen, for their better satisfaction, desired to hear what that well-learned and grave man could say on those greatly contested arguments. His resolutions whereof, as himself penned them down in his letter, dated from York to the archbishop, being somewhat long, I have repositèd

formularies, together with those of Bucer⁵, and Beza⁶, and Calvin⁷, and Luther⁸, and Melancthon⁹,

in the Appendix. Wherein we may see and understand what were the judgments of the bishops of the realm, and the learnedest divines in those times nearest the reformation of this Church; and so best knew the true constitution of it."—Book iii. ch. 24.

In the *Appendix of Records and Originals*, no. 44, book iii., we have an account of this 'discourse' in a letter from Bishop Hutton to archbishop Whitgift. The following extract refers to the question before us:—"The third question was, of the authority and warrant of a bishop. My answer was, *Hujus rei gratiā reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere*, &c. Tit. i. Also, *Adversus presbyterum ne accipias accusationem*, &c. 1 Tim. v. Here is the chief office of a bishop set down; to appoint and constitute priests in parishes, and to amend things amiss in the Church. Whereby it appears, that both Titus and Timothy did exercise the office of bishops. Therefore both Hierom and Eusebius affirm that they were bishops, the one of Crete, and the other of Ephesus. And, albeit, that it cannot be denied, but that these names, *episcopus* and *presbyter*, in the New Testament, are often used for one thing, for priests and ministers of the word and sacraments; as, Acts xx. St Paul sent from Miletus for the priests that were at Ephesus; and speaking unto them, he called them bishops; *Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, in quo vos posuit Spiritus Sanctus episcopos*. Whom before St. Luke calleth elders or priests, St. Paul calleth bishops. Likewise, Tit. i., first he calls them priests; *Ut constituas oppidatim presbyteros*: then he calls them bishops; *Oportet enim episcopum irreprehensibilem esse*; also in the first to the Philippians, he saluteth 'the saints at Philippi,' together with 'the bishops and deacons.' Bishops in this place do signify elders or priests. For it is not like that there were many bishops in that one city at that time, as the word doth now signify. Yet it is certain, that there was an office in the Apostles' time, which Titus and Timothy did exercise, which was distinct from the office of them who had only authority to preach and minister the sacraments, but not to appoint priests and censure offenders. No; by a general Council of all the Church, they which do execute the same office which Titus and Timothy did, by the appointment of the Apostles, are called *episcopi*, the other are

and Fox¹, and other eminent divines², in the earlier period of the Reformation ; and of similar opinions

called *presbyteri*, or *sacerdotes* ; and since the Apostles' times, have been distinct, both name and office. And this was done in *schismatis remedium*, as Hierom said upon the epistle to Titus, and in an epistle that he writeth to Evagrius. In which, albeit he confoundeth the names, yet liketh he well of the distinction of the offices. For as Christ is *apostolus*, Heb. iii. ; and *episcopus*, 1 Pet. ii. ; and St. Peter doth call himself *presbyter*, 1 Pet. v. ; and St. Hierom saith, that St. John the Evangelist and Apostle calleth himself *presbyter* in his two last epistles, (for there he seemeth to ascribe those epistles to John the Apostle,) yet may we not confound the offices of elder or priest, bishop and apostle.

“I alleged, last of all, that Epiphanius, writing against Acrius, concludeth it for a heresy to say, *Idem est episcopus et presbyter*. And he allegeth against that heretic and that heresy, some of those places I cited before, to prove that they are distinct offices. He addeth, furthermore, that *presbyter gignit filios*, meaning, by preaching the Gospel ; but *episcopus gignit patres*, meaning, that he doth appoint presbyters unto the Church, which were Fathers.”

Again, we have “The opinion of Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, touching certain matters, like to be brought in question before the King's most excellent Majesty, at the conference at court,” written, October 9, 1mo. Jacobi, to the archbishop of Canterbury:—“Whereas indeed bishops have their authority, not by any custom or decree of man, but from the Apostles themselves, as Epiphanius proveth plainly against Acrius the heretic ; who, being a proud man, because he could not get to be bishop himself, thought that *idem est episcopus et presbyter*. With this opinion St. Augustine doth charge that heretic, in his book *De Hæresibus, Ad quod vult Deum*. But Epiphanius doth show the difference to be, not only because the bishop hath authority over the priests, but because the presbyter begetteth children to the Church by preaching and baptizing ; the bishop begetteth fathers to the Church by giving of orders. *Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere ; constituas oppidatim presbyteros*, &c. And so it hath continued in the Church ever since.”

Appendix, no. 44. book iv.

maintained by such giant theologians as Bilson, and Hooker, and Andrews, and Hall, and Bramhall, and

³ That Bancroft maintained the Divine right of Episcopacy, may be learned from the following extract :—" About this time (A.D. 1588,) the better to complete the work for throwing down bishops, a written tract, (for I think it was not printed,) was cunningly framed by some of the party against the superiority of bishops over other ministers; built upon a political foundation, as striking at the Queen's authority: this book was put into Sir Francis Knollys' hands, a privy-councillor, to manage at court for the party. It bore this title, *Touching the Superiority of Bishops, with a Syllogism; and an Answer to the same, and a Reply thereunto.*

"This tract was occasioned by a sermon preached January 12th, 1588, in the city [and, as it seems, at St. Paul's] by Dr. Bancroft, the archbishop's chaplain, the author of *England's Scottizing*, and of *A Survey of the Pretended Discipline*, a notable antagonist of the disciplinarians. In which sermon the preacher was charged to maintain, that the bishops of England had superiority over their inferior brethren, *jure divino*, and directly from God. For the preaching of this sermon, I am apt to believe he had the instructions of the archbishop, to meet with these loud clamours that were now-a-days made against the sacred calling of the English bishops."—*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 558.

⁴ The following is "the judgment of that reverend Father, Jewel, some time bishop of Sarum, on this assertion, *Archiepiscoporum et archidiaconorum nomina, simul cum muneribus et officiis suis, sunt abolenda.* How know you that the fourth chapter *ad Ephes.* is a perfect pattern of all ecclesiastical government? We have now neither Apostles, nor evangelists, nor prophets, and yet are they the chief in that pattern. Neither have we there either bishop or presbyter, or diaconus, or catechista, or lector. And yet are these necessary parts in ecclesiastical government. Therefore that pattern is not perfect to hold for ever. The Church is not governed by names but by offices. Every bishop then was called *papa*. And Anacletus, that was next after Peter, (if there be any weight in his words,) nameth archbishops.' Again, "In the primitive Church God raised up Apostles and pro-

Mede, and Hammond, and Taylor, and Beveridge, and by numerous other “burning and shining lights,”

phets, and gave them power extraordinary, as the gift of tongues, the gift of healing, the gift of government, &c., in place whereof, He hath given now bishops, archbishops, &c.” Bishop Jewel was also one of the disputants on the Protestant side at the controversy at Westminster, in 1559, to which I have already referred. (See p. 156.)

⁵ Speaking of Sampson’s allusion to Bucer in his letter to the lord-treasurer, praying for a reformation in Church government, Strype says, “If he meant (as he seemeth to do) that the regiment of the Church was to be reformed by laying aside bishops and their superiority, and setting in the room thereof an equality of ministers, Bucer is evidently against him: who, in the said book, (*De Regno Christi*,) propounding to King Edward VI. that religion might be restored, and the Church of Christ be planted and watered with fit ministers, writes thus: ‘Nunc ex perpetua ecclesiarum observatione, ab ipsis jam apostolis, videmus, visum et hoc esse Spiritui Sancto, ut inter presbyteros, quibus ecclesiarum procuratio est commissa, unus ecclesiarum, et totius sacri ministerii curam gerat singularem; eaque cura et solitudine cunctis præeat aliis. Qua de causa *episcopi* nomen hujusmodi summis ecclesiarum curatoribus est peculiariter attributum.’ (*De Regno Christi*, cap. 12. p. 98.) And again, ‘Hi enim, sicut dignitate et demandata primaria ecclesiarum solitudine, reliquos omnes sacri ministerii ordines antecedunt, ita debent etiam voluntate et studio,’ &c. (*Ibid.* p. 99.) He speaks also in the same chapter in approbation of the three orders in the ministry, viz. of bishops, priests, and deacons. Nor hath he a word of laying aside the episcopal and ecclesiastical officers, viz. chancellors, officials, commissaries, proctors, &c., only advising, (that the bishops might not be distracted with other business, but that they might wholly give themselves to the promoting of religion,) that they should have vicars and others of their clergy to assist them, and to take care of other necessary affairs belonging to them.”—*Annals of the Ref.* vol. ii. pt. 1. p. 395.

“He who I conceive may be suffered to speak next is one very well known in England, and England likewise was very well known to him; one whom Calvin judged capable of doing great service to this Church, and whom therefore he will gladly hear upon the question propounded; and that is *Martin Bucer*, the German, a person of much

are not to be rejected on account of the ignorant sneer of any modern theological tyro ; and well

learning, of exemplary piety, and of great wisdom and moderation. "A part of clerical discipline is the special subjection of clergymen, "by which those that are of an inferior degree and ministry do submit "themselves to them who are of an higher order and place. This part "of discipline our Lord hath taught us, and that by his own example ; who intending to make his disciples the doctors of the elect of "God throughout all the world, gave them a peculiar power for the "execution of that office, having first fitted them for it, as it were, "by a domestical discipline. The Apostles likewise, in imitation of "their Master, had each of them their own Disciples, which they did "teach and prepare for the right performing of the sacred ministry. "For every profession, or peculiar manner of living with more strictness than others, doth require likewise a peculiar doctrine, institution, "and oversight, as may be seen in the very study of Philosophy and "Military Discipline : which Lycurgus considering, he so ordered the "commonwealth of Sparta, as Xenophon witnesseth, that there was no "rank or order in it but had its proper and peculiar Magistracy. Plato "likewise requireth in his Book, "*De legibus et Republicâ*," that by no "means Citizens be suffered without some power over them to keep "them in order. Hence it is also that our Lord, requiring His Disciples to join together and adhere to each other in the same "manner that the members of the Body are joined and knit together, doth subject every one of his to some other, to be by them "kept, moved and governed, as by members of ampler and greater "power and efficacy. The Holy Ghost giveth the same rule, "*Submit yourselves one to another in the fear of God. Eph. v.* "Wherefore "the Holy Fathers, taking all these things into consideration, did "institute of old such an order among the Clergy, that by means "thereof, all other Clerks were to be under the special tuition and "government of the Presbytery. And among the Priests, as the "Consul among the Senators of the Commonwealth, so the Bishop "had the chiefest care of and power over, not only that whole Church, "but more specially all the Clergy of what order or degree soever : "and Bishops they set up in all those Churches that were numerous. "And they committed to the charge of every one of such Churches

may we say, in the language of Whitgift to Cartwright, "now let the indifferent reader judge,

"the neighbour congregations that were in less towns and villages, "ordering the Priests and Curates thereof, whom they called *Chorepiscopi*, to obey all and every of them, the Bishop and Presbytery, that "were nearest unto them. And those chiefest Bishops did use to call "them together, from time to time, with their whole clergy, giving them "instruction, and exhorting them to be careful in performing the duty "of their place and calling. Moreover they ordered that Metropolitans, (these were the Bishops of the chief city in every Province,) "should call Synods, and be the Presidents of them; wherefore they "committed to these Metropolitan Bishops in a manner the charge of "all the Churches of their Provinces; to the end that, if they knew "any thing to be done or ordered amiss, either by the Ministers of the "churches or the people, they might admonish them thereof in due "time; and if they could not prevail to have those things mended "by their admonitions, that then they should call a synod of bishops "to see them corrected. For they had no authority to exercise any "jurisdiction of themselves in those churches which had their own "bishops. For the bishop and presbytery of every church had all manner of jurisdiction over the people and clergy; and as for the bishops "themselves they were judged by the synod. Wherefore, when any "were to be ordained bishops of churches, it was appointed, that the "metropolitan, together with all the bishops of his province, (if that "could be done with the conveniency of the churches,) or with some "of them, at least two or three, should resort to the church where "the new bishop was to be ordained; there to order and direct the "election of the bishop, (if it was yet to be done,) or to confirm the "same, if it were made before, and to enquire with all possible exactness into the life and doctrine of the bishop elect; and then, "lastly, after all that, to consecrate him to the office of a bishop. "Further, when the world was filled with christian churches, and "even the metropolitans themselves stood in need that some should "take the charge of them; for when they became many in number, "they had not all of them that wisdom and vigilance which belonged "to their place (there being always but few that are choice and "excellent in every order of men); the charge of a certain number

whether these offices of Bishop, Priest and Deacon, be strange and unheard of³ in the Church of

“of provinces was committed to some bishop, viz: to those of the chiefest churches, as to the bishop of *Rome*, and to those of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and after to the Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, and some others, as the exigencies of the churches did seem to require it, according as they did grow in number and were multiplied. At last, the Bishop of *Rome* obtained the title of Universal Bishop, under the Empire of *Phocas*, which title the Bishops of that See did by little and little begin to abuse daily more and more; till finding an opportunity (first by the division of the Empire under *Charlemaine*, and afterwards by the dissensions of princes and nations, through which they broke the power of the emperors of the west and other kings) they raised themselves to that height of antichristian power, wherein they so much pride themselves at this day; having depressed the lawful power, first of other bishops, and afterwards of all kings and emperors themselves. Thus therefore was it that the devil overthrew all wholesome subjection and government in the clergy. But being it is altogether necessary that every one of the clergy have their keepers and governors, the authority, power, and also the vigilancy and discipline, not only of bishops, but likewise of archdeacons, and also of all others, by what name soever they be called, who have any part in the oversight and government of the clergy, is to be restored; that so there may be none whatsoever in that order, without some superior to have an eye over him and to keep him in obedience.”

“Thus much *Bucer* of *Church-Government*. Do but give him audience, and you will hear him speak as much to the purpose in all the rest, and he will hardly leave untouched any of the questions in debate.”—*Durel's Government in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, pp. 215—20, &c.

⁶ “*Beza*, supposes as positively as *Calvin* had done, that there were none who did oppose the episcopal hierarchy without such an universal head now upon earth, or that opposed the order of episcopacy; and condemns them as madmen, if any such could be found. For thus says he, ‘If there be any (which you shall hardly persuade me

Christ :'' fearlessly may we assert, in the language of Mosheim, that the Church of England⁴ has

to believe) who reject the whole order of episcopacy, God forbid that any man in his wits should assent to the madness of such men.'

"And particularly as to the Church of England, and her hierarchy of archbishops and bishops, he says, that he never meant to oppugn any thing of that, but calls it a 'singular blessing of God, and wishes that she may ever enjoy it.'

"So that our modern presbyterians are disarmed of the precedent of Calvin, Beza, and all the reformers abroad, by whose sentence they are anathematized, and counted as madmen."—Leslie's Works, vol. vii. p. 181.

"Let *Beza* be heard, a man of as great ability and fame as ever Geneva had, Calvin only excepted; who, notwithstanding his writings against Hadrianus Saravia about episcopacy, accounts it no less than madness to reject all the order of Bishops; and '*God forbid,*' (saith he,) '*that any man, who is not distracted, should be of that mind.*' Nay, he did not believe that there were any such men to be found; which shews what opinion he would have had of them, who of late years set up in Churches, instead of the Ten Commandments, Public Tables, upon which was written a Covenant for abolishing all the Hierarchy of the Church of England, with Texts of Scripture and remarkable passages and examples of God's judgments against Covenant-breakers: as if a conjuration against the Ministers of Christ were the covenant of God, which the godly are bound to keep and maintain upon pain of the eternal damnation of their souls. In the same treatise he hath these words. '*If the Church of England after her restoration, doth maintain itself, and is upheld by the authority of her Bishops and Archbishops; as we remember that she hath had not only signal Martyrs of God, but likewise most excellent Pastors and Doctors amongst the persons of that order, let her enjoy, by all means, that singular benefit of God, and God grant it be perpetual unto her.*' This was written by him after the death of Queen Mary. And in a letter to Archbishop Whitgift, as is related in his Grace's life written by Sir George Paul, Comptroller of his household, printed by Thomas Snodham, London, anno 1612, he speaks thus. '*In my writings touching the Church*

“constantly insisted on the Divine origin of its government and discipline.”

Government, I ever impugned the Romish hierarchy, but never intended to touch or impugn the Ecclesiastical Polity of the Church of England, nor to exact of you to frame yourselves or your church to the pattern of our presbyterian discipline.

‘As long [as the substance of doctrine is uniform in the Church of Christ, we may lawfully vary in other matters, as the circumstance of time, place, and persons requireth, and as prescriptions of antiquity may warrant. And to that end I wish and hope that the sacred and holy college of your bishops will for ever continue, and maintain such their right and title in the Church Government, with all equity and Christian moderation.]’

“This he wrote from Geneva, March 8, anno 1591.

“By the way, I will give this caution on these words of Beza, to all them of this church and nation of what persuasion soever they be ; that when they read any book of controversy written by the foreign divines of the reformed churches against the church of Rome, they do not suffer themselves to be deceived by this fallacy, *A dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter*, by which an author is thought simply and absolutely to approve or condemn, what he doth condemn or approve in part, and only in relation to some abuse or other thing. For example, you will find in the writings of some of them many things against holy days ; unless you take heed of the fallacy, if you are an obedient son of the Church of England, you will be scandalized ; and if you are one of the new reformation, you will catch at that as if they did altogether reject holy days, as simply evil and unlawful in themselves ; whereas they mean only to impugn the abuses of them, viz. the praying to saints, the opinion of meriting by keeping holy days, &c. So of *Episcopacy*, the point I treat of now, you will see most of them inveigh against prelates ; and here again you will be affected according to the pre-occupation of your mind. But observe what *Beza* saith of himself, that he impugneth only the *Romish* Hierarchy, but never intended to touch or impugn the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England ; and take it as if said by all others : or if you find anything by them written, that may be thought to thwart our church government, which you will never or very seldom find, be

And “how much are we of the Church of England bound,” (in the language of Bishop Beveridge,⁵)

sure it is either upon mis-information, or only out of some particular caprice, in both which they deserve to be very much blamed, as indeed they are by all other moderate understanding men amongst them. —*Durel's Government in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, p. 167.

7 “How Calvin stood affected in the said point of episcopacy, and how readily and gladly he and other heads of the reformed Churches would have received it, is evident enough from his writings and epistles. In his book, *Of the Necessity of reforming the Church*, he hath these words: *Talem nobis hierarchiam exhibeant*, &c. ‘Let them give us such an hierarchy, in which bishops may be so above the rest, as they refuse not to be under Christ, and depend upon Him as their only Head; that they maintain a brotherly society, &c. If there be any that do not behave themselves with all reverence and obedience towards them, there is no anathema, but I confess them worthy of it.’ But especially his opinion of episcopacy is manifested from a letter he and Bullinger and others, learned men of that sort, wrote, anno 1549, to King Edward the Sixth, offering to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their Churches, for better unity and concord among them: as may be seen in Archbishop Cranmer’s memorials; and likewise by a writing of Archbishop Abbot, found among the MSS. of Archbishop Usher; which for the remarkableness of it, and the mention of archbishop Parker’s papers, I shall here set down.

“Perusing some papers of our predecessor, Matthew Parker, we find that John Calvin, and others of the Protestant Churches of Germany and elsewhere, would have had episcopacy, if permitted: but could not upon several accounts; partly fearing the other princes of the Roman Catholic faith would have joined with the emperor and the rest of the popish bishops, to have depressed the same; partly being newly reformed, and not settled, they had not sufficient wealth to support episcopacy, by reason of their daily persecutions. Another and a main cause was, they would not have any popish hands laid over their clergy. And whereas John Calvin had sent a letter in King Edward the Sixth’s reign, to have conferred with the clergy of England

to acknowledge the goodness, and to praise, magnify, and adore the name of the most High God,

about some things to this effect, two bishops, viz. Gardiner and Boner intercepted the same: whereby Mr. Calvin's offerture perished. And he received an answer, as if it had been from the reformed divines of those times; wherein they checked him, and slighted his proposals: from which time John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance in several points; which otherwise, through God's mercy, had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered unto the Queen's Majesty during John Calvin's life. But being not discovered until or about the sixth year of her Majesty's reign, her Majesty much lamented they were not found sooner: which she expressed before her Council at the same time, in the presence of her great friends, Sir Henry Sidney, and Sir William Cecil.' " Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, vol. i. p. 139.—As the opinions of Calvin are frequently adduced by the opponents to episcopacy, in support of their own views, I beg the reader's attention to the following important and interesting extract from Durel's *View of the Government and public worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, (page 161) in which he proves that *Calvin was no enemy to episcopacy*.

"I must confess that for a time, hearing some men among us speak of Calvin as if he were entirely theirs, and as if he consented altogether with them about Church-government, I was in the same error with those that take him to be the great champion of presbyterian *parity*, against hierarchical *subordination*. But having perused most of his works, specially those where it is most likely that he should treat of this point, I have been otherwise persuaded, not finding anywhere the least word against the office of a bishop. And for all that I have either read of or in him, or seen produced out of his writings, I am of this mind, that *episcopacy was the government that he approved most, and that he took it to be, as it is undoubtedly, of Apostolical Institution*; though his opinion was that the Church, according to her exigencies in relation to places, times, and other circumstances, may dispense with it. This passage of his in that epistle he writ to Cardinal Sadolet, I conceive to be to that purpose. " *We deny not that we want a discipline, such as the ancient Church had. But can they in justice accuse us to have overthrown the discipline of the Church, who are the only men that*

in that we are born, and bred, and still live in a Church wherein the apostolical line hath, through

have altogether abolished it, and who, when we endeavoured to restore the same, have hitherto opposed that work? But as for doctrine we are willing to be tried by the ancient church." In these words he grants that the presbyterian discipline is *new*, which the lovers of it amongst us deny. And that, whereas he and his colleagues were willing to restore the same discipline that was in use in the primitive church (which can be no other than the *episcopal*, if the presbyterian be not it) the church of Rome, by her oppositions and persecutions, put an obstacle to that good work.

"Calvin writes another epistle, which is to be found in the volume of his *Opuscula*, to an old friend of his who was become a bishop in the church of Rome. In which epistle, though it is very prolix, he doth not speak one word against the office of a bishop, but only against the sundry abuses thereof in the Romish Church. Nay, he is so far from blaming it, that it appears he did rather hold it not only lawful, but (as I said even now) of *Apostolical* and *Divine Institution*. He telleth him in one place, that 'episcopacy itself proceeded from God,' that it was 'constituted by the authority of God,' and 'ordered by God's laws.' '*Art thou,*' saith he, '*created a bishop? The Apostle Paul is presently upon thee with his exhortation; Take heed to thyself and to thy ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it., And again, 'Since thou holdest both the name and the place of a bishop, thou hast engaged thy faith to the church. If thou askest me what opinion I have of thee and of thy place and order, I will answer, that I take thee for any thing rather than for a bishop, seeing upon thee not one of those colours which set forth at least in some part a true bishop. But nevertheless, saith he, thou art not free from that promise which thou hast made before God and men, upon thy oath.'* He tells him again, in another place, that as Paul did think himself a debtor to all those to whom he was sent an Apostle, he doth not see but that *he was as much engaged unto them whose bishop he was*. And so all along. And after he hath represented unto him the office of a bishop, he concludes with these words,—'*Wherefore thou oughtest either to do that which thou seest to be the duty of a bishop, or thou must quit the place of a bishop.*' Certainly, if Calvin had been an enemy to *episcopacy*, and that

all ages, been preserved entire ; there having been a constant succession of such Bishops in it as were

he had held it for an office not to be suffered in the church of Christ, the only good and Christian-like advice he would have given to this ancient friend should have been this, to leave forthwith his bishoprick, and give over his episcopal power as unlawful, and not compatible with true piety. In his '*Institution of Christian Religion*' likewise, where according to his design he was to speak against episcopacy, if he had thought it unlawful, he hath not one word, out of which one may guess that he did so much as dislike it. And were it not very strange that Calvin, writing against all the corruptions and abuses that he saw and conceived to be crept into the Christian church, should not so much as touch that of episcopacy, if he had been of the same opinion with *Smectymnuus* and other Presbyterians, who declared, "*that they may not lawfully any longer be subject unto bishops, nor obey their injunctions.*"

"In his epistle to the king of Poland, he not obscurely approves of all the degrees of the hierarchy of the ancient Church, even to Patriarchs ; and he giveth the king to understand, that he would be well satisfied if his Majesty should establish the same hierarchical subordination in his dominions. '*The ancient Church, saith he, did institute patriarchs, and attributed also certain Primacies to each province, to the end that bishops might better preserve union among themselves by this bond of concord ; as if now there were an Archbishop over the whole illustrious kingdom of Poland, not to lord it over the other bishops, or to take away their right from them and assume it to himself, but who, for order's sake, should hold the first place in Synods, and maintain an holy unity between his colleagues and brethren. And besides if there were bishops over the provinces or towns, &c.*'

"In one of his epistles, where he satisfieth them who propounded this question, '*What is to be done with a bishop that shall join himself to the reformed churches ; Si Episcopus vel curatus ad Ecclesiam se adjunxerit ;*' his answer is, not that he must give over his authority and episcopal jurisdiction, and become as one of the meanest priests and persons of his diocese ; but '*that such a bishop's part is to do his utmost, that all the parishes that belong to his bishoprick be purged from all manner of errors and idolatrous worship, shewing himself a pattern to all the curates of his diocese, and inducing them to admit*

truly and properly successors to the Apostles, by virtue of that apostolical imposition of hands, which,

that Reformation to which we are invited by the word of God; and which altogether correspondeth to the state and practice of the primitive Church. That is, he must continue still to be a bishop as formerly. In another of his epistles, he speaks of the prebends and clergy of Collen, as blaming them for their endeavouring to put their archbishop out of his place, who had declared for reformation; and writing to *Johannes Ithavius*, a Polonian bishop, whom he calleth *Illustrious*, and *Reverend Lord Bishop*, he doth not advise him to leave his *episcopacy*, but to consider what place he holdeth, and what burden is imposed upon him. '*Cogita quem locum occupes, et quod onus tibi sit impositum.*'

"Now I hope it will not be expected that *Calvin*, who would have bishops and archbishops in Poland, in Germany, and other countries, wheresoever any shall profess true christianity, should be so unjust to those of the Church of England, as to wish them cut off root and branch (as the saying was of some men not long since) to requite their pains and sufferings for the work of reformation amongst us. Calvin was a man of better nature and of a more christian disposition, and he hath more kindness and respect for our prelates, than to use them so hardly. There is extant in the collection of his epistles, a very long one directed to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of England, in King Edward the Sixth's minority. The Protector had consulted him about reformation of religion in this church of ours. Had Calvin been an enemy to *episcopal* government; had his intention been to propagate the Geneva discipline in other Churches and countries; had he been a zealot of *presbyterian* parity; had he but judged it more conducive to true piety and good order in the Church; the occasion offered itself very fair for him to speak his mind, and to do the Church of Christ service. And we all know what a Scotch or English *Covenanter* would have done, having such an opportunity of propagating the *Solemn League*. But it seems that *Calvin* had never taken the *Covenant*. For though he speaks very freely his mind, according to his custom, on every thing that he is not satisfied with, he hath not one word against *bishops*: But supposing that they ought to continue and to keep their place and

being begun by the Apostles, hath been continued from one to another ever since their time

degree (as well as other inferior ministers,) in this Church, when thoroughly reformed, he saith only, '*That they must all of them be sworn, the bishops themselves as well as the rectors of every parish, to deliver no other doctrine in their sermons but such as is contained in the Articles of religion; and that none, whether bishops or curates, must be admitted to the functions of their ecclesiastical office, but such as take that oath.*' And as for a certain sort of unruly men (whom he doth not name, but only describes as '*sedition and heady, who did rise against the King and the established orders of the kingdom, endeavouring to bring a confusion into all things, under the pretence of the gospel;*' and which are easily known who they were by this description) he saith, '*It is fit they should be kept under obedience with the avenging sword, as well as the Papists who were their confederates in sedition.*' Calvin's *Epistles* to Archbishop Cranmer, and other bishops of the church of England, are known, where he gives them their ordinary titles. He calleth the Archbishop, '*Reverend Lord,*' '*most Illustrious Prelate,*' and '*a person by him to be revered.*' And he speaks to '*his Grace,*' as to a person whom God hath set in an high place, so that it is required that he should take a greater care of the Church than others. '*Tibi præsertim, ornatissime Præsul, quo altiore in specula sedes, in hanc curam, ut facis, incumbere necesse est.*' He telleth him in another place, that though all such as are to govern the Church, ought to endeavour speedily to settle ecclesiastical affairs, yet he must remember that his part is to be the chiefest; '*Oportet ut tamen precipuæ sint tuæ partes,*' because he was the *Primate*. '*You see,*' saith he, '*what your place requireth of you, or rather what God doth justly require of you, by reason of the office he hath put upon you.*' '*Vides quid locus iste postulet, vel magis quid, pro muneris quod tibi injunxit ratione, abs te suo jure exigat Deus. Summa est in te autoritas, you have the greatest authority.*' If this be not a full acknowledgment of *Episcopal pre-eminence*, I know not what it is. But this one passage of his in the '*Treatise of the necessity of Church Reformation,*' is more than sufficient to convince the world that he was no enemy to *Episcopacy*, against all those who either think or would have him to be so. '*Talem nobis hierarchiam si exhibeant, in qua sic emineant episcopi,*

down to ours⁶. By which means the same Spirit which was breathed by our Lord into His Apostles

ut Christo subesse non recusent; ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur; in qua sic inter se fraternam societatem colant, ut non alio modo quam ejus veritate sint colligati: tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, siqui erunt qui non eam reveantur, summaque obedientia observent. ‘If they will give us,’ (saith he,) ‘such an Hierarchy, in which the Bishops have such a pre-eminence, as that they do not refuse to be subject unto Christ, and depend on him, and be referred unto him, as their only head: in which they entertain such a brotherly fellowship, as that the bond of their union be the truth of Christ; then surely if any be found who do not reverence that Hierarchy, and subject themselves unto the same with the lowest obedience, I will confess that there is no Anathema whereof they are not worthy.’ Now judge impartially, and say, whether Calvin be a Presbyterian; and whether the Reformed Church of Geneva, that speaks by his mouth, is an enemy to Reformed Bishops, such as are the Bishops of England.—Durel’s *Government in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, pp. 161-6.

⁸ (Page 159) “As to Luther, he professes, that if the ‘popish bishops would cease to persecute the Gospel,’ he and those of his communion ‘would acknowledge them as their fathers, and willingly obey their authority, which, (says he,) we find supported by the word of God. Consequently, in his and their opinion, episcopacy was an apostolic institution,”—See Bowden on *Episcopacy*, p. 66.

In connection with Luther’s name the following extract from Durel may be interesting.—“It is said that the reformed Churches beyond the seas, take those things in which they differ from the reformed Church of England to be sinful, and that therefore they would have her conform to them. This I deny. And first of all, I demand of them that say so, what proof they have for what they thus give out? Can they bring any article of the *public Confession of Faith* of any reformed Church, whether of the Bohemians, or Poles and Lithuanians; or of Hungaria, and Transylvania; or of the cities of Bremen and Embdem; or of Hessen, or the Palatinate; or of the reformed Churches that are in the Elector of Brandenburg his dominions; or in either of the Silesias, or of the Cantons of Switzerland; or of Holland, France,

is, together with their office, transmitted to their lawful successors, the pastors and governors of our

Geneva, and the Grisons? Can they shew us any of their *Ecclesiastical Injunctions*, or any *Rubrick* of their books of *Common Prayer*, or of any other of their *Libri Symbolici*, wherein the received opinions of the several Churches of the aforementioned countries are contained and made public to the world; by which it appears that they would have us conform to them in those things in which we differ from them, as they do themselves one from another, and that they take conformity therein with us to be a sin? If no such thing can be produced out of any public record whatsoever, upon what ground do they presume so to say, and so to write in so many printed books, to the great prejudice of peace and truth, and of their own credit and honesty?"—Durel's *Government in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, p. 61.

⁹ (Page 159) "And Melancthon, one of the greatest characters among the reformed, 'lays the blame on the cruelty of the popish bishops, that that canonical polity was destroyed, which (saith he) we so earnestly desire to preserve:' and bids the papists consider 'what account they will render to God for thus scattering His Church.'"—Bowden, p. 67.

"Would to heaven (again says Melancthon) that I could not only not enfeeble the power of bishops, but establish their dominion; for I see but too well what sort of a Church we are likely to have, if we demolish ecclesiastical government; I am sure that the tyranny we have escaped (viz. that of Rome) will then be nothing to that which we shall see established."—(Seward, vol. iii. p. 129.) "How truly (remarks Archdeacon Daubeny) this prophecy of Melancthon was verified in the succeeding century in this country, when, as the late amiable and pious Bishop Horne has expressed it, 'the little finger of presbytery proved to be thicker than the loins of prelacy,' forms too conspicuous a page in our history to require being pointed out.—"Now hear *Melancthon* and the prince of Anhalt for the Churches which follow the *Confession of Augsburg*. Melancthon is known to be the author of that confession; there he professes that the churches which had subscribed to it, did not desire that the Bishops should lose their dignity for peace-sake: "*Non petunt Ecclesiæ ut Episcopi Honoris sui jacturâ sarciant concordiam.*" And again, "*Nunc non id agitur, ut dominatio eripiat Episcopis, sed hoc unum petitur, ut patientur Evan-*

Church at this time; and acts, moves, and assists at the administration of the several parts of the

gelium purè doceri, et relaxent paucas quasdam observationes quæ sine peccato servari non possunt." "The business in agitation now is not that the authority be taken from the bishops, but only this one thing is demanded, that they suffer the gospel to be purely taught, and that they dispense with some observations which cannot be kept without sin." But let no man catch at these words, as if it were the only thing now demanded here by some. For hear him speak his mind, and tell us what these things are, "*Facile possent Episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, si non urgerent servare traditiones, quæ bona conscientia servari non possunt. Nam imperant cælibatum, nullos recipiunt nisi jurent se puram Evangelii doctrinam nolle docere.*" "Bishops," saith he, "might well retain the lawful obedience due to them, if they did not urge the keeping of traditions, which cannot be observed with a good conscience. For they impose single life, and admit none but such as swear they will not teach the pure doctrine of the gospel." There is no such thing here among us, where, on the contrary, none is admitted to the ministry, but those who renounce popery, and swear to teach the true doctrine of the gospel, according to the Thirty Nine Articles, which have the approbation of all the reformed Churches in the world. And it is known that Malancthon observed all those very things which here are scrupled at, and many more of that kind. So that it must be said that he reckoned them not amongst things which could not then digest well with Protestants. He also declares, "*Quod liceat Episcopis seu Pastoribus facere ordinationes, ut res ordine gerentur in Ecclesia, non ut per illas mereamur remissionem peccatorum, aut satisfaciamus pro peccatis, &c.*" "That it is lawful for Bishops or Pastors to make ordinances, to the end that things be done in the Church orderly, not to merit thereby remission of sins, or satisfy for sins, &c.—And of such ordinances, (amongst which he reckoned the keeping of the Lord's day, Easter, Pentecost, and other Festivals,) and of Rites he saith, "*Quod eas convenit Ecclesias propter charitatem et tranquillitatem servare eatenus, ne alius alium offendat, ut ordine et sine tumultu omnia fiant in Ecclesiis.*" "That it behoveth the Church for love and peace sake to keep the same, so far as to give no scandal one to another; that so all things be done in the Church

apostolical office in our days as much as ever. From whence it follows, that the means of grace are

orderly and without tumult." What he saith to Camerarius and to Luther about restoring bishops in those churches where they had been outed, and what a confusion he feared, if that should not be done, hath been observed by many others, and is commonly known. George, Prince of Anhalt, in the name of Protestants, speaks of the bishops of the church of Rome as followeth, "*Ac utinam ipsi sicut nomina gerunt et titulos, ita se reipsâ præstarent episcopos ecclesiæ. Utinam sicut in ipsorum ordinatione evangeliorum liber traditus et humeris impositus est, ita huic docerent consona, ipsoque fideliter ecclesias regerent. O quam libenter, quantaque cum cordis lætitiâ, pro episcopis ipsos habere, revereri, morem gerere, debitam jurisdictionem et ordinationem eis favere, eaque sine ulla recusatione frui vellemus.*" "And would to God, that, as they bear the names and titles, so they would shew themselves indeed bishops of the church. Would to God, that, as in their ordination the book of the Gospel is delivered unto them, and put upon their shoulders, so they would teach according to the contents thereof, and by that means govern their churches faithfully. O how willingly, and with what gladness of heart, should we acknowledge them for bishops, reverence, and obey them, maintain them in their jurisdiction and ordination, and in the possession and enjoyment of the same." And a little after, he shews how solicitous he was to be ordained by a true orthodox bishop. "*Ego certè pium episcopum Brandenburgensem Reverendum Dominum Matthiam de Jagau, qui puram tum doctrinam, Dei beneficio, norat et profitebatur, et verum sacramentorum usum jam receperat, et manifestos in ordinatione abusus aboleverat, per sacellatum meum D. Jacobum Styrium, ad ordinandum me rogavi; ac præstitisset is mihi officium, sicut summâ cum voluntate jam ante promiserat, nisi misericors Deus ante tempus eum ex hâc evocasset vita. Nec enim erat tum in his terris, qui hoc præstaret, Episcopus alius.*" "As for me, I intreated, (by my chaplain Mr. James Styrius), the pious bishop of Brandenburg, the Reverend Lord Matthias de Jagau, (who then knew and professed, through God's favour, the pure doctrine, and had embraced the true use of the sacraments, and had abolished the manifest abuses of ordination,) that he would ordain me; and he would have done that office for

in themselves as powerful and effectual as they were in the Apostles' days." The Bishops and pastors of

me, as he promised before most willingly, if the merciful God had not called him out of this life before the time. For there was then never another Bishop in this country to do that office." Durel's *Government of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, pp. 293—5.

¹ (Page 160) The following extract from Strype's *Annals*, will tend to develope the opinions both of Fox and Whitgift on the subject of episcopacy: "I shall insert here one passage out of this book, (the *Martyrology*,) cited by Dr. Whitgift, occasioned by a controversy between Dr. Cartwright and him, about the government of this Church by archbishops and bishops, alleging Fox's judgment in that point: 'I conclude,' saith Whitgift, 'with the very words of that worthy man, (who hath so well deserved of this Church of England), Master Fox: 'In the ecclesiastical state we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the Scripture be appointed, or by the primitive Church allowed; as patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, ministers, and deacons. For of these *four* we especially read as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same also diversity of dignity, neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular person. For, as we give to the minister place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, to the archbishop above the bishop, so we see no cause of inequality, why one minister should be above another minister, one bishop in his degree above another bishop, to deal in his diocese, or an archbishop above another archbishop. And this is to keep an order duly and truly in the Church, according to the truth, nature, and definition of order, by the authority of Augustine; *Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum, sua cuique loca tribuens, dispositio.*' Hitherto Mr. Fox.' And then Whitgift applies the above period (which is found in tome i. p. 20,) unto his adversary in these words, 'Now let the indifferent reader judge whether these offices be strange and unheard of in the Church of Christ, as T. Cartwright and his accomplices had affirmed in their *Admonition to the Parliament.*'"—Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. part i. p. 738.—See also Fox's *letter to a reverend bishop* in Fuller's *Church History*, book ix. page 106, in which he says, complaining of his son having been

our Church have derived their commission by an uninterrupted succession and imposition of hands,

‘expelled from his fellowship at Magdalene College, as a papist, by a faction of people,’ ‘Quod si enim is essem, qui perbacchari cum eis contra Episcopos et Archi-Episcopos, aut scribam me præbere illorum ordine, hoc est, insanire cum illis voluissem, nunquam istos in me aculeos exacuissent.’

² (*Page 160*) Amongst whom we may include those of Germany. “The German orators being now here (A.D. 1539,) fell upon their business in adjusting the points of religion with the king’s divines. They drew up at this time a copy of such things as Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, with certain cities and princes of Germany, their adherents, had admitted.” The first was as follows : and “the reader must excuse the ill English, which I write as I find in the MS.” “1st, We confess that there ought to be a policy in the Church and a regime. In the which there must be bishops who shall have the power of the examine, and ordinance of the ministration of the same, for to exercise the jurisdiction of the same, who shall diligently see that the Churches committed unto them may be truly instructed with pure and sincere doctrine.”—*Strype’s Memorials*, vol. i. part i. p. 526. See also Bishop Hall’s *Judgment of the German Reformers, concerning the retaining of Episcopacy*, vol. x. page 149, edit. 1837, and Durel’s *View of the Government and public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*; passim. The reader will find some very interesting information on this head in Marshall’s *Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church*, pp. 255—357.

Though referring to a much later period, the following is worthy of perusal :—

The foreign divines at the synod of Dort, (A. D. 1618), in answer to what our English clergy had urged on the necessity of Episcopal government in the Church, according to the apostolical plan, said, ‘That they had a great honour for the good order and discipline of the Church of England, and heartily wished that they could establish themselves upon this model; lamenting that they had no prospect of such a happiness; and since the civil government had made their desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them.’

begun by the Apostles⁷; and their order has been continued and preserved entire in our Church

It may be interesting to learn that the thirty-first article in the Belgic Confession, which maintained ministerial parity, was opposed by the British divines who had been sent to that synod, viz. Bishop Hall, Bishop Carleton, Bishop Davenant, and Dr. Ward. Bishop Carleton, in his own name and that of his colleagues, publicly protested against it, as we learn from his declaration published on his return. His words are these: ‘When we were to yield our consent to the Belgic Confession at Dort, I made open protestation in the synod, that whereas in the Confession there was inserted a strange conceit of the parity of ministers to be instituted by Christ, I declared our dissent utterly in that point. I showed that by Christ a parity was never in the Church; that He ordained twelve Apostles, as also seventy disciples; that the authority of the twelve was above the other; that the Church preserved this order left by our Saviour. And therefore when the extraordinary power of the Apostles ceased, yet this ordinary authority continued in bishops who succeeded them, who were by the Apostles left in the government of the Church, to ordain ministers, and to see that they who were so ordained should preach no other doctrine; that in an inferior degree the ministers who were governed by bishops succeeded the seventy disciples; that this order hath been maintained in the Church from the times of the Apostles. And herein I appealed to the judgment of antiquity, and to the judgment of any learned man now living: and craved herein to be satisfied, if any man of learning could speak to the contrary. My lord of Salisbury (Bishop Devenant) is my witness, and so are all the rest of our company, who spake also in the cause.’—See *Collier*, book viii.

“But to proceed in the hearing of the witnesses, who depose for Geneva on behalf of our Prelates; *Jacobus Lectius* may very well be produced here. It is true that he was no divine, but he was a magistrate of the city, a grave senator, a doctor of the laws, and public reader in the university. If you please you may look upon him as a lay-elder. However a Geneva man he is, and writing at Geneva a book dictated to the Syndicks and Senate, after he hath spoken of the abuses of popish prelacy; ‘*but*, (saith he) *we*

through all ages, from the Apostles' days to this present time ; and so they are truly and properly

maintain that those are true and lawful bishops, whom St. Paul describes in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus ; and we do not deny but that there were such formerly in that great kingdom of Great Britain, and that at this very day there are such bishops there, and that such are chosen there from time to time.' Behold a senator of Geneva that acknowledges the bishops of England for true and lawful bishops, scripture bishops, such as are described by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus ; so far is he from '*unbishopsing Timothy*' himself, as one* of the same profession with him would have done lately. And it must not be objected that it is but Jacobus Lectius his private judgment. For do but hear what he saith further himself in the same book ;—'*Neither was there any of our divines, I think, who ever denied it to be a most ancient custom in the Church from the very times of the apostles, (to wit, that one should have the chief care of the Church, sitting, as it were, at the helm of the sacred ship.) And they did so treat of the limitation of that pre-eminence, according to the word of God, that they have professed by their publick writings, that it was mad-like to think meanly of the order of orthodox bishops, to whom therefore our men, and amongst them Calvin, Bucer, Beza, Sadeel, and others, have deferred all manner of honour and affection.* Three witnesses are sufficient to prove any thing, but we have yet more to produce, and those very eminent of these later times, to shew that Geneva hath changed neither her mind nor her language in behalf of the Protestant Prelacy of Great Britain.

"I mentioned at the beginning of the section, an epistle of *Fredericus Spanhemius*, preacher and divinity reader at Geneva, inscribed to Doctor Usher, the late Lord Primate of Ireland, to the Earl of Pemroke that now is, to the Earl of Angus, son of the Marquis of Douglas, and to the Earl of Lauderdale, at present his Majesty's secretary of state for the kingdom of Scotland. Spanhemius gives Doctor Usher the titles of *Most Reverend*, and *Right Honorable Prelate, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland*. He puts,

* Referring to Prynne's *Unbishopsing of Timothy and Titus*, published in the year 1636.

their lawful successors, so far as relates to us : for all histories, that give us any account of Christianity

My Lord Archbishop, his Grace, before all those noble and great men, according to the place our kings have been pleased to give to those chief Fathers of the Church. He says, '*It is God who hath preferred him to that sacred office which he enjoyeth;*' he speaks of '*the great affection the Genevans bear to all the British Churches, the great prelates whereof they reverence and love.*' He adds, that '*they always pray to God for the prosperity of these kingdoms, and of all them that sit at the helm, as well in the Church as in the Commonwealth, that God may ever have his due glory, the king his right, the prelates of our Churches their authority,*' &c. This was written in the year 1638, in the month of October, and publicly printed at Geneva. And this one testimony alone would be evidence enough to convince the world that the reformed Church of *Geneva* is no enemy to the bishops of the Church of England."—*Durel's Government in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, p. 169.

See also Wells' *Testimony of Foreign Reformed Churches in favour of Episcopacy*, page 15.—Of Dr. Wells' Letters Dr. Hickes remarks, "It was to maintain the Church upon this fundamental doctrine (*The Divine Right of Episcopacy*) that I suppose Dr. Wells of late took the pains to write so many excellent *Letters*, full of learning and reason, to defend the government and orders of the Church of England, and shew the novelty and invalidity of the Presbyterian model and mission."—*Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, page 7.

³ (*Page 165*) We have already learnt the sentiments of our English reformers : I will now refer the reader, in the language of Leslie, "To our neighbour nation of Scotland, where the Presbyterians do boast that the Reformation was made by presbyters ; that is most clearly and authentically confuted by a late learned and worthy author, already mentioned, (Bishop Sage,) in his *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, printed 1695, so as to stop the mouths of the most perverse, who will not be persuaded, though they are persuaded.

"Go we then abroad and see the state of the reformed churches there.

in this island⁸, as those of Dugdale, and Godwin, and Stillingfleet, record a succession of Bishops, from

“The Lutherans are all cut off, as the Church of England; for they still retain Episcopacy, as in Denmark, Sweden, &c.

“There remains now only the Calvinists; here it is the Presbyterians set up their rest! this is their strong foundation!

“And this will fail them as much as all the other; for be it known unto them, (however they will receive it,) that Calvin himself, and Beza, and the rest of the learned reformers of their part, did give their opinion for Episcopacy as much as any. They counted it a most unjust reproach upon them to think that they condemned Episcopacy, which they say they did not throw off, but could not have it there, in Geneva, without coming under the episcopal hierarchy; they highly applauded and congratulated the episcopal hierarchy of the Church of England, as in their several letters to Queen Elizabeth, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of our English bishops; they prayed heartily to God for the continuance and well-being of it; bemoaned their own unhappy circumstances, that they could not have the like, because they had no magistrate to protect them; and wished for Episcopacy in their Churches, the want of which they owned as a great defect, but called it their misfortune rather than their fault; as the learned of the French Hugonots have likewise pleaded on their behalf.

“As for their excuse, I do not now meddle with it, for I think it was not a good one. They might have had bishops from other places, though there were none among themselves, but those who were popish; and they might as well have had bishops as presbyters without the countenance of the civil magistrate. It might have raised a greater persecution against them: but that is nothing as to the truth of the thing, and if they thought it a truth, they ought to have suffered for it.

“But whatever becomes of their excuse, here it is plain, that they gave their suffrage for Episcopacy, which whoso pleases may see at large in Dr. Durel's *View of the Government and Worship in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, (who was himself one of them,) printed 1662.

the first planting of the Christian religion in this kingdom, (some centuries prior to the mission of

“So that our modern Presbyterians have departed from Calvin as well as from Luther, in their abhorrence of Episcopacy, from all the Christian world in all ages, and particularly from all our late reformers, both of one sort and other.

“Calvin would have anathematized all of them had he lived in our times. He says there were none such to be found in his time who opposed the episcopal hierarchy, but only the papal, which aspired to an universal supremacy in the see of Rome over the whole Catholic Church, which is the prerogative of Christ alone. But, says he, ‘If they would give us such a hierarchy, in which the bishops should so excel as that they did not refuse to be subject to Christ, and to depend upon Him as their only head, and refer all to Him, then I will confess that they are worthy of all anathemas, if any such shall be found who will not reverence it, and submit themselves to it with the utmost obedience.

“See, he says, *si qui erunt*, ‘if there shall be any such,’ which supposes that he knew none such, and that he owned none such amongst his reformers; and that if ever any such should arise, he thought there were no anathemas which they did not deserve who should refuse to submit to the episcopal hierarchy, without such an universal head as excludes Christ from being the only universal head; for if there be another (though substitute) he is not *only*. Thus he is called the ‘chief bishop,’ but never ‘the only bishop,’ because there are others deputed under him; but he calls no bishop the universal bishop, or head of the Catholic Church, because he has appointed no substitute in that supreme office; as not of universal king, so neither of universal bishop.” *Leslie’s Works*, vol. vii. p. 178.

⁴ Vide ‘*Joh. Durelli Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversus iniquas atque inverecundas schismaticorum criminationes vindiciæ*,’ especially the 28th cap. where the question is discussed—‘*An semper a prima Reformatione episcoporum ordinem Jure Divino Presbyteris superiorem esse tenuerit ecclesia Anglicana.*’ See also Dr. Hicckes’ *Preface* to the *Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, page 52.

St. Austin,) down to our own time. If these are matters of fact⁹, and the real truth of the case—

⁵ Bishop Beveridge's *Sermon on Christ's Presence with His Ministers*. See also Field's *Book of the Church*, b. ii. ch. vi.

⁶ "Bishop Sage thus writes to Mr. Meldrum.—'Ordination (you say) is but a formality, a circumstance, a mode;' 'Tis not necessary;' and the same you say of 'uninterrupted succession.' Sir, to find you so frankly granting my first two propositions, so often mentioned, and withal talking so concerning *ordination* and *succession*, I confess surprises me. How easy were it to prove the *necessity* of *ordination* from the holy Scriptures? Your friends of the *Provincial Assembly* of London, in their *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, have proved it pretty fully. At present I think it is enough to refer you to them. Only in a few words, let me shew that all the reason in the world pleads for it. What can be more evident than that we cannot be obliged in conscience to *own* any for our *spiritual governors*, and pay them suitable regards of obedience or submission, if they have not our Lord's *commission to govern* us? Whosoever pretends to act as a magistrate in any temporal kingdom, without the king's *commission*, is reckoned an *usurper*, and *invader* of the *royal prerogative*, and as such is obnoxious to the laws. Pray, shall the peace, and the order, and the establishment of temporal kingdoms make *regular commissions* so *necessary*; and shall not the peace, the order, the establishment, the unity, the preservation, all the weighty interests of our Lord's kingdom here on earth do it?—If the standing of all other societies requires that *subordinate governors* should have authentic commissions from the *supreme*, the *head*, how much more must the standing of the church require it? Church governors are *God's representatives*; they *preach* in His *name*; they make *covenants* and append *seals* to them in His *name*; in His *name* they *receive into* and *thrust out* of the communion of His Church. In a word, in His *name* they must *do every thing*, if they would do it *warrantably*. But how can they do *any thing* in His *name*? How can they represent Him any manner of way? How can they in any sense be called His *ambassadors*, His *proxies*, His *vicegerents*, without His *commission*? And now he gives no commissions *immediately*. How then can they have

as they certainly are—what is the reason that this truth must be so carefully suppressed? Is it because

His commission without receiving it from those He has enabled to give commissions to *act in His name*? Now, as I take it, to grant such commissions is to *ordain*; and to receive them is to be *ordained*. And whatsoever proves the *necessity of ordination* does likewise conclude the as great *necessity of an uninterrupted succession* of persons empowered to *ordain*, authorized by our Lord to give commissions to act in His name. For if such a *succession* is once *interrupted*, how shall it begin again? How shall commissions be had? Who is authorized to give them? There is a *necessity* of having them, and they are not to be expected *immediately* from heaven. Nay more, you shall not have travelled far in this road of thinking and reckoning on the great interests of the Church, and the concerns of souls, when you shall clearly see that few things can be more necessary than that all possible care be taken that *ordinations* be performed *regularly and canonically*." Bishop Sage's *Reasonableness of a Toleration of those of the Episcopal Persuasion*, p. 208.

⁷ Vide. Dr. R. Mocket's *Tractatus de Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. v. p. 37.—The reader will be amply repaid by a careful perusal of Heylyn's *History of Episcopacy*.

⁸ "In all other churches throughout the whole world wherever Christianity was planted, Episcopacy was every where established without one exception, as is evident from all their records.

"And so it is with us in England, whither it is generally supposed, and with very good grounds, that St. Paul first brought the Christian faith. Clemens Romanus, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, § v. says, that St. Paul went preaching the Gospel 'to the furthest bounds of the West,' ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς οὐσσεως, by which term Britain was then understood; and Theodoret expressly names the Britains among the nations converted by the Apostles, (tom. iv. Serm. ix. p. 610,) and Eusebius, in his *Evangelical Demonstration*, (lib. iii. c. 7, p. 113,) names likewise the Britains as then converted.

"But whether St. Paul, or, as some conjecture, Joseph of Arimathea, or any other apostolical person, was the first who preached Christ in England, it matters not as to our present purpose, who inquire only

the doctrine of the *apostolical succession* is of a light and trivial nature, and affects the condition of no one, whether it be true or false? This indeed

concerning Episcopacy; and it is certain by all our histories, that as far up as they give us any account of Christianity in this island, they tell us likewise of bishops; and the succession of this Church of England has been deduced in the succession of bishops, and not of presbyters; and particularly in the diocese of London, which was the first archiepiscopal see before Augustin the Monk came hither, after which it was established in Canterbury. And the Saxon writers have transmitted the succession of their bishops in Canterbury, Rochester, London,"&c.—*Leslie's Works*, vol. vii. pp. 103, &c. See also Bramhall's *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, tom. i. dis. iii. sec. 4; Mason's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 49; Oxlee's 3rd Sermon *On the Power, Origin, and Succession of the Christian Hierarchy, and especially that of the Church of England*; and Hales *on the Prim. Ch. of the British Isles*.

⁹ "This the bishops have done as I have shown, and can name all the way backward as far as history goes, from the present bishop of London, for example, to the first plantation of Christianity in this kingdom; so from the present bishop of Lyons up to Irenæus, the disciple of St. Polycarp, as before is told. The records are yet more certain in the great bishoprics of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and others, while they lasted in the world. And though the records may not be extant of every small bishopric, which was less taken notice of, as the names of many kings are lost in obscure nations, of many mayors or sheriffs, who notwithstanding have as certainly succeeded one another, as where the records are preserved; I say, though every bishop in the world cannot tell the names of all his predecessors up to the Apostles, yet their succession is certain; and in most Christian nations there are bishops who can do it; which is a sufficient proof for the rest, all standing upon the same bottom, and being derived in the same manner.

"Now to balance this, it is desired that the Presbyterians would show the succession of any one presbyter in the world, who was not likewise a bishop, in our acceptation of the word, in the like manner from the Apostles."—*Leslie's Works*, vol. vii. p. 110.

would be a plausible reason for such a manner of proceeding; but this, it seems, is not the reason. No; the doctrine is of too great importance to be publicly declared, and great numbers of men are so deeply concerned in the consequences of it, that it must not be believed. It *unchurches*, it is said, all those who are not Episcopalians; and therefore the principle cannot be good, as being attended with a consequence so evil. But does the order of Bishops cease to be a Divine institution merely upon this Account? And must the necessity of episcopal ordination be given up, purely to compliment those who have wilfully abandoned it, and who, perhaps, have gone so far as presumptuously to despise it¹? No; the positive injunctions of the

¹ "I know it will be objected, that by this doctrine I condemn all the churches that are governed after that (the Presbyterian) manner. Now I condemn not the churches, but the government. Some perhaps may reply, that since I make episcopal government to be Christ's institution, I charge them with a very gross error. I answer, let them see to that; I cannot call evil good nor good evil, unless I make myself liable to the curse pronounced; neither will anything excuse them except necessity, for both God's law and man's law doth dispense with it; but because there is no necessity, let men beware. *Ego liberavi animam meam.*" *Episcopal Government Instituted by Christ.*

Again, Dr. Hickes observes, in his *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, "Let me ask these men, if the clergy must not preach up the Episcopal form of Church-Government, as a perpetual ordinance of Christ, and the necessity of an episcopal mission and ministry, without respect to persons, or churches, be they never so many, which have rejected the Divine Institution, and still wilfully continue in the want of it, and thereby involve themselves in consequences, which too many learned and worthy men, under the pretence

Gospel do not become unnecessary, because great numbers are involved in the sin which attends a disobedience to them ; nor is a doctrine the less true, although it were the interest of the whole world to have it false². Truth must not be obstructed that

of charity, have too much endeavoured to palliate and soften, or evade for them ; whereas it is much greater and truer charity, to let those consequences fall in their full weight upon them, that they may see their error, and the danger of it, by those consequences, and be thereupon effectually moved to reunite themselves to the catholick Church ; from whose doctrines they have departed in every thing that relates to it as a society of Christ's framing, and thereby justly brought their call and mission into question ; giving as good and learned men as any are in the world occasion to doubt of their mission, whether it is valid or no ; and by consequence, whether their ministers are truly God's ministers and messengers, such ministers as the archbishop (Cranmer) speaks of in his sermon, who have the true sacerdotal mission, and authority of God to minister his word and sacraments to the people, in Christ's place, and the acts of whose ministry are as valid as if Christ himself should minister unto them ; as being made so by the same consecration, orders, and unction, by which bishops and priests were made at the beginning, and are to be made God's ministers by His appointment, unto the end of the world." Dr. Hickes' *Preface to The Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, page 49.

² " If the apostolical, or episcopal form was ordained by Christ, for the perpetual and unalterable polity of his church, as all christianity in all ages believed for fifteen hundred years, then let all the clergy write for it, as this worthy author has done, expecting the protection of their great Lord here, and their reward from Him hereafter, when they must give an account of their stewardship, and the authority he hath committed to them for the government of his people. It is their duty to teach their flocks this fundamental doctrine of Church-Government, and those which depend upon it, let the consequences of them fall upon what persons or churches soever ; and therefore let them teach them, without fearing to be reproached as high-flyers, and men of rigid principles, who have no charity, but are for damning

evil consequences may not ensue ; for if it may, then the whole Christian dispensation must be taken away as hurtful, by reason of the sad consequences which it denounces against wilful, slothful, and wicked men. If, then, an authority to administer the Word and Sacraments can no otherwise be had³, than by

all but themselves. These are slanders and persecutions, which those who will preach the truths, or commandments of God, must be content to bear from those who cannot endure sound principles, because they make themselves obnoxious to the consequences of them ; and then say, that they who preach them, preach damnation to the greatest part of mankind, and to Christians as good as themselves. But I would ask those, who are wont to talk after this loose manner, if I must not preach up the Being and Providence of God, because *Atheists*, and *Epicureans*, who now are no small number, involve themselves in the consequences of a doctrine, which concludes them all under damning unbelief? Must I not assert the authority of the Scriptures, and the certainty of revealed religion, because it falls heavy upon the vast number of *Deists* and *Scepticks* among us, and puts them all in a state of damnation? Must I not preach up the union of the Divine and human nature in the Person of Christ, because the consequences of it are severe upon so many *Arians*, *Socinians*, and other *Unitarians*? Or, not to mention the *moral* doctrines of Christianity, must I not preach up the perpetual institution of the Lord's Day, or of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, because so many neglect, or despise, and reject the use of them, to their own destruction?"—Dr. Hickes' *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, p. 48.

³ "No other ministers have this authority of administering the Sacraments, but only they who receive their orders in the Episcopal communion. This I shall endeavour to prove by these degrees;—1st, That the authority of administering the sacraments must be derived from God.—2nd, That though it be derived from him, yet it is not so derived without the mediation of those men to whom it was at first committed.—3rd, That it cannot be so derived from

an uninterrupted succession⁴ of men from Christ, empowered to qualify others, then I desire to be

those men to whom it was first committed, without a continued succession of persons orderly receiving authority from those who had authority to give it them, from those first times of the Apostles to ours at present.—4th That this authority is to be expected no where now, but in the Episcopal communion.—1st, *The authority of administering the Sacraments must be derived from God.* I do not mean that it must be derived from God, as all other things as well as authorities are derived from Him, who is not only the *supreme Prince*, but the *first cause* of all things. Nor do I mean only that it must be derived from God the same way as all other, even *secular authority* must be derived from Him, at least *Providentially*, though the power of government were originally never so much at the disposal of the persons to be governed. For whatever the creature has originally the disposal of, it must be supposed at first derived from God. But yet, in a way of *Providence*, God does also frequently dispose of governments, which had been otherwise in the creature's liberty to dispose of, as in those rights which are gotten by *just conquest* and *prescription*, where the rights of government are certainly disposed of by *Providence* without any possible pretence of consent in the persons obliged to submit to it. For the right of the creature, where-ever it has any, is not to be understood so as to derogate from the right of God to dispose of them as He pleases, whatever right they have, as it must necessarily be derived from Him, if indeed it be any right at all: so that derivation does not rob Him of any of that which He had before. It is to be understood not *privatively*, as they say, but *accumulatively*. My meaning therefore is, that this power of administering the Sacraments must be so derived from God, not as to exclude the mediation of such men who have received it in a succession from Him, but so as to exclude all right originally derived from the creature, as far as the creature is capable of such a right originally in contradistinction to God. That is, that no men have a right to government in ecclesiastical affairs but by a particular donation from God; not by virtue of that general right which God has given every one, by His general providence, to take care of himself, and which therefore every individual person may for himself,

informed how any layman, or number of laymen, considered as such, can any more make a priest, or

and much more whole *multitudes* may, by common *consent*, commit to *others*. The consequent whereof will be, that all *ordinations*, and the *administration of the sacraments*, derived from any *multitudes* or *persons* on account of their *general right of governing themselves*, without an *express donation from God*, are not only *irregular*, but *invalid*, and such as can neither, in *conscience*, oblige any *subjects* to submit to them, nor *encourage* any, who are otherwise *willing to submit*, to expect any *benefit* from them."—The reader will see this argument continued in Chaps. 20, 21, 22, 23. See also Note i. p. 197. Dodwell's *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved Schismatical*, ch. xix. p. 424.

⁴ "How necessary this *succession* was to the very being of a Church the Fathers do abundantly testify, (*Irenæ. Lib. 4 cap. 63*); that this is the only method to know the true state of the ancient Church, and to preserve the doctrine of the apostles; that Christianity is rooted and founded in the succession, (*August. Epis. 42*); and that this is the way to keep out heresies, and to discern a false Church from a true, (*Tertul. de Præser.*) or to keep religion entire and consonant to the scriptures, (*Ire. Lib. 3. c. 3.*) And the breach of this was by many assigned as the cause of the ruin of several Churches, as, on the other hand, the preservation of it always contributed to the propagation of Christianity. (*Egesip. ap. Euseb. Lib. 4, c. 22. Dionysi. ap. Euseb. Lib. 4. Clemens ap. Euseb. Lib. 3. Methodi. apud Scot. an. 72, 74.*) The *Episcopal succession* being thus established, it may not be improper to say a word or two of its *duration and unity*. That this was not an annual or short lived office, stinted to a few years, is plain from many and good authorities. There is no pretence for a continued election of this nature, in all the records of antiquity. In *Alexandria* the successor of *St. Mark* sat 22 years, (*Euseb. Lib. 3, c. 13*), and his successor 13 years, (*Euseb. Lib. 3, c. 21*), *St. John* being yet alive. At *Antioch* *Evodius* was made bishop 25 years before the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, and survived them one year. (*Euseb. an. 45*). His successor *Ignatius* (*Euseb. an. 71*) outlived *St. John*, and died in the 11th year of *Trajan*. *Polycarp* sat at *Smyrna* 70 years, as some aver 86. (*Euseb. an. 111*). *St. James*, our Saviour's brother, was bishop of *Jerusalem*

commission a person to officiate in Christ's name as such, than they can enlarge the means of grace, or add a new Sacrament for the conveyance of spiritual advantages ⁵? If these doctrines are really founded

30 years, (*Euseb. Lib. 4, cap. 15*), and his successor 38, (*Euseb. an. 33, 63*). There were but three bishops at Rome whilst St. John lived. To mention all were endless and unnecessary. As to the episcopal unity, the antient fathers are full and positive. *St. Jerome* assures us, (*Euseb. an. 63, 111*), that in his time the care of every Church was committed wholly to one single bishop; which he elsewhere tells us is agreeable both to the laws of God and man, (*Epis. Tit. c. 1*), and that one Church cannot have more than one Bishop. The *Nicene* fathers, *St. Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Æcumenius*, *Optatus*, and *St. Ambrose*, are all consenting to the same opinion; and they explain this one Church, so as to signify a diocese, or number of towns or villages, with one city, under a bishop. Nay, *St. Cyprian*, (*In 3 cap. 1 Tim.*) has written a whole treatise on this subject, wherein he proves this to be agreeable to the apostolical institution, as well as necessary to the unity and peace of the Church. And here it may be sufficient to prove, that bishops are a distinct order from priests, or presbyters, because there was to be but one bishop to many presbyters, and because to them, and not to the presbyters, the succession of the Church was committed." *Oldisworth's Timothy and Philatheus*, vol. 3, page 40.

⁵ "We say again, it is *accipite*, not *assumite*: *assumit qui nemine dante accipit*; he assumes, that takes that is not given him. But *nemo assumit honorem hunc*, 'This honour no man takes unto him,' or upon him, till it be given him. As *quod accipitur non habetur*, in the last, so *quod accipitur, datur*, in this. And both these are against the voluntaries of our age, with their *taken-on callings*; that have no *mitto vos*; unsent, set out of themselves; no *accipite*, no *receiving*; take it up of their own accords; make themselves what they are; *sprinkle* their own heads with water; *lay* their own hands on their own heads; and so take that unto them which none ever gave them. They be *hyposides* (so doth St. Paul well term them, as it were the *mock-apostles*); and the term comes home to them, for they be *ὕποστολῆς*, *fili subtractionis*: right; work all to subtraction, to with-

upon the Divine law, then indeed it is certain, and a plain matter of fact, that all those persons of whom I have been now speaking, are effectually unchurched⁶. And this indeed is a very grievous

draw poor souls, to make them forsake the fellowship (as even then the manner was.) This brand the Apostle hath set on them, that we might know them, and avoid them."—Bishop Andrewes' Sermon 9th, *Of the sending of the Holy Ghost*.

⁶ Dr. Bowden, in his *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy*, remarks, "It may be observed, that those who assert the Divine institution of Episcopacy, must necessarily be supposed to maintain, that a Church which rejects Episcopacy, or cannot possibly obtain it, (which is placing it upon the most favourable ground,) is, *quoad hoc*, imperfect and unsound. For if Episcopacy rests upon Divine institution, then a presbyterian Church, which wants Episcopacy, wants a Divine institution; and, consequently, in a very important point must be defective. And whether a conscientious man, convinced of this, can derive any comfort from the concession, that this principle does not go so far as totally to unchurch; or whether he can continue a member of such a Church consistently with the duty of being a member of a complete, sound, and scriptural Church, is a question of great importance, and, therefore, deserves the attention of every serious Christian."—"It grieves me (writes Dr. Hickes) always, when I consider to what difficulty the ministers of the *Presbyterian* Churches abroad have been put, to answer the questions about their missions; and what shifts and evasions their defenders among us have also been put to in their attempts to defend it. And therefore I must say it again, the greatest and truest charity to the reformed Churches, and the whole reformation, is to exhort them to take the same mission that we have retained, as the only true and indisputable mission of the Holy Catholic Church. I think the nature of christian charity obliges us, upon catholic principles, to write them up to our Church, and not, as the manner of some hath been, to write our Church down to them. And whoever would write such a *Parænesis* to them, in the common language, and christian spirit of meekness, I think he would do a most charitable work; for which, if they did not think themselves obliged to him,

consideration⁷. But then they only must answer for it, with all the sad and terrible consequences

God would certainly reward him, and all good men would praise him for ever. What I have said here, I call God to witness, I speak not out of ill will, but out of pure love and good will for the foreign reformed Protestants, for whose preservation, if I can judge of myself, I could lay down my life, and of whom I say with my whole heart, as *St. Paul* said to *King Agrippa*, ‘*I would to God, for His Church’s sake, that they were not only almost but altogether as we of the Church of England are.*’—*Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, p. 50; See also Law’s incomparable *Letters to Bishop Hoadly*; and *Ordination by mere Presbyters proved null and void*.

⁷ “In the Church’s bosom we are born; our growth is owing to the food which is thence administered to us, and the same Spirit quickens us which enlivens her. The spouse of Christ will not play the harlot, her chastity is unblemished; she hath but one habitation, which she endeavoureth to preserve inviolate, equally free from guilt, and from the suspicion of it. In her custody, under her patronage and protection, we are trained up to the knowledge and enjoyment of God, in whose kingdom she assigns to her obedient children their respective interests; whoever therefore is separated from the true Church of Christ, and joins himself to a false one, forfeits his title to the promises of the true. Nor can he ever attain the recompence propounded by Christ to His followers, who deserts His Church. No! For he becomes thence unsanctified, an alien, and even a downright enemy. He cannot have God for his Father, who hath not the Church for his Mother. Could any one, do we find, escape, who was not with Noah in the Ark? If any one could, then, and not otherwise, is there room for those to expect security who are out of the Church! Our blessed Lord hath given us in this matter a proper caution, where He saith, ‘He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. He therefore who breaks the bonds of Christian unity and concord, is censured here as being against Christ; whosoever gathereth anywhere but within the Church, falleth under the imputation of scattering it abroad. Our Saviour hath said, ‘I and my Father are one.’ And again, it is written of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that

that follow from the want of a valid ministry, and valid sacraments, who have themselves been the

‘these three are one.’ And can any one imagine that an unity settled upon so firm a bottom, and cemented by such sacred and awful bonds, shall allowably be broken in the Church, through the jarring inclinations and affections of its different members? He, in short, who shall presume to break it, who shall not with all his might endeavour to preserve it, will undergo the censure of breaking the law of God, of having no regard to that holy faith which is the joint and equal care of the Father and of the Son, and consequently will not hold the truth to any saving purpose.”—Cyprian on the *Unity of the Church*. “This paragraph (says Marshall, *Notes to his Translation*, p. 98,) deserves the serious perusal of all separatists from the communion of their proper bishop, with whom they may join upon lawful terms. Nor was our author singular in this opinion, that out of the Church, the ark, there is no federal salvation. St. Clemens Romanus hath pronounced very ill of being so, though in a modest *μίσωσις, ἀμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρά ἡμῖν ἔσται*, &c. In 1 *Epist. ad Corinth.*: ‘We shall contract no small guilt, if we reject those from the office of their episcopate, who execute it with holiness and integrity.’ And St. Ignatius, besides what hath already been cited from him, hath told the Christians of Ephesus, ‘Whosoever is not within the altar,’ *id est*, who doth not communicate with his bishop, ‘is deprived of the bread of God, and loses the singular advantage of the bishop’s prayers, together with those of the Church.’—In *Epist. ad Ephes.* And again, in *Epist. ad Trall.*, he tells them, that he ‘who is not in communion with his bishop, hath not a pure conscience.’ And Irenæus, book iii. ch. 40, hath peremptorily asserted, that ‘no one who is not in the Church, is a partaker of the Holy Spirit; but instead of it defrauds himself of life, by his unhappy choice.’ To argue against these ancient opinions from modern prejudices, is indeed to defraud ourselves, and to cheat others too, with infinite hazard of theirs and our own salvation. The conclusion of the paragraph, we may observe, will not allow an agreement in doctrinal truths to be of any significance, where there is such a separation. *Veritatem non tenet ad salutem*. Novatian differed not from Cornelius in any point of doctrine, which,

occasions of it. It is not the Divine institution that unchurches them, but their own wilful disobedience to it; and those doctrines are not false because they are unchurched, but they are unchurched because those doctrines are true⁸. Since then the power, the mission, and the authority of the ministry, is constituted and commanded by God for a perpetual ordinance⁹; since it is enjoined by Him, whom all things in heaven and earth obey; since the religion of Christ cannot be duly propagated and effectually supported, without a constant succession¹ of Bishops

however, did not excuse his schism. What allowances God of His infinite mercy shall make to pitiable prejudices, is by no means hence predetermined; but we see they had not weight enough with these Fathers, though otherwise men of great and comprehensive charity, to give up the rule in favour of any such exceptions; which it belongs indeed properly to none to make, but to God only; since He alone who settled the rule can dispense with it; wherefore as we are not to set bounds to His mercy, nor to say how far it shall not go, it will as little become us to lay any force upon it, or to be peremptory in determining how far it must or shall go."

⁸ "If there be no uninterrupted succession, then there are no authorized ministers from Christ; if no such ministers, then no Christian sacraments; if no Christian sacraments, then no Christian covenant; if no Christian covenant, then no Christian Church, according to the order of Christ."—*Beauty of the Church of England*. See also Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 22; and Field's *Book of the Church*, book ii. ch. vi.

⁹ "The reader will pardon me for referring him to the following works:—Brokesby's *Government of the Primitive Church*; Hume's *Sacred Succession*; Cawdwell's *Defence of an Ordained Ministry*; and *Invalidity of the Dissenting Ministry, in reply to Mr. Peirce*.

¹ "This ecclesiastical authority (writes Dodwell) cannot be derived, in this age we live in, from those men to whom it was at first committed,

and Priests²; since it is appointed to be for ever observed in the Church³; since it has been sealed

that is, from the Apostles, without a continued succession of persons orderly receiving authority from those who had authority to give it them, from those first times of the Apostles to ours at present. For it is plain,—1st, That this authority cannot be derived from the Apostles themselves to any beyond their own time. There are but three ways conceivable how this might be possible, that they themselves might convey authority to others, either by their persons, or by their deed of gift, or by their writings. But by none of these means are they capable of receiving authority from them who did not live in their time. Not from them in their own persons, because they were dead before the persons of whom we speak were born, or were capable of receiving authority from them. For it is impossible to understand (by the nature of any human contracts) how a personal right can be devolved to another without a personal act, or how any personal act can be between parties who are not supposed to be co-existent at the same time.—Not by their deed of gift, because this could only convey their power to persons of their own age. Especially considering that power is that which is the original security of all other gifts. Indeed where a standing power is supposed, and a constant orderly succession into that power, there a gift may be made to future persons, which may both be determined by persons so empowered, and the gift secured to persons so determined by them. But all are so sensible of the unpracticableness of a gift to future persons, without a power, both to determine the persons, and secure the gift to them, as that it is ordinary in wills to appoint executors, who may secure the performance, where the standing power cannot descend minutely to take care of the performance in particular cases. And it were certainly in vain to make testaments, if none were empowered to determine the controversies which rise in execution of them, and if the public authority did not confirm the act of the testator in nominating an executor, and the power of the executor for performing the trust committed to him. It is therefore absolutely necessary that a power be first established by which the will may be performed, and a succession in that power ascertained, for so long at least as any particular of the will remains unperformed, before any

with the blood of the best of men, the Christian Martyrs, and confirmed by the unanimous consent of

one can, in prudence, think such a *will* performable. And therefore, the *power* of the *Apostles* being the *supreme* and only *power* by which the *Church*, as a *body politick*, does subsist, must be first secured, and secured in a regular constant *succession*, so that none ought to be supposed, in *future ages*, to receive any *power* from them, but they who receive it in that *succession* by the hands of persons *empowered* to give it them. And because their *legacies* are not confined to any *certain age*, therefore the *power* of their *executors* must not expire for *ever*; and so much the rather because there is no *superior power* to take care of the *execution*, in case the persons should fail who are immediately intrusted with the *execution*.—Not by their *writings*, though they indeed continued extant after the *decease* of the *writers*, for what has been said in the future chapter,—(ch. xx. sec. 21.)—Hence it follows, secondly, that, if they would *convey* any *power* to persons not living in their *own age*, seeing they could not do it by *themselves*, they must do it by appointing sufficient *substitutes*, to act in their name after their *decease*, that is, they must give such persons whom they would *substitute*, the *same power* themselves had received from *Christ*, (I mean, as to these *ordinary* exercises of power, for which I am at present concerned,) and not only so, but the *same power* also, which themselves had received, of *communicating* this power to *others*.—Where both of these were present, the *act* of such *substitutes* was to be taken for the *act* of the *Apostles themselves*, and as validly obliging *them* as if it had been performed by *themselves* in their *own persons*, by all the *laws* then received concerning *delegation* and *substitution*.—And the want of either of them was sufficient, by the *same laws*, to *invalidate* a *conveyance* from the *Apostles*, by so *imperfectly authorised substitutes*.—And I have already shewn that the *laws* then *received* were punctually observed by the *Apostles* in these their *legal conveyances*.—(ch. iii. sec. 5, 6, 7, 8.) I cannot foresee what other means our adversaries can think of to avoid this consequence. When they shall think of any, it will then be time enough to consider it.—And thirdly, the very same reasons which prove it impossible for the *Apostles* to convey their *power* to any who did not live in their *own age*, does also prove it impossible for any of their *successors* to do so. They also cannot be

Fathers⁴ and Councils ; since they who usurp and oppose the ministry, oppose religion itself, and act

supposed capable of *acting* in their own *persons*, when they cease to be in their own *persons*, and therefore can only be capable of acting by *substitutes*, whom they have intrusted with their *power* ; and none can be taken for their *substitutes*, but they who have been made so by their *personal act* when they were alive. Which will perfectly reach the *negative*, for which I am concerned at present, that they cannot be taken for the *Apostles'* *substitutes*, nor for the *substitutes* of any of their *successors* in *later ages*, who have not been substituted by them by a *personal act* ; and that what has not been done *since* by any *substitute*, either of the *Apostles*, or of any of their *successors*, cannot be taken for the act of any of them, and therefore cannot derive any *authority* from them.

“ These things are as applicable to the *successors* of the *Apostles* in *every age* respectively, as they are to the *Apostles* themselves. As therefore in the *age succeeding* the *Apostles* nothing could be done by the *Apostles*, but what was done by some of *them* to whom the *Apostles* had committed their *power* by a *personal act* in the *apostolical age* itself ; so neither in the *third age* could any thing be taken for the act of the *successors* of the *Apostles*, but what was done by *persons* authorized by their *personal act* in the *preceding age*, whilst those *successors* were yet *living*. And the same reasoning may be brought down through all the *intermediate ages* to that wherein we live at *present* ; so that nothing ought to be taken for the act of the *Apostles* in our *present age*, but what is done by them who have been *lawfully substituted* by them who have received their *power* from their other *lawful substitutes* in the *several ages* respectively, by *personal substitution* of each *predecessor* respectively whilst he was yet *living* ; and therefore no such *act* can convey the *authority* of the *Apostles* to any who is ambitious of pretending to it in our *present age*. Therefore the force of this *negative argument* consisting in this, that that cannot be the *Apostles'* *act* in a *later age* which is not the act of any of those who derive their *substitution* from them by *personal acts* in the *several ages*, it will not hold but only in the *only substitutes*. For supposing the *Apostles* substituted many in the first age, (as certainly they did,) it will not follow that he who has not received his *authority* from the

in disobedience and rebellion⁵ against the laws of God, and have been constantly condemned⁶ by the

succession of Jerusalem, for example, has therefore not received it from the succession of Antioch, or any other apostolical see. But considering the whole complex of substitutes in every age, certainly the reason will hold, that he who has derived his authority from none of them, must as certainly fail of deriving his authority from the Apostles, as if he had lived in the age immediately succeeding the Apostles, and yet had not received his authority from any of them who had, in the former age, received their authority by a personal act of the Apostles themselves. The reasoning still holds the same, how many soever the ages of succession are. Neither can any authority be given by the Apostles in the fifteenth century which is not given by their substitutes then existing, nor can they then be taken for their successors who have not been substituted by several personal acts of their immediate predecessors through all the foregoing period." Dodwell's *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved Schismatical*, ch. 21, page 477.

² See Field's *Book of the Church*, b. v. ch. lv. lvi.—Turner's *Vindication of the Rights and Privileges of the Christian Church*, ch. 5, 6, *On the Divine Right of Ordination*, and *On the lasting obligation of Apostolical Institution in the case of the Bishops and Clergy*;—and *A View of the Elections of Bishops in the Primitive Church, by a Presbyter of the Church of Scotland*: 1728.

³ See Laud's *Conference with Fisher*, 16. 29; and Bp. Andrewes' *Sermon on Absolution*.

⁴ See Bishop Downname's *Defence*, book iii. ch. iv. sect. 18.

⁵ Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a promissis ecclesiæ separatur; nec perveniet ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est. Habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem." *Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*.

⁶ "The pride and peevish haughtiness of some factious people (says Bishop Taylor, quoting St. Cyprian) that condemn their bishops, is the cause of all heresy and schism. And therefore it was so strictly

Church in all ages ; will any man, after this, dare, with a view of pandering to popular prejudices, dare

forbidden by the ancient canons, that any man should have any meetings, or erect an altar, out of the communion of his bishop, that if any man proved delinquent in this particular, he was punished with the highest censures ; as appears in the thirty-second canon of the Apostles, in the sixth canon of the council of Gangra, the fifth canon of the council of Antioch, and the great council of Chalcedon, all which I have before cited. The sum is this, the bishop is the band and ligature of the Church's unity, and separation from the bishop is *διχονοίας σύμβολον*, as Theodoret's expression is, 'a symbol of faction,' and he that separates is a schismatic." *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 46.

"From these and many more such canons producible, (writes Bishop Sage,) 'tisevident as light, that in those times, (i.e., now I may safely say, during the first five centuries,) the *ordination* of whatsoever *clergymen* was *peculiar* to the *Bishops*. To *ordain* belonged to them as the *chief governors* of Churches. To make this yet further appear, I have one other step to make ; It is, that during all those *centuries*, (I may say, during the first *fifteen*,) *ordinations* performed *without* bishops, were never reputed *valid*. I dare confidently say you cannot produce *one* instance to the contrary. I can produce divers which were so performed, and therefore most solemnly condemned and repudiated. *Blondel*, indeed, pretends, (*Apol. pro Sent. Hieron.* p. 312) that about the middle of the third century, *Novatus*, a *Carthaginian* Presbyter, ordained *Felicissimus* a Deacon. But the most learned *Doctor Pearson* (*Anal. Cyprian. ad an. 250. sect. 21*) and, after him, the aforementioned author of the *Principles of the Cyprianick age*, (*Prin. Cyp. Age.* p. 42—3. and *Vindication*, ch. 6, *Sect. 82.*) have most clearly discovered *Blondel's* mistake."—Bishop Sage's *Reasonableness of Toleration*, p. 176.—I would refer the reader to a very valuable and interesting *Annotation* on the 13 *Canon of the Council of Ancyra*, in Dr. Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, (vol. iv. pp. 144—157, Edit. 1846.) The importance of a right interpretation of the *Canon*, will be learnt from the language of the learned author ;—"Cum Concilii Ancyrani Canones ad hoc Volumen ultimum jam reservati fuerint, de Canone decimo tertio hic monendum est, me præter solitum in eo exponendo fusiori

to vilify this Divine institution? Will any man in his senses pronounce an institution so given, and so ratified⁷ by God Himself, unmeaning and unimportant? Can we believe, that, from the early dawn of Christianity to the Reformation, and from that period down to the present hour, it was asserted by the most learned men without knowledge, or obeyed by the most holy men, even unto death, without conviction, or revered by the whole Church of God without reason? And shall we, after all this, condemn and lay⁸ aside this Divine institution, be-

oratione usum fuisse, nec tamen extra oleas vagante, *siquidem hæc una verba ex omni germana antiquitate presbyteris potestatem sacros ordines conferendi ῥητῶς attribuant.*"

⁷ "If any man" (says Dr. Barrow) "be so dully or so affectedly ignorant as not to see the reason of the case, (the exercise of episcopal ordination and jurisdiction,) and the dangerous consequences of rejecting this ancient form of discipline; if any man be so overweeningly presumptuous as to question the faith of all history, or to disavow those monuments and that tradition, upon the testimony whereof even the truth and certainty of our religion, and all its sacred oracles do rely; if any be so personally contentious as to oppose the custom and current practice of the Churches through all ages down to the last age; so self-conceitedly arrogant as to condemn or slight the judgment and practice of all the Fathers, (together also with the opinion of the later most grave divines who have judged episcopal presidency needful, or expedient, where practicable,) so peevishly refractory as to thwart the settled order of the Church into which he was baptized, together with the law of the country into which he was born;—upon such a person we may look as one utterly invincible and intractable: so weak a judgment and so strong a will, who can hope by reason to convert?"—Barrow *on Obedience to our Spiritual Guides*, Sermon 24.

⁸ Rather I hope (with Bishop Taylor,) that "it will so happen to

cause latitudinarians, and libertines, and schismatics, and enthusiasts despise it⁹? Shall their false opinions, and prejudices, and secular interests, weigh against God's authority, and the inspiration of His Holy Spirit; against the unanimous consent and joint authority of Apostles and Martyrs, and Fathers¹, and Councils and the whole Church of God², in all ages of Christianity? God forbid³! Woe

us, that it will be verified here, what was once said of the Catholics under the fury of Justina, 'Sed tanta fuit perseverantia fidelium populorum, ut animas prius amittere quam episcopum mallent;' if it were put to our choice rather to die (to wit, the death of martyrs, not rebels,) than lose the sacred order and offices of Episcopacy; without which no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the Sacrament, no absolution, no rite or Sacrament legitimately can be performed, in order to eternity."—*Episcopacy Asserted*.

⁹ See a *Short Answer to a Pamphlet called 'Plain Reasons for Dissenting from the Church of England,'* 1740.

¹ Thus plainly speaks the Council of Carthage (A.D. 256):—"Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a Patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate Ecclesiam Domini gubernantes." "The judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ is clear enough upon this question, who sent His Apostles, and gave to them alone the power which He received from His Father. Now we (the bishops) are their successors, and govern the Church of our Lord in virtue of the same powers which they had." Marshall calls upon the reader to "observe the assertion here, that the Apostolic office, and all the pastoral powers appertaining to it, were designed for *continuance* in the Church of Christ, and that the bishops succeeded to the one and the other."—Marshall's *Notes on the Council of Carthage*, p. 254. See also the Councils of Ancyra, Antioch, Sardis, Alexandria, two of Constantinople, the Arausican Council, and that of Hispalis.

² See Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sect. 22.

³ "Let the clergy, (writes Dr. Hickes,) without any regard to

to him that fighteth against God ! Woe to him that striveth against his Maker ! Woe to him, who on

human politics, or serving times, or fearing the arm of flesh, instruct the people in the true nature and original of Church-government. Let them teach their flocks from whom bishops have their authority over priests, and both bishops and priests their authority over the people, and in whose name, and place, they absolve them, and preach, and minister the sacraments to them, and that they are Christ's messengers, Christ's ambassadors, Christ's ministers, and Christ's spiritual governors to them, and over them, in His kingdom upon earth.— Let them remember what *St. Paul*, *St. Ignatius*, *St. Cyprian*, not to mention *Hosius*, *Athanasius*, *Gre. Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, and *Ambrose*, taught the christian world upon this subject, and let them preach, and teach the same principles with primitive boldness, before the greatest of men ; the same principles which archbishop *Cranmer* taught King Edward VI. in his sermon of the *Power of the Keys* ; and which, as it is evident from the sermon worthy of his great name, as a bishop, a reformer, and a martyr, were not only his principles, but, as is also evident from the Preface of the reformers before our old *Ordinal*, the principles of the reformation, upon which it began, and proceeded, and upon which, I trust, it will ever continue and subsist ; though now it hath more, and more powerful enemies in number and kind, than ever it had before. Wherefore, as it is the duty of the clergy to defend the principles upon which Church-government, and their own mission and authority is truly founded, as well as the true faith, and to instruct the people in them ; so it is more especially necessary they should do it now, when men take the liberty to speak, and write, with the spite of Devils, against Priests and Priesthood, and take delight, without truth, wit, or good manners, and what is more without fear of punishment, to revile and ridicule both. Let them assure themselves God will assist them, if they will be unanimous, and labor in so good a work. He will contend *with them* against their enemies, in defence of them and His own institutions, but He will not contend *without* them. He will most assuredly be their second, but He will not be their champion to fight alone for them. Nor must they expect that He will work miracles for them, when they will do nothing for themselves. He will not support them, and the Church

account of the world's calumny, or the world's united scorn, labours to frustrate the righteous purposes of God's eternal wisdom! Whatever therefore is appointed by the instigation and artifice of human policy, in order to change, new model, and abrogate the sacred hierarchy⁴,—to disturb, violate, and destroy this positive institution of God,—is impiety⁵, is sacrilege, is rebellion against heaven,

with them, if they will not do their own part to support both. Wherefore let them hold fast what they have, and, laying aside all animosities, strife, contentions, and names of parties, agree as one man to maintain their sacerdotal orders, and authority, against those who are confederate with the powers of hell against it; not only against the sensualists of flesh and blood, but against principalities, and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and wicked spirits in high places." Dr. Hickes' *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, p. 52.

⁴ See a curious Tract entitled "*Popery and Schism equally dangerous to the Church of England as by Law established; and Separation from the Established Church proved by undeniable matters of fact and reason, to be, even in the opinion of the Pope, Cardinals, and Jesuits, the only probable means for introducing Popery again into the Country*," by Robert Ware, with the *Continuation* by the same Author entitled *Foxes and Firebrands*, in 3 Parts, 1678, 1682.—See also Edwards' *Gangræna*, 1646.

⁵ "Qui relinquit Ecclesiam Christi, alienus est, profanus est, hostis est Si autem grex unus est, quomodo potest gregi annumerari, qui in numero gregis non est? Aut pastor haberi quomodo potest, qui (manente vero pastore, et in Ecclesia Dei ordinatione succidanea præsidente) nemini succedens, et a seipso incipiens, alienus fit et profanus dominicæ pacis ac divinæ unitatis inimicus; non habitans in domo Dei, id est in Ecclesia Dei, in qua non nisi concordēs atque unanimes habitant."—Cypriani *Epist. ad Magnum*. 69.—See also Hickes' *Constitution of the Catholic Church, and the nature and consequences of Schism*.

is an invasion and infringement upon Christ's own authority, as declared in the Word of Eternal Truth⁶.

Would that those in the ministry and out of the ministry would duly contemplate the character of Christ's ambassadors ! The ministers of Christ are in Scripture designated by the names of rulers, teachers, stewards, shepherds, servants, watchmen, labourers, soldiers, and the like ; all of them expressive of both great toil and implicit trust.

⁶ " *I do not know how to excuse these persons from presumption, in presuming to act in His name without any power received from Him to do so, to make promises, and enter into obligations, wherein they will concern Him as a party, and to think to oblige Him without any leave received from Him. Nor can they really pretend themselves forced to use such means by any necessity whatsoever. They may indeed be reduced to a necessity of wanting the ordinances, and they have reason to believe themselves actually reduced to that necessity, when they cannot have them without the sin of usurpation. But no necessity can oblige them to venture on the guilt of that, or any other sin, that they may obtain them. And though such a necessity as this is, when they cannot procure the sacraments by any compliances whatsoever, much less by un sinful ones, may make their case in equity relievable without the sacraments, if they do observe the moral duties of religion ; yet the presuming to assume an authority without leave to do so, is so far from gaining them the legal advantage of sacraments so administered, as it is the most likely way to forfeit their title to the equity of it, when they use sinful means of coming by it. I have elsewhere observed the example of Saul to this purpose, who had certainly fared better, if, in the absence of Samuel, he had only made use of those moral duties, which even laicks may use without danger of usurpation, than he did by presuming to offer sacrifice without a lawful authority to do so.*"—Dodwell's *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved Schismatical* ch. xviii. p. 421.

Whoever would exercise any one of them aright, must have many wearisome days and many restless nights ; much fatigue of body, and much anxiety of mind. But when they must all unite in one character,—alas! “who is sufficient for these things?” Our office is indeed an office of labour. In it the wicked and slothful servant are but one and the same character. In it an idle hour must always be set down as a guilty one, and every moment must be occupied, or God, conscience, and perishing souls may upbraid us,—since the moments which we waste in trifles might, if applied properly, be the means, under God, of saving immortal souls. Our office is an office of labour. It obliges us to carry our children in our bosom, as a nurse her child ; to suffer their murmurings and ingratitude and perverseness of spirit against us, without abandoning them ; nay, to double our diligence and care in proportion as they study to frustrate our labours for their good. Our office is a station of eminence, where it is difficult to stand, and whence it is unspeakably dangerous to fall ; it is an eminence which exposes us to the observation of the public, and renders many things in themselves lawful, to us not expedient, on account of the weakness of our brethren. Our office is an awful dispensation, which commits to us the mysteries of God and the fruits of the death of Christ, so that the least unfaithfulness becomes an abuse of His blood, and renders the inestimable benefits of His Cross less effectual. It

is a post of vigilance, which obliges us to have the spiritual armour of our sacred warfare always in readiness for use, to combat not only against flesh and blood, but spiritual wickedness in high places, and against the corruptions of the age in which we live. *Labores ecclesiastici*, says Luther, *exhauriunt ab imis medullis, senium mortemque accelerant*: We must watch when others sleep; we must study to paleness; we must preach to faintness. "Instant in season and out of season," we must instruct the ignorant, reprove the wicked, exhort the negligent, alarm the presumptuous, strengthen the weak, visit the sick, comfort the afflicted, reclaim the wandering, and confirm the faithful. Is there on earth an office of greater labour—a situation less easy or more dangerous than ours? Is there in the world a greater mistake than to seek for rest there, where least of all rest can be found? Admiration and applause we may perhaps obtain, though faithless in our office; for these are crumbs which the master of the family sometimes deigns to throw to the dogs under his table, for whom he has nothing greater in reserve; but then, when you have these, "Verily I say unto you, you have your reward;" and a poor reward it is! "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord;" and if we preach Him as we ought, our discourses will rather be felt by the heart than praised⁷ by the tongue. That his words should

⁷ "*Docente te in Ecclesiâ, non clamor populi sed gemitus suscitatur; lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint.*"—St. Jerome.

be followed by both these effects, was thought so unlikely by one of the Fathers, that he wept when his hearers praised his sermon ; for then he feared that he had missed his purpose.

May the Lord of the harvest bless with abundant success the labours of those who are this day entering on their sacred calling. May we, who are already engaged in the sacred office, always maintain a deep sense of the nature and importance of our work. We are the servants of God, the ambassadors of Christ, and the ministers of His eternal love to mankind. Let us imitate His example in meekness, tenderness, heavenly-mindedness, piety, and zeal. Let us leave to the dead the burying of their dead. Let us leave to the world its cares and contentions about things of little moment ; we are called to a higher warfare ; to advance the kingdom of Christ, to save others, to save ourselves. With indefatigable zeal and patience let us try every hallowed way to execute our commission. Let us have bowels of pity for sinners who are sleeping on the edge of a tremendous precipice, on the brink of a flaming Tophet. Our glorious opportunities are hastening to a close ; a few more days, and we are no longer stewards. Life, like a rapid stream, is passing by ; death on his pale horse approaches, and behind him follow heaven and hell, that glorious, that dreadful reality, to one or other of which we must one day be consigned. Let us sow, let us plant, let us water ;

and though we may not always see a ready and perceptible success, yet He who giveth the increase knoweth in what time it is fittest to vouchsafe His blessing; perhaps when our wearied spirits shall be at rest in Christ, and our toil-worn bodies mouldering in the grave. "The seed grew," says our Saviour, "while the husbandman slept." We would wish to see the immediate fruit of our labour, but God does not always permit this, lest we should ascribe to ourselves⁸ the effects of His grace, and the work of His Holy Spirit. His will be done! Only let us be diligent, and so leave our portion of the vineyard more improved to other labourers, who must very soon succeed us. Then, though "we sow and another reap," we shall rejoice together in the day of the final harvest, through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ.

⁸ Hab. xi. 16.

"To our own nets ne'er bend we down;
Lest on the eternal shore
The angels, while our draught they own,
Reject us evermore."—*Christian Year*.

Also, by the same Author,

I.

BRIEF NOTES ON THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

8vo. 4s.

II.

THE OBJECT, IMPORTANCE, AND ANTIQUITY OF THE
RITE OF CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

8vo. 7s.

III.

THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS IN THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND UNBROKEN, &c.

8vo. 3s.

The Bull of Pope Pius the Ninth,

AND THE

Ancient British Church.

A LETTER,

&c.

BY

E. C. HARINGTON, M.A.

CHANCELLOR OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF EXETER.

LONDON :

F. & J. RIVINGTON,

EXETER : H. J. WALLIS, J. SPREAT, & A. HOLDEN.

MDCCCL.

The following LETTER, which has already appeared in the columns of "The Western Luminary," is reprinted, with ADDITIONS, REFERENCES, and NOTES, at the suggestion of several Friends.

A LETTER,

§c.

MR. EDITOR,

At a moment when every Englishman is reading with astonishment, if not with alarm, the Bull of Pope Pius the Ninth, respecting the appointment by the Pope of twelve Bishops and a Metropolitan to thirteen Sees in England, in order to effect the “fourth conversion” of this country to the “Catholic faith,” it may not be undesirable to point out, through the medium of your columns, the gross perversion of historical facts contained in the Bull of His Holiness, relative to the British Church—perversions which, from the time of Baronius,¹ Parsons,² and Cressy,³ have been industriously circulated, in order to uphold the assumed Supremacy of Rome over the Church in Britain. At a moment, also, when the *Church of England* must meet the *Church of Rome*, and challenge her to the *proof* of the claims which she insolently assumes, I am the more anxious to bring these points before members of the Church of England, from the fact, that few of our popular Church

¹ *Annales Ecclesiastici.*

² *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England.*

³ *The Church History of Brittany.*

Histories touch upon the period so deeply important to every English Churchman, viz., from the earliest Introduction of Christianity into this kingdom, probably in the First century, to the mission of St. Austin, at the close of the Sixth. Thus Carwithen, in his *History of the Church of England*, devotes some *thirteen lines* only to this deeply interesting period; and even the Bishop of St. Asaph, to whom we are much indebted for *A Sketch of the History of the Church of England*, though he refers to many important events connected with the Early Church in this Island, tells us, that "any considerable investigation into the records which are left us, respecting the early History of the British Church, can offer little beyond labour, accompanied with very trifling hopes of reward;" whilst Mr. Macaulay,⁴ in his very pretty Historical Romance, seems to imply that Christianity had not been preached in this Island before the Saxon Invasion, or at least was extinct in Britain long prior to the mission of the Papal emissary, St. Austin. And I may add, that many of our school "Historical Charts," commence the English History with the year 595, and state that "Christianity was at *this time* introduced into England!"

The consequence of all this neglect respecting the study of the records of our Early Church is, that young gentlemen, who have "finished their education," though members of

⁴ "While the German Princes, who reigned at Paris, Toledo, Arles, and Ravenna, listened with reverence to the instructions of Bishops, adored the relics of Martyrs, and took part eagerly in the disputes touching the Nicene Theology, the Rulers of Wessex and Mercia were still performing savage rites in the temples of Thor and Woden." This may be all very true; but Mr. Macaulay might have told his readers, in order to prevent mistakes, that three British Bishops were present at the Council of Arles in the Fourth Century; that three British Metropolitans occupied their respective Provinces at the close of the Sixth; and that seven British Bishops conferred with St. Austin at the beginning of the Seventh.

the Church of England, are sent into the world to read Papal Bulls, and Father Parsons's Treatises on the "Three Conversions of England," (under St. Peter, Pope Eleutherius, and St. Austin, in the First, Second, and Seventh centuries,) as profoundly ignorant of everything which relates to the periods in question, as they are of Hindoo Mythology. And what is the result? That Pius the Ninth, well aware of the lack of information on this head which prevails in England, "*has instituted at Rome, a Special Congregation, entitled "De rebus Britannicis," to which he has entrusted the care of Romish Ecclesiastical affairs in England;*"⁵ and the members of this "special congregation" are ignoring the Church of England, *ad libitum*, by the aid of the grossest historical fallacies; whilst the great mass of the members of the Church of England, a Church which is, and claims to be, a living and independent branch of the One Holy Catholic Church of Christ, are, alas, totally unprepared to resist the gainsayer.

Now, what is the position of the Church of Rome on the subject in question? I quote the Papal Bull issued on the 24th of September, 1850:—"History proves that, since the first ages of the Church, the Christian Religion was carried into Great Britain, where it flourished until towards the middle of the Fifth century. After the invasion of Angles and the Saxons in that island, government, as well as religion, fell into a most deplorable state. At once, our most holy predecessor, Gregory the Great, sent the monk Augustine and his followers; then he created a great number of Bishops, joined to them a multitude of monks and priests, brought the Anglo-Saxons to submission, and succeeded in re-establishing and extending the Catholic Faith in all that country, which then began to assume the name of England." Now,

⁵ See Dr. Wordsworth's *Sequel to Letters to M. Gordon*, p. 254.

all this, doubtless by the aid of the "special congregation," "*De rebus Britannicis*," is very cleverly and cautiously worded; but it *implies*, at least, that this country, from the first, has been indebted to the Romish See for the blessings of Christianity,—that on St. Austin's arrival, and for a long period prior to his mission, the Episcopate in Britain had ceased to be,—and that the conversion of England, in the Seventh century, was the result of the labours of this Roman monk. I believe, however, that not one of these points can be fairly established; and not only so, but that the contrary can be proved; though, from the very circumstances of the case, arising from the Saxon invasion, the materials connected with British Church History are unhappily very scanty. I trust, therefore, that I shall not be deemed presumptuous, if I direct your readers, and churchmen in general, to the works of Inett,⁶ Stillingfleet,⁷ Barrow,⁸ Mason,⁹ Beveridge,¹ Lloyd,² Hales,³ Owen,⁴ and Burgess,⁵ for the purpose of examining this important period of our Church History; and I think that they will find in them the following positions established:—

I. That the British Isles were not indebted to the Church of Rome for the first ⁶ Introduction of Christianity, —that the arguments in favour of the preaching of St. Paul

⁶ *Origines Anglicanæ.*

⁷ *Origines Britannicæ.*

⁸ *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.*

⁹ *A Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*

¹ *Pandectæ Canonum; Annotationes in Can. Conc. Nicæni Primi.*

² *Historical Account of Church Government, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion.*

³ *Origin and Purity of the British Church.*

⁴ *Rome no Mother Church of England.*

⁵ *Tracts on the Independence of the Ancient British Church.*

⁶ The reader will find much information on this point in Yeowell's *Chronicles of the Ancient British Church*, ch. 2, 3; and in Hughes's *Hore Britannicæ*, vol. ii., pp. 11-18.

in Britain are so strong, as scarcely to admit of a doubt in the minds of those who have *duly studied* the question, aided by the researches of the Welch ⁷ Archaiologists; whilst the claim in favour of St. Peter rests upon the testimony of Metaphrastes, a writer of the Tenth century; and the claims in favour of Simon Zelotes, Joseph of Arimathea, Aristobulus, &c., as advanced by Cressy, and others, are now generally deemed unworthy of notice.

II. That the story of King Lucius and Pope Eleutherius, cannot be adduced in favour of the 'second conversion' of this country by Romish missionaries, inasmuch as there is no proof that the light of Christianity had been extinguished in Britain at the period assigned to him, at the close of the Second century; whilst the fact of his supposed emissaries, Elvanus and Medivinus, being British Christians, and, in fact, instrumental in the conversion of Lucius, would imply the reverse. But more than this: we know that Britain was at this time in subjection to the Romans; that the idea of an independent king in Britain, who could change the affairs of religion as he thought fit, is therefore an absurdity; for "what place," asks Stillingfleet, ⁸ "is now left for such a king as Lucius is represented?" We may, with Stillingfleet, admit that there was such a king as Lucius, and that he was subordinate to the Romans in some part of this island, holding some petty territory under them, but whose acts, nevertheless, could not, in any-wise, compromise the Christian Church then existing in Britain. Nor again, "was it," (to adopt the language of Collier,) ⁹ "as Harpsfield fancies, upon any information Lucius could receive of the Pope's Supremacy and universal Pastorship, that all controversy was to

⁷ See *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymri*, by the Rev. John Williams.

⁸ *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 61.

⁹ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 1, p. 39.

be determined there in the last resort, and that the care of all the churches lay particularly upon that Bishop's shoulders. At that time of day, there was neither practice nor principles set on foot, to give Lucius any such persuasion; as, amongst other things, will appear by the contest of the British Bishops with St. Augustine the monk." "The truest account of this embassy, (adds Collier) seems to be this: King Lucius being convinced of the truth of the Christian Religion, and having had a long intercourse and correspondence with the Romans in Britain, from hence we may reasonably suppose him acquainted with the fame of Rome. We may likewise fairly suppose him informed of the progress of Christianity in that city, and that there was a Bishop fixed there, the twelfth in succession from the Apostles. From this general information, it is likely he might be desirous to understand how far the British Christians and those of Rome agreed. He might likewise fairly presume the Christian Religion was taught there without mixture or sophistication; the distance of time between the Apostles and the present Bishop being so little; and the town, as Irenæus argues, having a particular advantage, being, as it were, the general rendezvous of commerce and correspondence, a resort being made thither from all places, upon the score of its being the imperial city. These were reasonable considerations, which might move King Lucius to send his agents to Rome, and not any opinion of a Supremacy, settled by St. Peter upon the Bishop of Rome; of which pretended privilege, the British Christians had no notion at that time, nor a great while after, as I have already hinted."¹

¹ Let me specially direct the reader's attention to the following elucidation of the story of King Lucius and Pope Eleutherius from *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymri*, or, *The Ancient British Church*, &c. "When Lleirwg (Lucius) ascended the throne, he became deeply im-

III. That the British Church was, until the Seventh

pressed with the necessity of providing more amply for the Church, regulating its external affairs as bearing upon the state in a more defined and permanent manner, and more clearly distinguishing it from ancient Druidism. With this view, he applied to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 173-189, by means of Medwy and Elvan, native Christians, requesting to be furnished with the Roman and imperial laws, in which he doubtlessly expected to find certain ordinances respecting the Church. Eleutherius sent him in reply the following letter.

“‘You have desired us, that we should send you a copy of the Roman and imperial laws, with a design to make them the rule of justice in the realm of Britain. As for the imperial laws, we may dislike and disapprove them at any time; but the law of God is above all censure and exception. I mention this, because, through the mercy of God, you have lately received the Christian faith in the kingdom of Britain, so that now you have the privilege of consulting both the Old and New Testament. Out of these holy volumes you may, by the advice of your subjects, collect a body of law, which, under God’s protection, may enable you to govern your realm of Britain. For, according to the royal prophet, you are God’s vicegerent within your own dominions, ‘the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof, the world, and they that dwell therein.’ And again, according to the same royal prophet, ‘thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.’ And elsewhere in the Psalms David prays, ‘Give the King thy judgments, O God,’ &c. ‘Thy judgments,’ not any secular regulations, not any systems of royal sanction. Now, the King’s sons, which follow in the text, are Christian subjects, who live in peace and tranquillity under your protection, and, being sheltered by your administration, are cherished, as the Scripture speaks, ‘as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings,’ &c. As for the people of the kingdom of Britain, they are your subjects, and committed to your care; amongst whom, it is your part to promote unity and good understanding, to bring them to a submission to the Gospel, and into the bosom of the Church; to restrain them from disorder; to support, protect, and govern them, and screen them from the insults of injurious malice. ‘Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning.’ I do not suppose that a king is here called a child either for having lived too little or too long,—upon the score of his first or his second infancy; but this character of disadvantage is given him for his folly and injustice, for his licentious and extravagant conduct, according to the royal prophet,

century, perfectly independent of the See of Rome;—

‘the blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days,’ &c. By ‘eating,’ we are to understand gormandizing, which proceeds from a luxurious appetite, and is commonly attended with a train of other vices. These disorders make a man incapable of the blessings of religion; for, according to King Solomon, ‘Into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.’ A king has his royal title from the functions of government, not from the advantage of power. As long as you govern well, you will be a king in propriety of language; but if you fail in this point, the royal character will not belong to you, and you will lose the very name of a king, which I heartily wish may never happen. God Almighty grant, that you may so govern the realm of Britain, that you may reign with Him for ever, whose representative you are in your kingdom above-mentioned.*

“The conveyance of this letter was entrusted to Dyvan and Fagan, both of British extraction, and both most probably descendants of some of the royal captives taken to Rome with Carodog. Dyvan, indeed, is ascertained to be the great grandson of Manawydan, Bran’s brother, and therefore a kinsman of Lleirwg. The selection of such persons was judicious, and well calculated to promote the design of the king.

“What Lleirwg by their aid accomplished, is briefly, though not very intelligibly, specified in the Triads. One says, that he “made the first Church at Llandaf, which was the first in the Isle of Britain, and bestowed the privilege of country and nation, judicial power and validity of oath, upon those who might be of the faith in Christ.”—*Triad 35*. Another Triad, speaking of the three archbishoprics of the Isle of Britain, states: “The first was Llandaf, of the gift of Lleirwg, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, who first gave lands and civil privileges to such as first embraced the faith in Christ.”—*Triad 62*.

“The explanation of the whole seems to be this: Christianity had naturally and gradually become incorporated with Bardism, and Evangelical worship was performed in the Druidical circles. Still, however,

* “Though several objections have been urged against the credit of this letter, it has never yet been disproved. It has been popularly thought that it exhibits a view of the national affairs of Britain materially different from what they really were at the time under consideration. It is now, however, sufficiently evident, that such a view is perfectly coincident with the representation of native records, so that any argument founded upon that opinion must be fallacious. Moreover, the circumstance that the alleged epistle of Eleutherius, though not noticed in any of the Welch records, should yet agree with the tenor of their statements as to the station and character of Lucius, is singularly corroborative of the genuineness of the composition itself.”

that this independence was established by the law of the

the change, as it would appear, was not universal even among the Silurians. The Church, though in perfect accordance with the primary object of Bardism, was, nevertheless, so different from the Druidical department in polity and doctrine, as to require a legal sanction for the transition. This could be obtained only by "the consent of the country, the neighbouring country, and particularly the tribe." To adopt this course was Eleutherius's advice to Lleirwg; "Out of them (the Old and New Testament) *by the advice of your realm take a law*" (*ex illis, Dei gratiâ, per consilium regni vestri sume legem*). Unless this was done, the ministers of religion, though taken exclusively out of the Bardic order, could not legally enjoy the civil and temporal privileges which belonged to the Druids. Hence Lleirwg secured to them the "privilege of country and nation, judicial power and validity of oath."

"The principal constitutional privileges and immunities enjoyed by the Druids, as we have already seen, were the following: five free acres of land; exemption from personal attendance in war; permission to pass unmolested from one district to another, in time of war as well as peace; support and maintenance wherever they went; exemption from land tax; and a contribution from every plough in the district in which they were the authorised teachers.

"Judicial power," probably meant an appeal to, and redress received from, a court of justice.

"The "validity of oath," mentioned in the Triad, implies the obligation of contracts made by a Christian. It may be that the mode of "swearing by the decalogue," the first kind of oath among the British Christians, was now publicly sanctioned, and substituted for the old Druidical forms enumerated in the following Triad:

"There are three sacred objects to swear by,—the rod of office (or truncheon) of the minister of religion, the name of God, and hand joined in hand, and these are called hand relics. There are three other modes of swearing; a declaration upon the conscience, a declaration in the face of the sun, and a strong declaration by the protection of God and his truth."

"Where it is affirmed that Lleirwg "made the first church at Llandaf, which was the first in the Isle of Britain," we are to understand, that under his authority arose the first Christian edifice which differed in its structure from the Druidical enclosures. That the early Christians did actually perform divine worship in the bardic circles, is pretty evident from the fact that some of these still retain, in their names and other circumstances, clear marks of their having been used for evangelical

Universal Church, as laid down in two of her General

purposes. Such is Carn Moesen, or the Carnedd of Moses, in Glamorgan-shire, Carn y Groes, on the mountain of Gelly Onen, in the same county, where a very ancient cross stands; and Ty Illtud in Breconshire, and many others.

“Lleirwg was nominal king of Britain. As we have elsewhere observed, to concede to him the title would be perfectly agreeable to Roman policy. Even about this very time, we are informed that the Emperor Lucius Verus permitted the kings whom he conquered in the East to retain sub-ordinately their former power and dominions. There is reason, however, to suppose that the actual authority of Lleirwg was very circumscribed. Many of the tribes had yielded to the different expedients of policy suggested by the Romans, and conformed to their laws and manners. The Cymry in general would probably still acknowledge him as their lord paramount; hence in an old Saxon Chronicle, he is styled *Rex Britwalana*, or king of the Britons of Wales. Some of his regulations might therefore have extended to different parts of the country, yet circumstances would confine their particular application to that part of Siluria, which was afterwards known by the joint names of Gwent and Morganwg, of which he was the immediate chieftain. The national establishment of Christianity in that territory, obtained for it, subsequently, the honourable designation of “first archbishopric of the Isle of Britain.”—*Triad* 62.

“Several considerations of importance might have demanded the course which the British sovereign took on this occasion. For instance, the distracted state of the country might have prevented the full and effective operation of Bardism, and consequently required for the Church a more distinct and public patronage. The Romans looked with great jealousy upon Druidism, because of its uncompromising opposition to foreign invasion. This, as before remarked, was evidently exemplified by Suetonius Paulinus, in his merciless attack upon the Druids in Anglesea. The collector of the “*Antiquitates Britannicæ*” asserts, indeed, that an edict was actually issued by Marcus Antoninus Verus, a short time before the application of Lleirwg, for the extermination of the Druidic order throughout the provinces.

“Within the jurisdiction of Llandaf are four churches, bearing respectively the names of Lleirwg, Dyvan, Fagan, and Medwy. As there are no such traditionary traces of the ministries of those persons observable in any other parts of the country, the circumstance adds weight to the inference that their ecclesiastical arrangements were chiefly, if not solely, confined to the patrimonial territory of Lleirwg. Dyvan is considered as the first

Councils²;—that the Decrees bearing upon this important

bishop of Llandaf, and is said to have suffered martyrdom on the spot which is now occupied by the church dedicated to his memory. He was succeeded in the see by Fagan.”—pp. 66, 73.

“Again, we have it on record, that Lleirwg communicated with the Bishop of Rome on the subject of the Church; but, we trust that we have clearly explained the nature of that communication, both from the Triads and from the letter of Eleutherius himself. The Pope, in the very commencement of his epistle, seems to betray a consciousness of British antipathy to the imperial laws, and, therefore, as if to remove every pretext of jealousy on the part of the clergy of this island, which might exist in consequence of that circumstance, he repudiates all necessary connection between the Church and State of Rome. Further, in commissioning persons of British descent, one known to be a relative of Lleirwg, to bring over his reply, and to aid the king in his projects, he proves how careful he was to cultivate a Catholic union between the Churches of Britain and Rome, without subjecting either to a compromise of liberty and independence. It is true that the native prelates are made to assert at the conference with Augustine, that they had received their ceremonies from Eleutherius; from the foregoing considerations, however, we can conclude such to have been a mistake, arising naturally from a vague or confused idea of the change which took place in the external aspect of the Silurian Church, consequent upon the application of Lleirwg.”—p. 199. See also Hughes’s *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii., pp. 43-9.

² And we may add that the subsequent thralldom under which our Church laboured until the Reformation, was the result of an unauthorized usurpation on the part of Rome.

“*Philodox.* No. They were *guilty of departing from the Church of Rome*, and consequently *Schismatics*.

“*Orthodox.* What do you mean by *departing*? A withdrawing themselves from obedience to the *Pope of Rome*? But, how doth it appear that they were ever under it? *Dinoth*, who was a man of great learning, *demonstrated, by many arguments, that there was no obedience due from the Britons to Augustine*. Moreover, they had very just reason not to submit their necks to his yoke: to wit, lest they should thereby lessen the authority of the Archbishop of *St. David’s*, in violation of the *Nicene Canon*, whereby it was ordain’d, That *every Church should preserve its proper privileges*. And surely, if *Augustine* had not been of a proud and aspiring temper, he would have only requested of the *Britons* to lend him their helping hand towards the conversion of the *English*, and not have de-

point are the 6th Canon of the General Council of Nice, and the 8th Canon of the General Council of Ephesus;—that, to quote the language of Bishop Beveridge,³ in his Annotations on these Canons, these decrees demonstrate that “this Province of ours, during the first Six centuries from Christ’s incarnation, was *independent*, subject to no foreign Bishop, but to its own Metropolitan alone. Therefore, although the Bishop of Rome, from the time when he first sent here the above mentioned Augustine, for a long period exercised the highest jurisdiction in this kingdom, yet, when at length his tyrannical yoke was shaken off, our Church again rejoiced in her ancient privileges,—privileges which she claimed upon the strongest possible grounds, even the sanction of the Universal Church, as specified in the aforesaid Canons:” and that, again, to quote the language of

manded their *obedience* to himself, and his Lord the *Pope*. But his pride and arrogance discovered itself more fully, when he inquired of Pope Gregory, *How he ought to manage, with respect to the Bishops of Gaul and Britain?* By which words ’tis plain, he aimed at a jurisdiction over the *French* Bishops, as well as the *British*. Which Gregory well enough perceiving, answered, *We allow you no authority over the Bishops of Gaul, because the Bishop of Arles hath received the pall from our predecessors for a long time; whom therefore we ought by no means to deprive of his wonted jurisdiction.* So much for his *pride* and arrogance.—Mason’s *Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 87.

³ “*Ipsa hæc nostra Provincia per sex priora a Christo incarnato secula αυτοκεφαλως erat, nulli extraneo Episcopo, sed suo soli Metropolitano subjacens. Quapropter, etiamsi Episcopus Romanus, ex quo supradictum Augustinum huc primo misit, summam in hac gente potestatem diu exercuerit, tamen excusso tandem tyrannico istius jugo, Ecclesia nostra antiquis suis privilegiis, jure meritissimo, utpote ab universali Ecclesiâ in hoc Canone præscripto, iterum gaudet. Quæ, faxit Deus, ei, juxta quod hic præcipitur, inviolata in posterum, ac perpetuo conserventur.*”—*Pandectæ Canonum, Annot. in Can. Conc. Nicæni Primi*, p. 58. See also Bingham’s *Antiq. of the Christ. Church*, vol. i., book 2, ch. 18, sect. 2, and vol. iii., book 9, ch. 1, sect. 10, 11, 12.

Hammond, in his work on the Œcumenical Councils,⁴ when treating of the 8th Canon of Ephesus, “the authority which the Bishops of Rome in after ages claimed and usurped over the British and other Western Churches, is clearly contrary to this Canon, as well as to those of the Council of Nice.”

IV. That the Church in Britain was duly represented during the Fourth century in three several Councils, viz., at the Synod of Arles, A.D. 314, where the Bishops of York, London, and Caerleon, or Llandaff, attended as the representatives of the British Episcopate; and again at the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347; and lastly at the Council of Ariminum, A.D. 359. That it is probable, also, that British Bishops attended the Council of Nice, A.D. 325. That subsequently to these several Synods, St. Jerome delivered his valuable testimony in favour of the independence of our Church, and of her sufficiency for salvation. Of the independence of the Churches of Gaul, *Britain*, Africa, &c., he says, “All these Churches worship the same Christ, and are governed by the same standard of faith. Neither is the Church of the City of Rome supposed to be different from the rest of Christendom; however, if authority is insisted on, *Orbis major est Urbe*, the rest of the Christian world is preferable to Rome, and wherever a Bishop is fixed, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis, the character and dignity of the office is the same.”⁵

⁴ *The Definitions of Faith, and Canons of Discipline, of the six Œcumenical Councils, &c.* Let me direct the reader's attention to Bishop Bull's *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, pp. 245, 7, and pp. 289—294, vol. ii., edit. 1827. See also *Extracts from Bishop Bull, inf.*

⁵ “Nec altera Romanæ urbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Galliæ, et Britanniæ, et Africa, et Persis, et Oriens, et India, et omnes barbaræ nationes, unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam

V. That at the commencement of the Sixth century, (A.D. 519-522,) Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, and consequently Primate of Wales, convoked a general Synod at a place, since called Llanddewi Brevi, in Cardiganshire, for the purpose of refuting the errors of the Pelagians which had been again revived:—That this assembly was numerously attended by individuals of the first distinction, both laymen and ecclesiastics; amongst whom were the celebrated Paulinus, Dubricius, the Metropolitan of Wales, Deiniol, Bishop of Bangor, and St. David, Bishop of Menevia, who afterwards was promoted to the Primacy of the Welch Church;—and that, chiefly by the learning and eloquence of St. David, “the heresy,” as Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, “was utterly dissipated and destroyed.” (See Parry’s *Cambrian Plutarch*, p. 77,—where the reader will find abundant references to Leland, Giraldus, and other writers.) We may add, that within ten years prior to the arrival of St. Austin, the Metropolitans of London and York,⁶ Theonus and Thadiocus, occupied their respective Provincial Sees; not having retired from the Saxon persecution into Wales before the year 587.

VI. That so far from the British Episcopate being extinct when St. Austin arrived here, as implied in the recent Papal Bull, we learn “that Augustine, after hav-

veritatis. Si auctoritas quæritur, Orbis major est Urbe. Ubicunque fuerit, Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit.”—*Epist. ad Evag.*, tom. ii., p. 329.

⁶ Collier, vol. i, p. 144. The language of Ussher, to whom Collier refers, is this, “Tunc igitur (A.D. 587) Archipræsules, Theonus Londoniensis et Thadiocus Eboracensis, cum omnes Ecclesias sibi subditas usque ad humum destructas vidissent, cum omnibus ordinatis, qui in tanto discrimine superfueraant, diffugiunt ad tutamina nemorum in Guallias.”—*Brit. Eccle. Antig.*, vol. vi., p. 93, edit. 1847.

ing been consecrated Metropolitan of the English Nation. at Arles, sought for instruction from Gregory, how he ought to manage with respect to the Bishops of Gaul and Britain, That the Pope tells him that he allows him no manner of jurisdiction over the French Bishops, because the Archbishop of Arles had received the pall from his predecessors for a long time ; of which privilege the Pope did not think it lawful to deprive them. The French Bishops, therefore, were to be treated upon a level, and nothing offered but by way of advice and persuasion ; for ‘ nobody ought to put a sickle into his neighbour’s corn.’ *But as to the Bishops of Britain, he puts them all under St. Augustine’s jurisdiction.*”⁷

VII. That, in conformity with these instructions ⁸ from

⁷ *Collier*, vol. i., p. 159.

⁸ “ When one compares these Epistles of *Gregory*, with those which, upon his first advancement to the See of *Rome*, he wrote to the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and other Bishops of the Catholick Church ; and the solemn Profession he therein makes, that he received the Faith and Canons of the four first Councils, of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, with the veneration with which he received the four Gospels of the Evangelists ; and considers the Zeal and Warmth with which he opposed the Pretensions of his Friend and Confident, *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to the Name and Title of Universal Bishop, assuming to himself the Title of *Servant to the Servants of God* ; one finds it very difficult to reconcile *Gregory’s* professions and shews of Humility, and zeal for the Canons, to that Authority he assumed in his Instructions to *Austin*, and in the Model he sent over to *England*.

“ Thus much is evident, past all possibility of Dispute, from the Epistles of *Gregory*, that the pretence to an universal Pastorsip, by a Divine Right, was not so much as thought of at *Rome* in his time ; and it is evident from his Writings, that the Canons of the Church were yet thought the measure of the Patriarchal Power ; so that it is very odd and surprising, to see this great Prelate, at the same time, breaking and asserting the Authority of the Canons. The pretence of those who justify him upon the Patriarchal Power shall be consider’d in another place.”—*Inett’s Origines Anglicanæ*, vol. i., p. 27 ; see also ch. 4.

his Holiness, Augustine endeavoured to obtain the submission of the British Bishops to his newly assumed authority; and for this purpose, obtained two conferences with them in the years 601-3; at the second of which ⁹ “seven Bishops were present, together with Dinoh, Abbot of Bangor, and many other most learned men,” according to ¹ Bede. That according to the same testimony, and that of one ever favourable to the cause of Rome, the result of the interview was, that “the Britains declared *they would not comply with him in any one of the particulars urged upon them, nor own him as their Archbishop.*” That “if we turn from Bede and look to Leland and others, we shall find that the British ² writers give a more ample account of this matter

⁹ “The names and titles of the seven Bishops who attended the second Council are not specified, and later writers, who differ considerably with each other, have endeavoured to point out the seven Dioceses to which they belonged. The Bishopricks regularly established in Wales were five, Menevia, or St. David’s, Llandaff, Llanbadarn, Bangor, and St. Asaph. To these may be added Gloucester, where, according to the Welsh genealogies, a British Bishop resided about this time. The seventh must be left to conjecture; but as the Cornish or Western Britons must have had several native Prelates in this age, and it has been asserted that there was a British Bishop in Somerset so late as the reign of King Ina, (A. D. 688 to 725,) the distance of their country from the place of meeting is not too great to suppose that some one of them was present. The most probable date of the two Councils, for both are believed to have been held in the same year, is 603. Augustine died in 605, and the battle of Chester, or as the Welsh have named it, the battle of the Orchard of Bangor, appears to have been fought in 607.”—Rees, *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 292. See also, *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymri*, p. 208; Spelman’s *Concilia*, p. 106; and Wilkins’s *Concilia*, tom. i., p. 24.

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. ii. cap. 2.

² “To weaken the authority of the manuscript, from which the British writers obtain their account of the interview, it is objected, ‘There was then no Bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, nor had been since the metropolitical jurisdiction was transferred to Menevia by St. David.’ In answer to this, it is granted that, from the time of Dubricius, the see was transferred,

than is extant in Bede, who is thought to be very sparing in what concerns the British affairs. But from the British writers, Leland observes, that ‘Dinoth did, at large, *dispute*

first to Llandaff, and then to St. David’s; but this latter translation was not agreed to by all the British Bishops: for in the time of Oudoceus, the Bishops of Llandaff challenged the metropolitical privilege of Caerleon to themselves, and therefore would not be consecrated by the Bishop of St. David’s: and Caerleon having been the ancient metropolitical See, it was no absurdity at all, to mention that place in a dispute which depended upon ancient right: for the authority over the British Churches was not upon the account of St. David’s, or Llandaff, but lay in the metropolitical jurisdiction, which belonged to the See of Caerleon. But farther, the certainty of the British Churches rejecting the Pope’s authority, and Augustine the monk’s jurisdiction, does not depend on the credit of this Welch manuscript; for this point is sufficiently cleared from Bede’s own words, where the British clergy declare, as we have observed already, against owning Augustine for their Archbishop. Whereas, had they owned the Pope’s authority, they ought to have submitted to Augustine, who acted by the Pope’s commission, and had his orders to be their superior. Now, it was not possible for them, at such a distance from Rome, to express their disowning the papal authority more effectually than by rejecting him whom his Holiness had sent to be Archbishop over them. Besides, Nicholas Trivet, in his manuscript history, written in old Norman French, and cited by Sir Henry Spelman, Trivet, I say, in this manuscript, affirms expressly that Augustine did demand subjection of the Britons to him, as the Pope’s legate; but Dinoth, in the name of those Churches, refused it. Now, the British Churches being thus independent of the See of Rome, at the coming of Augustine the monk, they were under no obligation to own his authority: and thus their case being the same with the Cypriot Bishops, the Pope was bound, by the general Council of Ephesus, to leave them in that state of independency, and not to attempt any encroachment upon their liberties. To this Pope Gregory was particularly obliged, because, at his first promotion to the See, he declared, in a letter to the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, &c., that he received the four general Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, with the same submission and regard he did the four Gospels.

“If it be enquired why the British clergy were so tenacious of their old customs, as to break with Augustine, rather than alter their way of keeping Easter, comply in some of the circumstances of Baptism, and in preaching

with great learning and gravity, against the receiving the authority of the Pope or of Augustine, and defended the power of the Archbishop of St. David's; and affirmed it not for British interest to own either the Roman pride, or the Saxon

to the Saxons; to this it may be answered, that these terms were not demanded upon the level, not as conditions of brotherly communion, but as marks of submission and inferiority. That the case stood thus appears from Bede's expression, "*Si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis,*" &c., *i. e.*, If they would be governed by his proposal, and own his authority in these three things, he would close with them in the rest. But the British Bishops, perceiving their liberties were struck at, answered to the point, and told him, "they could not give him satisfaction upon those heads, nor receive him for their Archbishop." Now, why should they refuse the owning his superiority, had it not been demanded? This, very probably, was the reason of their being shocked at his receiving them sitting. It was not the bare missing a compliment that disoblged them; but they looked upon this negligent manner as an instance of authority, and that Augustine received them with this state to distinguish his superiority, and practise upon his pretences: this made them take particular notice of his behaviour, and look upon the omission of usual respect as no good sign. They concluded among themselves, that if he refused rising to them, when they were upon articles, they had reason to expect he would treat them with great neglect when he had them under.

"If it be farther enquired, why the British clergy were so backward to assist in converting the Saxons? Leland seems to hint at one reason, which might make them thus disinclined: "This writer charges it as an omission upon Gregory, in not putting the Saxons in mind of their usurpation upon the Britons, in not refreshing their solemn oaths upon their consciences, and pressing them to their restitution; for the Pope had no authority to confirm them in their usurpation. The pretence of bringing in the true faith could not justify such a practice; for if principles were thus loose, if this latitude was once allowed, no princes could be safe in their dominions."

"These reasons, it is likely, put together, made the British Prelates unwilling to unite with the Roman missionaries, which had otherwise been inexcusable."—Collier's *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 178. See also Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 356, where he "considers the *liberty* or *independency* of the British Churches." For other 'reasons' which influenced the British Prelates, see *inf.* p. 30.

tyranny ; and that they knew of no obedience due to him that Augustine called the Pope, but what they owed to every Christian ; for the British Bishops had no superior but the Bishop of Caerleon, of Uske.'³ And Giraldus Cambrensis, though

³ "These Accounts lie so cross to the Sentiments of those Men, who have formed a Judgment of the ancient Rights of the Bishops of *Rome*, from the Power they have of late possessed, or pretended to, that, as the 'foresaid learned and judicious Prelate has observed, great pains have been taken to obscure or pervert them. Sometimes they pretend, that *Gregory* did not give *Austin* Power over the *British Church* : Sometimes, that he did not insist on it : sometimes they quarrel with the Manuscript from whence part of this Account is taken. But when all is said, *Baronius*, according to his way of speaking, says, that the *Britons* and *Scots* had lived in a long continued Schism, that is, according to his notion of Schism, long before the coming of *Austin* they had held no external Communion with the Church of *Rome* ; or, in other words, they had never thought themselves within the Patriarchate of the Bishops of *Rome*, and had never owned the Jurisdiction of those Prelates, but governed themselves by their own Metropolitans, as the whole Catholic Church had done before the Patriarchal Institution.

"And nothing is more manifest, than that this was the case of the whole Catholic Church, before the institution of Patriarchs ; and continued after to be the case of all those Churches which lay within the bounds of the new Patriarchates ; and, in particular, it is as evident that this was the case of the *British*, *Scottish*, and *Gallick* Churches, as it is that the Council of *Ephesus* allowed the continuance of this Government to the *Cyprian* Churches in particular.

"And it is no less evident, that that Council allowed the same liberty to all those Churches which were not, at the time of that Council, within the Bounds of the new Patriarchates. And indeed, *Baronius* could have no other reason for charging the *Britons* and *Scots* with a long Schism, if their independance on the Church of *Rome* had not been at least as ancient as the Council of *Ephesus* ; for that Council was held about the Year 431, which was but about 166 Years before the coming of *Austin* ; during which time there is so little appearance of any communion or correspondence betwixt the *British*, *Scottish*, and *Roman* Churches, that we are not to wonder, if *Baronius* charge the *Britons* with a long Schism.

"But there is great reason to wonder at the Confidence or Ignorance of those later Writers, who, after *Baronius* his Account of a lasting Schism,

a wonderful zealot for the authority of the Bishops of Rome, has not only observed, that Bede has nowhere mentioned any submission of the British Church to Austin, or his successors, though constituted Metropolitans thereof by the Bishops of Rome, but has given such proof that the British Church was, for several ages after the coming of St. Austin, governed by its own Metropolitans, without so much as owning the primacy of the Archbishops of Canterbury; and his proofs are so well ascertained by matters of fact, that there

pretend to tell us, that the *Britons* did not disown the Authority of the Bishops of Rome: But if the Authority of *Baronius*, the Account of *Bede*, the Epistles of *Gregory* and the British Writers, were capable of being denied or misunderstood, the Synodical Epistle of *Laurentius*, Successor to *Austin*, and the whole series and course of the following Transactions, betwixt the Missionaries on one hand, and the British and Scottish Churches on the other, put it past all dispute, that the setting up a Foreign Jurisdiction on the one side, and opposing it on the other, was the chief subject of the present and following Controversies.”—Inett’s *Origines Anglicanæ*, vol. i., p. 33. I would direct the reader’s attention to the following remarks of Bingham, in his chapter on the *αυτοκεφαλαι*. “Even after the advancement of Patriarchs, several Metropolitans continued thus independent; receiving their ordination from their Provincial Synod, and not from any Patriarch; terminating all controversies in their own Synods, from which there was no appeal to any superior, except a General Council. . . . And this was also the ancient liberty of the Britannic Church before the coming of St. Austin the monk, when the seven British Bishops, which were all that were then remaining, paid obedience to the Archbishop of Caerleon, and acknowledged no superior in spirituals above him. As Dinotus, the learned Abbot of Bangor, told Austin in the name of all the Britannic Churches, that they owed no other obedience to the Pope of Rome than they did to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity: other obedience than this they knew none due to him whom he named Pope, &c.; but they were under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who was their Overseer under God.”—*Antiq. of Chris. Ch.*, b. ii., ch. 18, sec. 2. See also Bingham on *The true ancient Limits of the Bishop of Rome’s both Metropolitcal and Patriarchal Jurisdiction*, and his *Exceptions of Schelstrate, relating to the Britannic Church, considered*, b. ix., ch. 1, sects. 10, 11, 12.

seems no ground to doubt, but that that Church continued its freedom and independence, till a change in the affairs of the British nation did, in after ages, bring both their Church and State to submit to the English Establishment.”⁴

VIII. That “not only were the British and Irish Churches in a flourishing condition at the coming of St. Austin, but the Britons and Irish Scots, before his coming, had done a great deal towards restoring Christianity to the British Island, and were worthy instruments in forwarding the eternal salvation of those men whose fathers had massacred their ancestors and laid waste their country. For, as Bede observes,⁵ Columba came from Ireland about the year 565, and converted the Picts, inhabiting the northern parts of Britain; and the Saxon Chronicle agrees with the account of Bede. As for the southern Picts, they had been converted long before by Nennianus, (A. D. 412,) a British Bishop; and an Episcopal See was founded, the Church whereof was dedicated to St. Martin; and from the building thereof with white stone, was known in Bede’s time, and long after, by the name of Candida Casa, or Whittern, in Galloway, in Scotland.”⁶

IX. That so far from Augustin having fulfilled the directions of Gregory, by establishing twelve Suffragans in the Province of Canterbury, and twelve Suffragans under a Metropolitan at York,—so far from “re-establishing and extending the Catholic faith in all this country,” as asserted by Pius the Ninth,—we learn that he failed in all these particulars. “For,” (I quote the language of Inett,) “thus much is evident, that the Britons did, in

⁴ Inett’s *Origines Anglicanæ*, vol. i., p. 33.

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. 3, cap. 4.

⁶ Inett’s *Orig. Angl.* vol. i., p. 12. See also Lloyd’s *History of the Government of the Church in Britain*, &c., p. 50.

the most solemn and most public manner that was possible, disavow the authority of Gregory; and the English did not go one step further in the pursuit thereof, than they were led to it by their convenience or interest, but for the most part acted contrary to it in every particular. The Metropolitan of York was not appointed by Austin; nor were the Pope's directions, as to the number of Suffragans, one jot better obeyed; for it was almost one age before the Archbishops of Canterbury were generally owned as Primates of the English Church, and nearly five ages before their authority was generally received by the Britons; besides, it was a long time before the Archbishop of Canterbury came to have twelve Suffragans, but the Province of York has never obtained half that number to this day."⁷

X. In fact, we learn that "all that we can depend upon as having been effected by St. Austin, after his unsuccessful attempt to reduce the British Bishops to compliance, is this,—that in the year 604 he consecrated three Bishops, viz., Mellitus, to preach to the East Saxons, Justus, to be Bishop of Rochester, and Laurentius, to succeed him in the See of Canterbury. That this was the state of the Saxon Church at the death of St. Austin, whether we place that event in the year 604 or 607." We learn further, that "after the death of Ethelbert, Paganism revived in Kent; that Mellitus was driven from his See; that the people of Essex and Middlesex cast off their Christianity; that the missionaries despaired of preserving the New Church, and agreed to leave England and return to Rome; that the Bishops of London and Rochester fled to France, and that the people of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire relapsed into Paganism;⁸ so that little remained of the boasted suc-

⁷ *Origines Anglicanæ*, vol. i., p. 28.

⁸ *Ibid*, ch. 3, pp. 38, 40, 41, &c.

cesses of Austin.⁹ Again, we learn, from the elaborate

⁹ The following Extract from Ingram's *True Character of the Church of England*, brings the point succinctly before the reader :—

“ It might, however, be objected that the present established Church of England originated in the Anglo-Saxon, and is altogether distinct in her origin from the Early British Church ; that at the time of the Saxon settlement in Britain, the ancient Church of this country was extinguished, and the confessors of the true faith were driven into Wales and Brittany : that the Anglo-Saxon Church was founded by Augustine the Roman monk, by whose instrumentality England was a second time converted to the Christian Faith. But the truth of these objections *we most emphatically deny*. The Church of Britain was *not* extinguished, though persecuted and oppressed. The Anglo-Saxon Church was *not* founded by Augustine ; neither was England converted by his instrumentality, but chiefly by the labours of the Scots and Irish missionaries.

“ The learned Mason, on the authority of the early writers, proves that the extent and success of Augustine's preaching in Britain for the conversion of the Saxon settlers and other inhabitants, was very limited in comparison to that of the native clergy. At the time of Augustine's coming, the whole of Britain was divided into four nations, speaking different languages, namely, the Britains, Picts, Scots, (that is, Irish,) and Angles, including, under that common term, the Saxons and Jutes.

“ Of these, the Britains, as we have already seen, had embraced the Christian Faith in the times of the Apostles ; and, at the very time of Augustine's mission, seven Bishops and a proportionate number of clergy, with an Archbishop, presided over the Church of Christ amongst them.

“ The Scots, (that is, Irish,) had also received the Gospel long before Augustine was born ; for we read of Kiaranus, Albeus, Delanus, and Ibarus, who exercised the episcopal office amongst that people before the year 431, in which year Pope Celestine sent Palladius into Ireland as their Archbishop.

“ In the year 565, thirty-two years before the arrival of Augustine, Columbanus came from Ireland to preach the Gospel to the northern provinces of the Picts, as we learn from Bede, who also says that the southern Picts were converted by Nynia, or Ninian, (A.D. 412,) a BRITISH BISHOP, and “ a most reverend and holy man.” Of the three German colonies which settled in Britain, namely, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, the Angles were most considerable, and peopled the large provinces of the east, the middle, and the north of ENGLAND.

“ The kingdom of the East Angles comprehended the counties of Suf-

details of Inett, that, in the middle of the Seventh century,

folk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely; these were taught the knowledge of Christ by Felix, a Gallican Bishop, and Furseus, "a holy man," as Bede calls him, who came from Ireland.

"Mercia, or the kingdom of the Middle Angles, extended through the counties of Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Salop, Northampton, Leicester, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Rutland, Warwick, Worcester, Oxford, Gloucester, Buckingham, Bedford, Hereford, and a part of Hertford; the inhabitants of which received the Christian Faith in the reign of king Peada, who, demanding Alchflede, the daughter of Oswi, king of Northumberland, in marriage, could not obtain her but on condition that he became a Christian; and, no sooner had he heard the truth preached, and the promise of the kingdom of heaven, with the hope of the resurrection and eternal life, than he freely declared that he would be a Christian, even though he should not obtain the princess; and being baptized by Finan, a Scots' Bishop, he returned with much joy, accompanied by four priests, for the purpose of teaching and baptizing his subjects.

"With regard to Northumberland, the third kingdom of the Angles, Paulinus, a Roman priest who came over to assist Augustine, by practices unworthy a preacher of the gospel of truth, obtained from Edwin, the king of that country, a pledge that he would with his subjects profess the Christian religion; which pledge Edwin fulfilled; but he being slain, and Paulinus forced to withdraw, Osric and Eanfrid divided the kingdom between them. They both having professed Christianity, relapsed into heathenism, and by their influence recalled their people to idolatry; soon after which they were slain by Cadwalla, who ravaged the Northumbrian provinces. So completely lost was the temporary profession of Christianity which had been made in that kingdom, that no vestige remained of it; 'no church, no altar, was left standing in the whole Country.' However, it pleased God to enable Oswald, the son of Ethelred, to defeat Cadwalla, and to establish himself on the throne. Having been himself converted while in exile among the Scots, and being anxious that his people should enjoy the blessings of Christianity, he sent to that country, requesting them to send him a Bishop, by whose ministry his subjects might be instructed in the Christian faith. Accordingly, Aidan was sent over, whose labours the Lord so blessed, that the gospel was everywhere received. Aidan himself was consecrated to the see of Lindisfarne, and the Christian faith continued to flourish in that part of England.

"If, again, we turn to the other two tribes who settled in Britain, namely, the Saxons and Jutes, we find that the East Saxons, dwelling in

some fifty years after the death of Austin, the Conversion

the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and a part of Hertford, were first induced to profess Christianity by the preaching of Milletus, who was ordained their bishop by Augustine; but it appears that the Christian faith did not take deep root amongst them, for they relapsed into Paganism and expelled Milletus from their country. However, on the accession of Sigibert the true faith was again established. That prince having been converted at the court of Oswi, brought the holy Bishop Cedd to preach the gospel amongst his people. Cedd having been much blessed in his labours, repaired to Lindisfarne and received episcopal consecration from Finan, a Scots' Bishop; after which, returning to the East Saxons, he proceeded to form their Church, ordaining Priests and Deacons to assist him.

"The West Saxons, comprising the inhabitants of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Hants, and Berks, were indeed converted by the Roman missionary Birinus, but not till thirty years after the death of Augustine. Birinus was seconded in this mission by the Christian exertions of Oswald, king of Northumberland, who held the ancient faith, and the work was carried on by Agilbert, who succeeded Birinus in the see of Dorchester. He was a Gallican by birth, and, having studied in Ireland, followed the custom of the native British Church.

"The South Saxons, or the people of Sussex and Surrey, were converted from Paganism in the year 681, by Wilfred, a native of Britain, but who had spent much time in Italy, and was attached to the Roman custom. This same Wilfred sent Hildila to preach to the Jutes in the Isle of Wight, after that island had been conquered by Cadwalla. These were the last provinces in England which received the Christian faith, and certainly were not indebted for it to the preaching of Augustine, who died nearly eighty years before.

"If Augustine first brought the Christian faith to any of the German settlers in England, it was to the Jutes, who inhabited the kingdom of Kent; but even amongst them he cannot properly be said to have laid the foundation of a Christian Church; for before his arrival, Lithardus, a Christian Bishop who accompanied Queen Bertha from Gaul, preached the gospel and administered the sacraments to the queen and her retinue in a Church near Canterbury, the royal city of King Ethelbert. We cannot, therefore, suppose that under such circumstances the king and the people of Kent remained entirely ignorant of the name of Christ. While we admit that Augustine was active and diligent in using the means which were afforded to him for spreading more widely the Christian faith, we must affirm that even in the kingdom of Kent he could only 'build on

of England was effected chiefly by British Missionaries ; that “ all other parts of England, under the dominion of the Saxons, with the exception of the kingdom of Kent, and the West Saxons, and in some measure the East Angles, containing, in a manner, the whole tract of ground from the Friths of Edinburgh on the north, to the Thames on the south, were generally brought to the Christian faith, by the labors of the Scottish or Irish clergy, or such English as had had their education under them¹—‘ for it pleased God to grant the success to the English and Scotch clergy which he had denied to those from Rome.’²”—That “ the only Conversion the greatest part of England owes to the Bishop of Rome, was the Conversion to the Rites of the Romish Church from those of the British and Saxon Churches.”—That “ the union of the Roman and Scottish Churches,³ (the latter being connected with the British Church in the north,) was not effected till the year 673, at

another man’s foundation,’ and water that seed which Lithardus had already planted. He cannot, therefore, be properly called the Apostle of Kent, much less the ‘Apostle of England.’ Neither did the Anglo-Saxon Church take her beginning from him, but chiefly, as we have seen, from the labours of the Picts and Irish missionaries, who were of the ancient apostolic Church of Britain,”—pp. 31 to 42.

¹ Inett’s *Origines Anglicanæ*, p. 60 ; see also Owen’s *Rome no Mother-Church to England*, p. 232.

² I would direct the reader’s attention to an important passage in Mason’s *Vindication of the Church of England*, on this point, pp. 73-5.

³ “ Besides what is before related, there were many things which favoured the Union of the Churches of the *Scottish* and *Roman* Establishment ; for the *East-Saxons* were at this time Tributaries to the *Mercians*, and *Wulfere*, the King thereof, had a great Friendship with King *Alefred*, and was a favourer of *Wilfrid*, and by frequent Conversation with him rendered very inclinable to come over to the Usages of the *Roman* Church ; and *Jarumman*, Bishop of that Kingdom, dying about the time that *Theodore* came into *England*, the Interest of the other side was in a great measure broken by his Death, and that Prince easily

the Council of Hertford, under Theodore:⁴” that “our historians generally agree that this Theodore was the first Archbishop of Canterbury that was ever generally owned as Metropolitan by the Saxons; that the circumstances of the union show plainly that the acknowledgement of his authority was a voluntary act, founded on an agreement of the English Princes among themselves, and not upon any opinion of a power in the Bishop of Rome to constitute a Metropolitan without their consent:”⁵ and we also learn, that “the terms of Communion lie so open to reproachful reflection on the truth and honour of the Churches, wherein the greatest part of the English people had received their Baptism, that it is hard to say, whether there was more

brought to join in the Project formed by the Kings of *Northumberland* and *Kent* to unite the *Saxon* Churches.

“As for the Kingdoms of the *West-Saxons* and *East-Angles*, they had already received the Usages of the Church of *Kent*, and the *South-Saxons* were yet unconverted: The way was thus prepared for the uniting of the *Saxon* Churches, when *Theodore* came into *Britain*: But his Authority as Metropolitan seems the greatest obstruction to this Affair; for the Authority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had never yet extended beyond the Kingdom of *Kent*.

“And Men who easily part with Usages, which leave their Interest safe and untouched, are with difficulty brought to submit to Changes which lessen their Rights or their Power. And the whole course of the *Saxon* Story shews they knew no Authority the Bishop of *Rome* had to give them a Metropolitan, against their Wills; and the independance of the several Kingdoms lay cross the Reason upon which the Authority of Metropolitans was first founded; and though our Historians are silent therein, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that this was the true reason why *Wilfrid* declined appearing at the first Synod held under *Theodore*, and openly resisted the Authority of the second.”—*Origines Anglicanæ*, vol i., p. 74.

⁴ It is worthy of remark that the second Canon of the Council of Hertford, enacts, “*That no Bishop should exercise any authority in the Diocese of another.*”

⁵ Inett, p. 61.

insolence in imposing on the one side, or more mortification in submitting to them on the other ;” and “ that if judgment be made by the Ritual of Theodore, the English had a multitude of burdensome and trifling ceremonies, in exchange for a worship much more agreeable to the plainness and simplicity of the Gospel.⁶

XI. That, “ besides the strong reasons they had for not submitting to the *jurisdiction* of St. Austin, which will be considered in the proper place⁷—such was the aversion which the Scottish Christians shewed to all communion with those that came from Rome, that Dagamus, a Scotch Bishop, refused not only to eat with them, but so much as to lodge with them in the same house ; and so general was the aversion of the British Christians to the doctrine and worship planted amongst the English by Austin and his followers, and to such degrees did it arise, that in the year 633, which was about thirty years after the first conversion by St. Austin, Bede says,⁸ ‘ *to this day the Britons continue such aversion to the faith and worship of the English, that they make no account thereof, and will no more communicate with them than with Pagans.*’⁹ And he who will ascribe all

⁶ Inett, p. 84. ⁷ Inett’s *Eccl. Angl.* c. iv. ⁸ *Eccl. His.*, l. ii., c. 20.

⁹ The following Extracts from Inett will tend to elucidate the conduct of the British Christians, as regards their aversion to the Church of Rome.

“ Amongst other instructions brought over by *Mellitus*, *Gregory* directs *Austin* not to destroy the places used by the *Saxons* for the Pagan Worship ; but that, having first cast out the Images of their Gods, he should with Holy Water sprinkle the Walls thereof, build Altars, and furnish them with Reliques, and thus set them apart for the Service of God. But as to the Rites and Usages of the Pagan Worship, his Instructions are more surprising, and seem better fitted to the following than the present age ; and this was to treat the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Pagan English*, as he did the places of their Worship ; not to abolish them, but having first fitted them for it, by changing the end of those Institutions, he should then introduce them into the Christian Worship.

“ And amongst others of this kind, *Gregory* takes notice of a *Saxon*

this to the different manner of observing the Easter festival,

Festival, that seems to lie so cross to the purity of the Gospel-Worship as one would have thought could never have been reconciled to it. And whereas, saith *Gregory*, the *Saxons* used to slay abundance of oxen, and sacrifice them to Devils, you shall not abolish this custom, but appoint new Festivals, either in honour of the Saints to whom their Churches are dedicated, or whose Reliques are deposited therein; and making Arbors, with branches of trees round their Churches, the *Saxons* shall be allowed to kill their oxen, and feast, and enjoy themselves, as they did in their former Pagan state; only they shall offer their thanks and praises unto God.

“And the reasons upon which this advice is founded, are—the difficulties of drawing of men from long continued usages; the example of God, in allowing the *Israelites* the use of the *Egyptian* Sacrifices; and the hopes, by such indulgence, to bring the converts, in time, to a better sense of their duty to God. The reasons of *Gregory* admit of much dispute, but the advice has a danger attending it, too visible to be the subject of a question.

“And the success was such as might be expected from such a beginning; for this unhappy error took such root amongst the *English*, that about forty years after, *Ercombert* King of Kent, was forced to forbid those idolatrous practices, by a law which had at first been allowed to his ancestors: and the Council of *Calcuith*, near two hundred years after the coming of *Austin*, takes notice of the reliques of Paganism, then remaining amongst the *English*; and it may be, without looking further than the reasons and conduct of *Gregory*, one has a just view of the original of those usages which in time became a burthen and reproach to the Western Church, and of the reasons which first introduced them.”

“Whereas in the first Conversions of the Nations, by the Apostles, and their immediate followers, the greatest care was used, not only to bring the Converts to a just idea of the Gospel Revelation, and conduct their devotions by the general rules thereof; but, as far as it was possible, to leave no footsteps of the Pagan Worship; and upon this ground, the use of Images, and the Rites of the ancient Gentile Worship, were entirely banished, and a plainness and simplicity, suited to the worship of God in Spirit and Truth, generally introduced; and great marks of this primitive plainness appear in the Worship of the *British* and *Scots*, at the time of *Austin's* coming; whereas in that Worship which *Austin* introduced, and which had been fitted for the Northern people, who, in this and in two preceding ages, had been brought into the Church, there appears abundance of new Rites, and Pomp, and Ceremonies, which the *British* and

must have a contemptible idea of all that were concerned in the quarrel.”¹

We may add, that the representatives of the British Church² in Wales preserved, with great firmness, an independency of the Romish Church, until the end of the Eighth century; and that they did not submit to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury until the close of the Twelfth century; for we find Giraldus Cambrensis “vindicating the privileges of the Metropolitan Church of St. David’s against the ambitious pretensions of Hubert, (Archbishop of Canterbury in 1193,) who alleged its subordination to the superior jurisdiction of Canterbury.”³

Now, I shall doubtless be told, that this is an imperfect and unsatisfactory sketch of a very intricate portion of our Church History. I am well aware that it is; and my intention is not to *satisfy* the public mind upon so interesting a subject, by these few hasty lines, but to prompt those, who may regard what has been advanced as something important, or even as something new,—something opposed to the generally received and popular view of the question,—*to search for themselves*, taking for their guides sound, recognised, and standard authorities.

I must say one word, relative to the position taken by the Pope as to the Church of England subsequent to the Reformation. Pius the Ninth directly repudiates, condemns, and ignores, ecclesiastically as well as politically, the Anglican Branch of the Church Catholic in this

Scots were utterly unacquainted with; and this consideration seems to have occasioned the mighty aversion of the *British, Scots, and Picts* to the *Saxon* Worship, and those who came from Rome to introduce it.”—*Origines Anglicanæ*, pp. 23-25.

¹ Inett, p. 26.

² See Warrington’s *History of Wales*, vol. ii., p. 404.

³ See Parry’s *Cambrian Plutarch*, p. 160.

country, upon the grounds, we may suppose, (for we are not favoured with the precise reasons in the Papal Bull,) set forth by Dr. Doyle,⁴ viz. the "Ordination" and "Mission" of the Bishops of the English Church. I will not occupy your pages, or your readers' attention, with any disquisition on this head; suffice it to remark, that the works of Bramhall,⁵ Mason,⁶ Browne,⁷ Williams,⁸ Courayer⁹, and of an host of other writers on this point, will furnish the English Churchman with abundant materials for refuting every argument advanced against the validity of English Ordinations. I am told, indeed, that "Constable's Reply to Courayer,"¹ (which is a very scarce work,) settles the question in favor of Rome." I know, to my cost, that the volume is "scarce," and dear, but its scarcity does not arise from the avidity with which the work has been purchased, or retained, on account of its intrinsic value, but from the fact mentioned by Courayer, in his *Defence*, that its weakness produced its suppression. If the story of the "Nag's Head Consecration" be revived, or reverted to, I would simply ask, in the language of the Bishop of Exeter, in his *Letter on the Coronation Oath*,² "What must

⁴ See Dr. Doyle's *Examination before a Committee of the House of Lords*, pp. 379-380.

⁵ *The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified*.

⁶ *Vindication of the Church of England*, &c.

⁷ *The Story of the Ordination of the Nag's Head Tavern thoroughly examined*.

⁸ *Succession of Protestant Bishops asserted*.

⁹ *A Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations;—A Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity*, &c.

¹ *Remarks upon F. Le Courayer's Book in Defence of the English Ordinations*, by Clerophilus Alethes.

² *A Letter to an English Layman on the Coronation Oath*, p. 330, in which the members of the Church of England will find (as in nearly all the works of this learned Prelate) the most irrefutable arguments against the errors and false pretensions of Rome.

be the sentiments of men respecting their own cause, when they can gravely pretend to give credit to such a miserable fiction, exposed to the scorn of the world two hundred years ago ;” and, I may add, repudiated by Dr. Lingard himself ?³

In conclusion, Sir, I would remark, that this is not the first time a battle has been fought with the Papists in this country. At the close of the Seventeenth century, the Sovereign himself waged an unhallowed warfare against the Church of England : and how nobly did the Anglican Divines come forward and overwhelm their adversaries with utter confusion on every point of the controversy. Even Mr. Macaulay admits, that “it was indeed impossible for any intelligent and candid Roman Catholic to deny that the champions of his Church were in every talent and argument completely overmatched.”⁴ “There were giants upon the earth in those days.” The names of one hundred and seven writers, clerical and lay, (members of the Church of England,) from whom emanated three hundred and seventeen anti-popish books and tracts, are recorded in the pages of history ; whilst their opponents, numbering only fifty, published one hundred and thirty eight works and pamphlets.⁵ These writings of our Divines,

³ *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 380 ; Edit. 1844. I may be permitted to refer to my *Succession of Bishops in the Church of England Unbroken*, for a digest of the authorities in defence of the validity of Anglican Ordinations.

⁴ *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 110.

⁵ The Four Catalogues bearing upon this important controversy, are as follow :—*The Present State of the Controversie between the Church of England and the Church of Rome ; or an Account of the Books written on both Sides*, by Dr. Wm. Claget, 1687. *A Continuation of the Present State of the Controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome ; being a Full Account of the Books that have been of late written on both Sides*, by Archbishop Wake, 1688. These Catalogues having been published during the Controversy, were consequently incomplete. In 1689 was published,

at the period referred to, (from 1680 to 1690,) will furnish the members of our Church with ample information on every subject connected with the Romish controversy; or if these tracts are inaccessible, a digest of them will be found in *Gibson's Preservative against Popery*, or, in a more concise form, in *Brogden's Catholic Safeguards*. Let, then, the members of the Church of England understand *the strong grounds which they have* for protesting against the present encroachments of Rome. Let them bear in mind that the Church of England is a *living branch of the One Holy Catholic Church of Christ*; that by the law of the Universal Church, as laid down in her Œcumenical Councils, she is independent of the See of Rome, and that she claimed and acted upon this independence until the Papal usurpations in the Seventh century. Let them protest upon the ground, that the intrusion of a Metropolitan into English provinces, and of Popish Prelates into English Sees, all duly filled by Archbishops and Bishops canonically constituted thereto, is in direct contravention to the decrees of the Catholic Church, which strictly prohibit, under pain of incurring the charge of heresy and schism, two Metropolitans from ruling in the same province, or two Bishops from occupying the same Diocese.⁶

The Catalogue of all the Discourses published against Popery, during the Reign of King James II., by the Members of the Church of England, and by the Nonconformists; with the names of the Authors of them; by the Rev. Ed. Gee; and lastly, in 1735, the Rev. Francis Peck, published a Complete Catalogue of all the Discourses written, both for and against Popery, in the time of James II: containing in the whole, an Account of 457 Books and Pamphlets, a great number of them not mentioned in the three former Catalogues; and an Alphabetical List of the Writers on each Side.

⁶ "What are the decrees of the Catholic Church, in its General Councils, concerning Episcopal jurisdiction?"

"According to them, there cannot be two Metropolitans in the same Province, nor two Bishops in the same Diocese.

The following admirable passages from Bishop Bull, on *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to Ecclesiastical Government, &c.*, should be read and studied by every member of the Church of England, at the present important moment :

“ The Church of Rome hath quite altered the primitive ecclesiastical government, by erecting a monarchy in the Church, and setting up her Bishop as the universal Pastor

“ These two propositions are clearly laid down by the Church in the *first four General Councils*, which are of such paramount authority, that any one who will venture to set himself in wilful opposition to them, incurs the charge of *heresy* as well as of *schism*.

“ In the eighth Canon of the Council of Nice—the *first* general Council,—a prohibition will be found to this effect, that there may not be “ *two Bishops in the same city.*” The second Canon of the *second* General Council, that of Constantinople, specially enjoins that “ no Bishop shall *intrude* himself into a *Diocese* which does *not belong to him*, and thus introduce confusion into the Church ;” and in the sixth Canon, it brands with the stigma of heresy those “ who *separate themselves*, and set themselves up in opposition to *lawful Bishops.*” The *third* General Council, that of Ephesus, declares, that “ no Bishop shall occupy, and exercise any function, in a province which does not appertain to him ; and if he shall presume to do so, he shall make restitution.” The *fourth* General Council, that of Chalcedon, in the twelfth Canon, orders that there shall not be “ *two Metropolitans in the same Province.*”

“ I might add other citations of a similar kind ; as, for instance, from one of the earliest Councils, that of Antioch, in which it is enjoined (Canon v.), that if “ any one shall set up a rival *altar* against *altar*, he shall be *deposed*, and never be restored to his former dignity ;” and that “ no Bishop (Canon xiii.) shall dare to *invade* the *Diocese of another*, and confer orders in the same, and that all orders so conferred shall be deemed invalid ; and (Canon xix.) that “ no Bishop shall be consecrated without the consent and presence of the Metropolitan.”

“ Let the present act of the Pope be judged by these Laws of the Church, and it will then be seen what kind of deference he pays to her *authority*, and what regard he has for her *unity*. Certainly it must be affirmed, that, as far as this act is concerned, he does all in his power to destroy *both.*”—*Sequel to Letters to M. Gordon*, p. 255.

and Governor of the whole Catholic Church, and making all other Bishops to be but his vicars and substitutes, as to their jurisdiction.

“For that the Bishop of Rome had no such universal jurisdiction in the primitive times, is most evident from the sixth Canon of the first Nicene Council, occasioned, as it appears, by the schism of Meletius, an ambitious Bishop in Egypt, who took upon him to ordain Bishops there without the consent of the Metropolitan Bishop of Alexandria. The words of the Canon are these: “Let the ancient customs prevail that are in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria have the power over them all, forasmuch as the Bishop of Rome also hath the like custom. In like manner, in Antioch, and all other provinces, let the privileges be preserved to the Churches.” From this Canon it is plain, that the three Metropolitan Bishops, or Primates, (they were not, as yet, I think, called Patriarchs,) of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, had their distinct jurisdictions, each independent on the other; and that all other chief Bishops or Primates of provinces had the same privileges which are here confirmed to them. It is true, this Canon doth not particularly describe or determine what the bounds are of the Roman Bishop’s power, as neither doth it the limits of the Bishop of Antioch’s jurisdiction, but only those of the Bishop of Alexandria’s province. The reason hereof is manifest; the case of the Bishop of Alexandria only was at this time laid before the Synod, whose jurisdiction in Egypt had been lately invaded by the schismatical ordinations of Meletius, as I before observed. But that the Roman Bishop’s power, as well as that of the other Metropolitans, had its bounds, is most manifest from the example that is drawn from thence, for the limits of other Churches. For what an absurd thing is it, that the Church

of Rome should be made the pattern for assigning the limits to other metropolitan Churches, if that Church also had not her known limits at the same time when this Canon was made ! Intolerable is the exposition which Bellarmin and other Romanists give of these words of the Canon ; “ forasmuch as the Bishop of Rome also hath the like custom ;” i.e. (they say,) “ It was the custom of the Bishop of Rome to permit, or leave to the Bishop of Alexandria, the regimen of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis.” Certainly, the words seem to imply a like custom in the Church of Alexandria and in the Church of Rome ; and the sense of the Canon is most evident, that the Bishop of Alexandria should, according to the ancient custom of the Church, (not by the permission of the Roman Bishop,) enjoy the full power in his province, as by the like ancient custom the Bishop of Rome had the jurisdiction of his. But they that would see this Canon fully explained, and cleared from all the trifling cavils and exceptions of the Romanists, may consult the large and copious annotations of the learned Dr. Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, upon it, where they will receive ample satisfaction. *Vid. sup. p. 14.*

“ Thus was the government of the Catholic Church, in the primitive times, distributed among the several chief Bishops or Primates of the provinces, neither of them being accountable to the other, but all of them to an Œcumenical Council, which was then held to be the only supreme visible judge of controversies arising in the Church, and to have the power of finally deciding them. Hence the case of the Bishop of Alexandria, before mentioned, was not brought before the Bishop of Rome, or any other Metropolitan, but referred to the Fathers of the Nicene Council, to be finally determined by them.

“ The universal pastorship or government of the Catholic Church was never claimed by any Bishop till towards the

end of the Sixth century, and then it was thought to be challenged by John, Patriarch of Constantinople, assuming to himself the title of Œcumenical or Universal Bishop; whom Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, vehemently opposed, pronouncing him the forerunner of Antichrist, who durst usurp so arrogant a title."

And again, "'That the Church of Rome is the mistress of all other Churches,' is another great untruth. A proposition which, if it should have been advanced in the first ages of the Church, would have startled all Christendom. Every metropolitical Church would presently have stood up, and loudly pleaded her own immunities, rights, and privileges, independent upon Rome or any other metropolis. These rights and privileges were confirmed, as of primitive and ancient custom, by the sixth Canon of the great Council of Nice, as hath been before shewn; established also by the eighth Canon of the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus, as by and by will appear. Indeed in the days of old, when the Church of Rome was quite another thing from what now it is, all other Churches upon several accounts paid a singular respect to her, and gave her the preeminence; but they never acknowledged her mistress-ship over them, or themselves to be her serving-maids. This language would then have sounded very harsh, and been esteemed insolent and arrogant by all the Churches of Christ. In later days indeed she hath made herself mistress, but a mistress of misrule, disturbing the peace, invading the rights, and imposing upon the faith of other Churches.

"That 'the Bishop of Rome is the vicar of Christ,' i.e. under Christ the head and governor of the Universal Church, is another gross untruth. The universal pastorship and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, over all other Bishops, was never heard of, never pretended to by any Bishop of that Church for the first six hundred years and

more, as I have before shewn. To which all that I shall now add concerns our *British Church*. We say then, our Church of Britain was never under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome for the first six hundred years; Britain being a distinct diocese of the empire, and consequently having a primate of her own, independent upon any other primate or metropolitan. This appears first from the customs of our Church during that time, in the observation of Easter, and the administration of baptism, different from, as was before observed, the Roman custom, but agreeing with the Asiatic Churches. For it is altogether incredible, that the whole British Church should so unanimously have dissented from Rome for so many hundred years together, if she had been subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop, or that the Roman Bishop all that time should suffer it, if he had had a patriarchal power over her.

“Secondly, The same is evident by the unanimous testimony of our historians, who tell us, that when Austin the monk came into Britain, as St. Gregory’s legate, (which was after the Sixth century was fully complete and ended,) and required submission from our Church to the Bishop of Rome, as her Patriarch, the proposal was rejected, as of a new and strange thing never heard of before. The answer of Dinodus, the learned Abbot of Bangor, in the name of all the Britons, is famous, *viz.* ‘That they knew no obedience due to him, whom they called the Pope, but the obedience of love, and that under God they were governed by the Bishop of Caerleon.’ Under God, *i. e.* immediately, without any foreign Prelate or Patriarch intervening, they were to be governed by the Bishop of Caerleon, as their only Primate and Patriarch. Which privilege continued to the succeeding Bishops of that See for several ages, saving that the Archiepiscopal Chair was afterwards removed from Caerleon to St. David’s. And that this was

indeed the sense not only of Dinothus, but of all the whole body of our British Clergy at that time, all our historians tell us, witnessing the absolute and unanimous resolution of the British Clergy, both Bishops and Priests, synodically met together, not to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. *Vide Spel. Com. Gual. Mon. ii. 12, Bedam omnesque alios.*

“This being the ancient privilege of the British Church, we have an undoubted right of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome by the ancient Canons of the Catholic Church ; particularly by the sixth Canon of the great Nicene Council above mentioned, by which it was decreed, “That the ancient customs should every where “obtain, and that the then privileges of every province “should be preserved inviolate.” But this is most evident from the eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus, occasioned by the famous case of the Cyprian Bishops ; which was this : the metropolitan of Cyprus being dead, (Troilus, the Bishop of Constance,) the Bishop of Antioch pretended that it belonged to him to ordain their Metropolitan, because Cyprus was within the civil jurisdiction of the Diocese of Antioch. Upon this, the Cyprian Bishops made their complaint to the general Council at Ephesus, grounding it upon the Nicene Canon, and pleading that their Metropolitan had been of ancient time exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antioch, and was ordained by a Synod of Cyprian Bishops ; which privilege was not only confirmed to them by the Ephesine Council, but a general decree passed, “That the rights of every province should be preserved whole and inviolate, which it had of old, according to the ancient custom.” And it is to be observed, that the Bishop of Antioch had a more colourable pretence to a jurisdiction over the Cyprian Bishops, than Gregory could have to a jurisdiction over our British

Churches: for Cyprus was indeed within the civil jurisdiction of Antioch, but our Britain was originally itself a distinct Diocese of the empire. Yet the Ephesine Fathers judged, that ancient custom should prevail in the case of the Cyprian Bishops: how much more then should it in ours? Certainly Pope Gregory, when by his legate Austin he challenged to himself a jurisdiction over our British Church, was ignorant of, or had forgotten, or else regarded not the Canons of the Nicene and Ephesine Councils. If it be objected, that our British Church afterwards submitted herself to the Bishop of Rome as her Patriarch, which power he enjoyed for many ages, and that therefore our first reformers cannot be excused from schism, in casting off that power which by so long a prescription he was possessed of; we answer, we did indeed yield ourselves to the Roman usurpation, but it was because we could not help it: we were at first forced, awed, and affrighted into this submission. For who hath not heard of the barbarous massacre of the poor innocent monks of Bangor, to the number of twelve hundred, for refusing Austin's proposal, and asserting the ancient rights and privileges of the Britannic churches? When this force ceased, and we were left to our liberty and freedom of resuming our primitive rights, why might we not do it, as we saw occasion, without the imputation of schism? This is not only our just plea, but it is ingenuously confessed by father Barns, our learned countryman, and of the Roman communion. His words are these: "The island of Britain anciently enjoyed the same privilege with that of Cyprus, that is to say, of being in subjection to the laws of no patriarch: which privilege, though heretofore abolished by tumults and force of war, yet being recovered by consent of the whole kingdom in Henry the Eighth's reign, seems for peace sake most proper to be retained, so it be done without breach of Catholic

unity, or incurring the charge of schism." Indeed, we had very great reason to resume our primitive right and privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, when by means thereof he lorded it over our faith, and imposed manifest and gross corruptions both in doctrine and worship upon our consciences."⁷

The language of a portion of the eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus, is so singularly applicable to the present Papal aggression, that I will give it entire :—"The most beloved of God, and our fellow Bishop Rheginus, and Zeno, and Euagrius, the most religious Bishops of the province of Cyprus, who were with him, have declared unto us an innovation, which has been introduced contrary to the laws of the Church, and the Canons of the holy Fathers, and which affects the liberty of all. Wherefore, since evils which affect the community, require more attention, inasmuch as they cause greater hurt, and especially since the Bishop of Antioch has not so much as followed an ancient custom, in performing ordinations in Cyprus, as those most religious persons who have come to the holy Synod have informed us, by writing and by word of mouth, we declare that they who preside over the holy Churches which are in Cyprus, shall preserve, without gainsaying or opposition, their right of performing by themselves the ordinations of the most religious Bishops, according to the Canons of the holy Fathers and the ancient custom. *The same rule shall be observed in all the other Dioceses, and in the provinces everywhere ; so that none of the most religious Bishops shall invade any other province, which has not heretofore from the beginning been under the hand of himself or his predecessors. But if any one has so invaded a province, and brought it by force under himself, he shall restore it ; that*

⁷ Bull's *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 245-7, and 289-94, Edit. 1827.

the Canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, nor the pride of secular dominion be privily introduced under the appearance of a sacred office, nor we lose, by little and little, the freedom which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by His own blood. The holy and Œcumenical Council has therefore decreed, that the rights which have heretofore, and from the beginning, belonged to each province, shall be preserved to it pure and without restraint, according to the custom which has prevailed of old.”⁸ Stillingfleet tells us that “Alford is much displeased with Sir H. Spelman, for *paralleling the case of the British Bishops and Augustine, with that of the Cyprian Bishops against the Patriarch of Antioch.* But for what reason? (asks Stillingfleet.) Why, saith he, ‘The Council of Ephesus did not permit the Cyprian Bishops to decline the judgment of their Patriarch, but declared the Bishop of Antioch not to be their Patriarch.’ Very well! And is not this the very case here? The Bishop of Rome challenges a patriarchal power over the British Churches, and appoints an Archbishop over them; but they deny that he had any such authority over them, they being governed by their own Metropolitan, as the Cyprian Bishops were; and therefore by the decree of the Council of Ephesus, they were bound to preserve their own rights, and consequently to oppose that foreign jurisdiction which Augustine endeavoured to set up over them.”⁹

⁸ See Hammond on *The Six Œcumenical Councils*, p. 69. Johnson remarks with reference to this Canon, that, “*By this Canon our Divines have fully established the exemption of the British Church from subjection to any Patriarch whatever.* For it cannot be made appear that either the Bishop of Rome, or of any other See, had any manner of jurisdiction over us before the Canon was made; and whatever power he has assumed since, was contrary to this Canon.”—*Vade-Mecum*, pt. ii., p. 137.

⁹ *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 364. The passage of Spelman to which Stillingfleet refers is the following. “*Abbas vero Banchorensis, qui Augus-*

Lastly, let English Churchmen remember, that the Church of England, as a branch of the Church Catholic, claims the Rules or Canons decreed by the Church in her General Councils as applicable to herself. I close, therefore, with the language of Bishop Beveridge—"ETIAMSI EPISCOPUS ROMANUS, EX QUO SUPRADICTUM AUGUSTINUM HUC PRIMO MISIT, SUMMAM IN HAC GENTE POTESTATEM DIU EXERCUERIT, TAMEN, EXCUSO TANDEM TYRANNICO ISTIUS JUGO, ECCLESIA NOSTRA ANTIQUIS SUIS PRIVILEGIIS, JURE MERITISSIMO, UTPOTE AB UNIVERSALI ECCLESIA IN HOC CANONE PRÆSCRIPTO, ITERUM GAUDET. QUÆ FAXIT DEUS, EI INVIOATA IN POSTERUM AC PERPETUO CONSERVENTUR."¹

Yours, &c.,

E. C. HARINGTON.

Exeter, November 5th, 1850.

tino hoc responsum dedit, sine dubio fuit celeberrimus ille Dionothus, de quo supra in notis ultimis memoravimus. Manifestum etiam est, cum ex hac sua responsione, tum ex illis quæ ad ipso Bedæ hic in præcedentibus referuntur, *Britannicam Ecclesiam nullam sub hoc tempore agnovisse subjectionem, aut Romano ipsi Pontifici, aut extraneo alicui alii Patriarchæ, vel communionem aliquam cum Romana Ecclesia coluisse.* Subdebatur autem, ut ab Eleutherii ævo, proprio suo Metropolitæ (tanquam alterius orbis Papæ vel Patriarchæ) Caerlegionis Archiepiscopo, qui, ut hic suggeritur, superiorem non agnovit in Ecclesiæ gradibus, at *yn oligwr dan Duw*, id est, sub Deo absque alio intermedio, plebem et ecclesiam, sibi creditam gubernasse: Orientales etiam ritus et Asiaticos, potius quam Romanos imbibisse. *Nec hoc quidam e schismatica aliqua pravitate, (quam authores proculdubio illius sæculi perstrinxissent) nec contra sanctorum Patrum institutiones, autoritate tertiæ Synodi Œcumenicæ Ephesi habitæ, anno gratiæ 431, corroboratas: Cypriotis causam similem contra Patriarcham et clerum Antiochenum promoventibus.*—*Concilia*, p. 109, *Notæ*.

¹ *Pandectæ Canonum Annotationes in Can. Conc., Nicæni Primi*, p. 59. See some valuable information on the point, that—"The Roman Pontiff has not, jure Divino, any ordinary Jurisdiction over the Universal Church," in Palmer's *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. ii., pt. vii., ch. iv., pp. 506-23; and "On the Patriarchate of Rome," *ibid.*, ch. vii., pp. 538-46.

APPENDIX,

To which the attention of BRITISH SUBJECTS is earnestly solicited.

WE hear much respecting "the change which has taken place in the *character and principles of Popery* since the days of Queen Mary." Now this is sheer nonsense; the *principles* of the Church of Rome remain precisely what they have been during the last Eleven centuries. "The Church of Rome," says Lord Eldon, in the debate upon the (Roman) Catholic Question, in 1829, "is ever mysterious and unfathomable. Her Priests are animated by the deepest hostility to the Protestant Church; and *though they tell you their religion is unchanged, you will not believe it.*" Let us turn to some recognized authority, and enquire how far the Church of Rome "*ascribes to the Pope an absolute, universal, and boundless authority over all persons, and in all matters, both spiritual and temporal, conferred upon him by Divine right; so that all are obliged in conscience, to believe whatsoever he doth authoritatively dictate, and to obey whatsoever he commands;*" which is an important point for the consideration, both of the QUEEN and her SUBJECTS, at the present moment. I quote from the *Prompta Bibliotheca* of Ferraris, which is adopted as a standard of Roman Catholic Divinity, in which the *authorities* are the Decrees and Decretals of Popes and Councils, and the writings of the acknowledged champions of the Church of Rome. Under the word '*Papa*,' Ferraris recognizes the following traits of PAPAL POWER. "The Pope is of such dignity and highness, that he is not simply man, but, as it were, God, and the Vicar of God. Hence the Pope is of such supreme and sovereign dignity that, properly speaking, he is not merely constituted in dignity, but is rather placed on the very summit of dignities. Hence also the Pope is '*Father of Fathers*;' and he alone can use this name, because he only can be called '*Father of Fathers*,' since he possesses the primacy over all, is truly greater than all, and the greatest of all. He is called '*most holy*,' because he is presumed to be such. On account of the excellency of his supreme dignity, he is called '*Bishop of*

Bishops, Ordinary of Ordinaries, universal Bishop of the Church, Bishop or Diocesan of the whole world, divine Monarch, supreme Emperor and King of Kings.' Hence the Pope is crowned with a triple crown, as King of heaven, of earth, and of hell. Nay, the Pope's excellence and power is not only about heavenly, terrestrial, and infernal things, but *he is also above angels, and is their superior; so that if it were possible that angels could err from the faith, or entertain sentiments contrary thereto, they could be judged and excommunicated by the Pope.* He is of such great dignity and power, that he occupies one and the same tribunal with Christ; so that whatsoever the Pope does, seems to proceed from the mouth of God, as is proved from many Doctors. The Pope is, as it were, God on earth, the only Prince of the faithful of Christ, the greatest King of all Kings, possessing the plenitude of power, to whom the government of the earthly and heavenly kingdom is intrusted. Hence the common doctrine teacheth, that the Pope hath the power of the two swords; namely, the spiritual and temporal, which jurisdiction and power Christ himself committed to Peter and his successors; 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' &c.: (Matt. xvi. :) where Doctors note that he did not say 'key,' but 'keys,' and by this comprehending the temporal and spiritual power: which opinion is abundantly confirmed by the authority of the holy Fathers, the decision of the canon and civil law, and by the apostolic constitutions; so that those who hold to the contrary, seem to adhere to the opinion of the heretics reprobated by Boniface VIII., in his Extravagant, entitled, *Unam Sanctam*. Hence infidel Princes and Kings, by the decision of the Pope, may be deprived, in certain cases, of that dominion which they have over the faithful; as, if they have occupied the country of the Christians by violence, or endeavour to draw away their faithful Roman Catholic subjects from the faith, or any such thing, as Bellarmine, Suarez, Baros, Gonzales, Cardinal Petra, &c., very fully demonstrate. And hence the Pope may cede those provinces which formerly belonged to Christians, that were subsequently occupied by infidels, to any Christian Princes to be redeemed. *And if a King become heretic, he can be removed from his kingdom by the Pope, to whom the right of appointing his successor belongs, if his sons and nearest relatives are heretics.* Nay, in cases in which, on account of the heresy of the King, the religion of his kingdom, and the faith of others seem to be in danger, if he can in no other way prevent this loss, the Pope may not only deprive him of his kingdom, but he may also concede it to a

Christian Prince and his successors, if this Prince will fight for and conquer it. Hence it is not wonderful, if to the Roman Pontiff, as the Vicar of Him whose is the earth, and its fulness, the world, and all they who dwell therein, be attributed supreme authority and power, not only the spiritual, but also the unsheathed material, sword, just cause being assigned for transferring empires, breaking sceptres, and taking away crowns. Which plenitude of power, not only once, but often, the Popes used, whenever it was necessary, by binding, most courageously, the sword on their thigh, as is sufficiently manifest, not only from the most ample testimonies of theologians, the teachers of the right of the Pontiff and of Cæsar, but also of innumerable historians of undoubted credibility, profane as well as sacred, Greek as well as Latin."

The concluding passages of Ferraris, touching the much disputed question of the *Pope's Infallibility*, I will give in the original, lest I should mistake the position of the Church of Rome, on a point of such deep importance. "Papa tantæ est auctoritatis et potestatis, ut possit quoque *leges divinas modificare, declarare, vel interpretari.*" . . . "His breviter notatis concluditur, quod Decreta, quæ edit Papa ex Cathedra circa Doctrinam Fidei et morum sunt *infallibilia.* *Est de fide.* Probatur prima pars conclusionis, scilicet quod infallibilia sint decreta Papæ circa Doctrinam Fidei; Christus enim promisit, et dedit Papæ in persona Petri suam assistentiam, *ne in definiendis rebus Fidei erraret.*" . . . Probatur secunda pars conclusionis, scilicet quod infallibilia sint Decreta Papæ circa doctrinam morum. *Est de Fide*, quod ecclesia sit *sancta*, ut in Symbolo Apostolorum vocatur: ergo et de fide est, *quod Papa docens ex Cathedrâ errare non possit in tradenda doctrina morum; adeoque Decreta ab ipso ex Cathedrâ edita circa morum doctrinam sunt infallibilia.*"—Lu. Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca, Canonica Juridica, Moralis, Theologica*, &c; Verb. *Papa*, art. 2, sect. 30-46, tom. 7.

THE REFORMERS
OF
THE ANGLICAN CHURCH,

AND
Mr. Macaulay's History of England.

SECOND EDITION,
WITH LARGE ADDITIONS,

AND
The Postscript.

BY
E. C. HARRINGTON, A.M.

CHANCELLOR OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF EXETER.

LONDON :
FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON.
OXFORD : J. H. PARKER. CAMBRIDGE : MACMILLAN & CO.
EXETER : H. J. WALLIS.
PLYMOUTH & DEVONPORT : ROGER LIDSTONE.

MDCCCL.

PLYMOUTH:
Printed by LIDSTONE and BRENDON,
George Street.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE Author, in presenting to the public, at the suggestion of several friends, a *Second Edition* of his strictures on that portion of Mr. Macaulay's History of England, which relates to the Reformation, feels some degree of satisfaction, in reflecting that the statements which he advanced in the first edition remain unrefuted. The remarks, which he felt himself called upon to make on certain passages of the work in question, may, therefore, be deemed by him to have been found substantially correct. Circumstances, which he is not at liberty to detail, induced him to publish a Postscript; and he is gratified to learn that this addition—to quote the language of the *Christian Remembrancer*—renders “the case complete,” so far as the Author is concerned, against Mr. Macaulay. The Author adds with pleasure, that, in the fourth and subsequent editions of Mr. Macaulay's History, certain modifications have been adopted, in

some passages complained of: but whether these alterations were in any way connected with the Author's pamphlet, must, in the absence of any acknowledgement, be left wholly to conjecture. The passages, as altered, are, in justice to Mr. Macaulay, added in the notes.

The Close, Exeter, Feb., 1850.

THE REFORMERS,

&c.

THE reader of Mr. Macaulay's History of England,¹ which has just issued from the press, if he be at all conversant with the History of the Reformation in this country, in the 16th century, will be startled and pained by the sweeping censure which the author has passed on Archbishop Cranmer, and not less astonished and grieved by the assertions so lavishly advanced, that "the founders of the Anglican Church" held the most extreme Erastian views, denied the Divine Institution of Episcopacy, and "retained it" merely "as an ancient, decent, and convenient ecclesiastical polity."

"Cranmer had declared, in emphatic terms," writes Mr. Macaulay, (vol. i. p. 57) "that God had immediately committed to Christian princes the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political. The thirty-seventh article of religion, framed under Elizabeth, declares,

¹ *The History of England, from the Accession of James the Second.*
By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. London, 1848.

in terms as emphatic, that the ministering of God's word does not belong to princes."

Again (p. 53), "The founders of the Anglican Church took a middle course (between Papists and Puritans). They retained Episcopacy ; but they did not declare it to be an institution essential to the welfare of a Christian society, or to the efficacy of the Sacraments. Cranmer, indeed, plainly avowed his conviction² that, in the primitive times, there was no distinction between Bishops and Priests, and that the laying on of hands was altogether unnecessary."

Again (p. 55), "The king was to be the pope of his kingdom, the vicar of God, the expositor of Catholic verity, the channel of sacramental graces."

(P. 56.) "He (the king) appointed Divines of various ranks to preach the gospel, and to administer the Sacraments. It was unnecessary that there should be any imposition of hands. The king—such was the opinion of Cranmer, given in the plainest words—might, in virtue of authority derived from God, make a Priest ; and the Priest so made needed no ordination whatever. These opinions Cranmer followed out to their legitimate consequences³.....When⁴ it was ob-

² In the fourth and subsequent editions, the passage is altered thus :—"Cranmer, indeed, *on one important occasion*, plainly avowed his conviction that, in the primitive times, there was no distinction between bishops and priests, and that the laying on of hands was altogether *superfluous*."

³ Altered thus in subsequent editions :—"These opinions Cranmer, *in spite of the opposition of less courtly divines*, followed out to *every* legitimate consequence."

⁴ See *Postscript*, upon the omitted passages.

jected, that a power to bind and to loose, altogether distinct from temporal power, had been given by our Lord to his Apostles, the⁵ theologians of this (Cranmer's) school replied, that the power to bind and to loose had descended, not to the clergy, but to the whole body of Christian men, and ought to be exercised by the chief magistrate, as the representative of the society." And, apparently referring to the period at which the Formularies of our Church were drawn up, Mr. Macaulay alludes to a Paper containing matters to be discussed in Convocation, A.D. 1532 or 1534, and adds, "When it was objected that St. Paul had spoken of certain persons whom the Holy Ghost had made overseers and shepherds of the faithful, it was answered, that King Henry was the very overseer, the very shepherd, whom the Holy Ghost had appointed, and to whom the expressions of St. Paul applied."

Now, my object in the following pages will be to show, that these assertions, so far as they refer to Cranmer and to the other Anglican Reformers, are not in accordance with historical testimony ; that Mr. Macaulay has limited his inquiries into the views of the Archbishop and of the "founders of the Anglican Church" to the year 1540 ; whereas in treatises so early as 1537, and subsequently in 1543-48-51 and 52, Cranmer distinctly disavowed Erastian views, defended the Divine Institution of Episcopacy, supported the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession, and

⁵ "Some Theologians of this school," in subsequent editions.

maintained the necessity of Episcopal Ordination for the due administration of the Sacraments ; whilst the framers of our Liturgy and Ordinal have not, so far as I am aware, advanced any opinions which would justify Mr. Macaulay's imputations.⁶

⁶ Though somewhat anticipating the subject-matter of my pamphlet, I cannot forbear to give my readers the benefit of a short extract from Dr. Brett's *Divine Right of Episcopacy*. " Archbishop Cranmer's notions which he had concerning Episcopacy and Ecclesiastical Offices, (in 1540,) were not agreeable to the doctrine of the Primitive Church ; and, therefore, when he saw the answers made by the opposite party, (to '*Some Questions concerning the Sacraments,*') and had duly considered their opinion, he no longer insisted upon the Latitudinarian answers he had here given, but went over to them ; and the necessity of Episcopal Ordination and Succession was at that time laid down as the received doctrine of the Church of England ; as Bishop Burnet tells us, who says, that, ' In Cranmer's Paper some singular opinions of his about the nature of Ecclesiastical Offices will be found ; but as they are delivered by him with all possible modesty, so they were not established as the doctrine of the Church, but laid aside as particular conceits of his own. And it seems that afterwards he changed his opinion ; for he subscribed the Book that was soon after set out, which is directly contrary to those opinions set down in this paper.' This I thought myself obliged to take notice of, to do justice to the memory of that Prelate, that I might show that howsoever being so long an Agent for his King among the Lutherans in Germany, he had there imbibed some Erastian, Latitudinarian notions, yet he was by no means tenacious of them ; and though he set them down as his opinion in the answers he gave to King Henry's queries, yet, when he had better considered the matter, he altered his mind, and readily subscribed the contrary doctrines. And, therefore, those who urge Archbishop Cranmer's authority, as the author of the Rights, (Tindal) and others have done, to prove that there is no necessity of an Episcopal Commission for the valid administration of Sacraments, would do well to consider that this was not that Prelate's settled judgment ; and howsoever he did once give it under his hand as his opinion, yet he did

It is rather difficult, indeed, to ascertain the exact parties to whom Mr. Macaulay refers, when he speaks of "the founders of the Anglican Church." He alludes to transactions, and treats of opinions expressed by our Reformers, from the year 1532 to 1562, without defining the precise period to which he refers, or stating the persons who are involved in his censure. I am, therefore, left only to conjecture ; and I take it for granted that, when he speaks of the "founders of the Anglican Church," he refers to the compilers of the Liturgy, and the Commissioners appointed to draw up the Ordinal, in the years 1548-49. Mr. Macaulay, in speaking of the opinions of our Reformers, as connected with the Formularies of our Church, alludes to those who "retained Episcopacy as decent and convenient," but who "did not declare it to be an institution essential to the welfare of a Christian society, or to the efficacy of the Sacraments." We must, therefore, inquire into the views of those who were engaged in preparing the Ordinal, Liturgy, and Articles. I think it will be apparent, that Mr. Macaulay has formed his opinion of the views entertained by the "founders of the Anglican Church," on the subject of Episcopacy, from the "*Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines of some Questions concerning the Sacraments*," in 1540. Certain it is that, in developing the views of Archbishop Cranmer, he quotes *this document only* ; with what fairness, I shall presently endeavour

not continue long in that mind, but subscribed the contrary doctrine soon after."—BRETT's *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, &c., p. 91.

to point out. In defending, therefore, the “founders of the Anglican Church” against the imputations of Mr. Macaulay, I shall briefly direct the attention of my readers to the Ordinal and Articles of our Church; and then proceed to point out the opinions of the framers of these Formularies, especially those of Cranmer, on the subject of Church-government, so far as they are recorded in the “Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines,” (which seem to have been the basis upon which Mr. Macaulay has founded his assertions,) and in other authorised documents. Before, however, I proceed to this, the especial object of my pamphlet, I would, without wishing to be offensive, draw Mr. Macaulay’s attention to the very great facilities which he has, unintentionally perhaps, afforded to the readers of his History, for misunderstanding his meaning, and forming erroneous conclusions upon questions of grave importance.

In endeavouring, for instance, to show that many of the Divines in Elizabeth’s reign were *inimical* to the requirements connected with the discipline and doctrine of the Anglican Church, he says (p. 51), that “Archbishop Grindal long hesitated about accepting a mitre, from dislike of what he regarded as the *mummery of consecration* ;” and adds, by way of elucidating his meaning, that “when it is considered that none of these prelates belonged to the extreme section of the Protestant party, it cannot be doubted that, if the general sense of that party had been followed, the work of Reform would have been carried

on as unsparingly in England as in Scotland.”⁷ Now, it is true that Archbishop Grindal had scruples respecting “Impropriations,” “Episcopal Garments,” the

⁷ It may be well in this place to say one word on the clause in the 55th Canon, where we are required to pray “for the Churches of *England, Scotland, and Ireland.*” Some writers have, most erroneously, I would submit, taken for granted that the Convocation in 1603, alluded in the above clause to Presbyterianism. It would, however, appear certain, that the Convocation could not have referred to *Presbyterianism*; since, in 1600, “*The Presbyterian form of Government* was, after eight years of intolerable agitation, *abolished* by the King, with the full consent of an overwhelming majority of the ministers, and the applause of the people, whose opinions seem to have been changed by experience of its tyranny.”—STEPHENS’S *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 417.—The Scottish Parliament had also passed an Act, in 1597, “That such Pastors and Ministers as his Majesty should promote to the place, dignity, and title of a Bishop, or other Prelate, at any time, should have a voice in Parliament, as freely as any Ecclesiastical Prelate had in times past.” In the year 1600, the King informed the Assembly that “there was a necessity of restoring the ancient government of the Church;” and consequently, under the sanction of Parliament, “persons were nominated to the Bishoprics that were void,” before the end of the year.—SKINNER’S *Church History*, vol. ii. pp. 234-6. I am quite aware that this was the re-introduction of the Titular Episcopacy only; “the King and the wiser part yielding,” as Skinner expresses it, “to the times, with a view of getting all rectified at a more convenient season.”—See *Some Account of the Nature and Constitution of the Ancient Church of Scotland.*—But still “a shadow of Episcopacy was once more restored in Scotland, and the King appeared to be satisfied for the present, till he could get the substance properly and regularly recovered, which he seems all along to have had in his eye.” Thus we learn that, “in 1606, the King called up a select number of Ministers to London, both of such as favoured Episcopacy, and of such as stood up for the Genevan parity, with Andrew Melvil at their head, who all attended at Hampton Court, where the King had appointed four English

“Crucifix,” &c. He “gave Martyr to understand how offended many were with the Episcopal habits, and those *sacred* garments, as they (the Papists) called

Bishops—Barlow, of Lincoln, Buckridge, of Rochester, Andrews, of Chichester, and King, of London—to preach upon the subject of *Church Government*, hoping thereby to remove the prejudices of the Scottish faction, and to convince them of the reasonableness of what he had been so long proposing to them.” At length, in 1610, the King called the Moderator, Spotswood, to London, who was accompanied by two other Titulars, and told them that he had with great charge recovered the temporalities out of lay-hands, and bestowed them, as he hoped, upon worthy persons. But *as he could not make them Bishops, nor could they assume that honour to themselves*, he had therefore called them to England to receive regular consecration from the Bishops there; that, on their return home, they might communicate the same to the rest, and thereby stop the mouths of adversaries of all denominations.” Accordingly, in October, 1610, these three Titulars were duly consecrated by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath and Wells, in the Chapel of London House. And the three consecrated Bishops, on their return home, conveyed the Episcopal powers, which they had now received in a canonical way, to their former Titular brethren in Scotland, and thus was Episcopacy restored after many years of confusion.—See SKINNER’S *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. ii. Letters, 42-3.—If the above authorities are insufficient, I would refer to the “*Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*,” published by authority, where we read that, “From the time that the Assembly of Perth was held (1597) the *Presbyterian Constitution* of the Church, as established in 1592, and the legitimate authority of its General Assemblies and other judicatories, may be regarded as subverted by the interferences of King James the Sixth. On the 19th December, 1597, soon after the Assemblies of Perth and Dundee, he brought his projects under the consideration of Parliament; when an Act was passed ordaining that such Pastors and Ministers as his Majesty should at any time please to invest with the office, place, and dignity of Bishop, Abbot, or other Prelate, should, in all time hereafter, have vote in Parliament, in the same way as any Prelate

them. He confessed that the garments, which they termed *holy*, somewhat more stuck to him, so that he wondered they should be more stiffly retained; and he wished all things in the service of God might be done in the most simple manner." But I think that Mr. Macaulay will find it difficult to adduce one passage from Strype's "Life of Archbishop Grindal," or from any other author of note, which will bear out the assertion, that the Archbishop hesitated to accept a mitre from "*a dislike of the mummery of consecration!*" I subjoin the entire account of Grindal's objections from Strype's Life of the Archbishop.⁸

was accustomed to have; declaring that all Bishoprics presently vacant, or which might afterwards become vacant, should be given by his Majesty to actual Preachers and Ministers. This was a restoration of Episcopacy, which was rendered effectual by another Act of Parliament, in 1606, whereby Bishops were reponed and restored to their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, livings, lands, teinds, rents, &c.; and by a subsequent Act, in 1612, it was enacted, that the indiction of General Assemblies of the Kirk should belong to his Majesty, by the prerogative of the royal crown. Henceforward, therefore, and indeed from the Assembly at Perth, (1597,) the Church in Scotland must be regarded as Episcopalian;"—in principle, we may add, though not fully developed.—*Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, part ii. p. 36.

⁸ "He (Grindal) was one of the five first elects; Parker, elect of Canterbury; Cox, of Ely; Barlow, of Chichester; and Scory, of Hereford, being the other four. But our Bishop elect of London remained under some scruples of conscience about some things; especially the habits and certain ceremonies required to be used of such as were Bishops.

"For the reformed in these times generally went upon this ground: that in order to the complete freeing the Church of Christ from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and

Again (page 56), Mr. Macaulay writes, "These (Erastian) opinions Cranmer followed out to their

custom, practised by that apostate and idolatrous Church, should be abolished, and that all their ceremonies and circumstances of religious worship should be clearly abrogated; and that the service of God should be most simple, stripped of all that show, pomp, and appearance, that had been customarily used before; esteeming all that to be no better than superstitious and anti-christian. This commonly received opinion, which the late English exiles especially had imbibed, was the cause that Grindal was now in doubt, whether he might with a safe conscience accept of a bishopric, when he saw he must submit to divers of these things if he did; namely, such things as were practised in the Church of England in the late reign of King Edward. For so it was now determined, that religion should be reformed according to the way and manner, wherein it then appeared and was practised.

"In this scruple, therefore, he thought fit to consult with Peter Martyr, one of the learnedest Protestant professors of divinity in Europe in his time, and of excellent moderation, and at this time public professor at Zurich, in Helvetia. And being Grindal's friend and acquaintance, (for they had been at Strasburgh together,) in the month of August he sent a letter to him, which, passing from Strasburgh and so to Zurich, came not to Martyr's hands before October. Therein Grindal communicated to him his doubts, desiring his speedy resolutions of them, that he might, according to that light he should give him, accept the Episcopal office or refuse it; one of these was concerning impropriations, which were to be annexed to Bishoprics.

"For the Queen now (chiefly to gratify some of her courtiers) made exchanges with her Bishops, by the authority of a late Act of Parliament, taking to herself their ancient good manors and lordships, and making over to them in exchange tithes and impropriations. A matter those first Bishops took very heavily, and scrupled very much whether they could or should comply in a thing so much to the injury of their respective sees, which must suffer considerably by these exchanges, and whereby all hope should be cut off of restoring the tithes, so long unjustly detained from the respective Churches, for the maintenance of the incumbents.

legitimate consequences.⁹.....When it was objected that a power to bind and to loose, altogether distinct from temporal power, had been given by our Lord to his Apostles, the¹ theologians of this (Cranmer's) school replied, that the power to bind and to loose had descended, not to the clergy, but to the whole body of Christian men, and ought to be exercised by the chief magistrate, as the representative of the society." We are not told where these opinions are expressed by the "founders of the Anglican Church," if by these are meant the framers of our Formularies; but Mr. Macaulay proceeds to add that, "When it

Another point at which he stuck, was wearing certain peculiar garments, whether *extra sacra* or *in sacris*. He desired Martyr's judgment briefly to these things.

"The same year our Bishop elect wrote two letters more to the same reverend man, both in October and December, for his advice and counsel; for he cared not to trust to his own wit and learning in the performance of his duty in matters not so clear to him. The things he now wrote to Peter Martyr about were partly the same about which he had consulted with him before, and partly some other. One of Grindal's queries was, that seeing he was not left at his liberty for the garments, whether he should accept of the episcopal functions offered him, because of the imposition of the matters aforesaid?

"Peter Martyr's answer came late; for Grindal had accepted the Bishopric, and was made Bishop before it came to his hand.

"Grindal also gave Martyr to understand how offended many were with the episcopal habits, and those *sacred* garments, as they called them. But the divine told him, they might escape all blame, if they also declared in their sermons that those garments displeased them also, and that they would use their endeavour, at one time or other, to get them laid aside."—STRYPE's *History of the Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal*, pp. 41-46. Edit. 1821.

⁹ See Note (3), p. 6.

¹ See Note, p. 7.

was objected that St. Paul had spoken of certain persons whom the Holy Ghost had made overseers and shepherds of the faithful, it was answered that King Henry was the very overseer, the very shepherd, whom the Holy Ghost had appointed, and to whom the expressions of St. Paul applied." The "objection" and the "answer" seem to be the result of a fertile imagination. Mr. Macaulay refers, I suppose, to a "Paper directed to some great lord about the king, that he would instruct that sort of the clergy that were of the king's part in the Convocation, how far they should go in advancing his spiritual authority, against those who stood so stiffly upon their spiritual jurisdiction." The date of this Paper is about 1532; and among the points to be proved in Convocation was this, "That this text of *Actuum* 20, '*Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in quo Spiritus Sanctus vos posuit episcopos,*' &c., was not meant of *such bishops only* as be now of the clergy; but was *as well* meant and spoken of every ruler and governor of the Christian people.² How far this

² I would draw the reader's especial attention to the following extracts from Burnet, as tending to elucidate the opinions of Cranmer and the Divines of his day, on the subject immediately before us. "There is another original paper extant, signed at this time (1538,) by eight Bishops; from which I conjecture those were all that were then about London. It was to show, 'That, by the Commission which Christ gave to Churchmen, they were only Ministers of his Gospel to instruct the people in the purity of the Faith; but that, by other places of Scripture, the authority of Christian Princes over all their subjects, as well Bishops and Priests as others, was also clear. And that the Bishops and Priests have charge of souls

accords with Mr. Macaulay's statement, the reader will readily form an opinion. Strype adds, "I leave the reader at liberty (seeing we are left to conjecture)

within their cures, power to administer the Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God: to the which Word of God, Christian Princes acknowledge themselves subject. And that in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the Christian Prince's office to see them do their duty.' This being signed by *John Hilsey*, Bishop of Rochester, must be after the year 1537, in which he was consecrated; and Latimer and Shaxton also signing, it must be before the year 1539, in which they resigned. But I believe it was signed at the same time that the other was,—'A Declaration against the Pope's Pretensions,'—signed by all the Bishops in England; and the design of it was to refute those *calumnies spread at Rome, as if the King had wholly suppressed all Ecclesiastical officers, and denied them any divine authority, making them wholly dependent on the civil power, and acting by commission only from him.* And, therefore, they explained the limits of both these powers in so clear and moderate a way, that it must have stopped the mouths of all opposers."—*History of the Reformation*, pt. i. b. iii. p. 238. The document to which Bishop Burnet refers is the following:—"The Judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy." An original, ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet. "The words of St. John, in his 20th chapter, 'Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos,' &c., hath no respect to a King's or a Prince's power, but only to show how that the Ministers of the Word of God, chosen and sent for that intent, are the messengers of Christ, to teach the truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c., as Christ was the messenger of his Father. The words also of St. Paul, in the 20th chapter of the Acts, 'Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei,' were spoken to the Bishops and Priests, to be diligent pastors of the people, both to teach them diligently, and also to be circumspect that false preachers should not seduce the people, as followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the highness and excellency of Christian Princes' authority and power; the which, of a truth, is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well Bishops and Priests as others. The Bishops and Priests

to place this notable Paper here, or to bring it under the year 1534, when an act was made that the King and his heirs should be reputed *supreme head of the Church of England*; about which act the King consulted with his Council and with his Bishops; and they in their Convocation discussed the point, and declared that the Pope had no jurisdiction, warranted by God, in this kingdom.”—STRYPE’S *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 209, ed. 1822. The date of the Paper removes it from all connection whatever with our Formularies, which were drawn up subsequently to the year 1548; and the writer, moreover, is stated by Strype to have been, not Cranmer nor any of his “school,” but, in all probability, *Stephen Gardiner*, a virulent Papist!

Once more, speaking of *Whitgift*,³ *Jewel*,⁴ *Cooper*,⁵

have charge of souls within their own cures, power to minister the Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God; to the which Word of God, Christian Princes acknowledge themselves subject. And in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the Christian Prince’s office to see them do their duty.

“ T. CANTUARIEN.

THOMAS ELIEN.

JOANNES LONDON.

NICOLAUS SARISBURIEN.

CUTHBERTUS DUNELMEN.

HUGO WYGORN.

JO. BATWELLEN.

J. ROFFEN.”

Collection of Records, b. iii. p. 167, pt. i.

³ Strype thus records the sentiments of Whitgift on the discipline of the Church of England, as set forth in her formularies:—“Our doctor, towards the latter end of his answer, gave his judgment of this new (Presbyterian) platform, (that such a stir was made to introduce,) set down by the authors in the second ‘admonition;’ where they prescribe the manner of electing ministers, where they treat of their exercises, of their equality, of the government of the Church, &c. ‘This surely,’ writeth he, ‘being well considered, will

and other eminent Divines, in the reign of Elizabeth, Mr. Macaulay says, that they “defended prelacy as innocent, as useful, as what the state might lawfully

appear not only a confused platform, without any sound warrant of God’s word, but also a fantastical device, tending to the overthrow of learning, religion, yea, the whole state of the government of the Commonwealth.’”—STRYPE’s *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 84. Again, Dr. Bowden (in his Letters to Miller) remarks, that “The first attack made upon it (episcopacy) was by Cartwright and his associates, in the year 1572, twenty-four years after the Reformation. They published a book entitled, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, the design of which was to subvert the government of Bishops. An answer was given to this book by Dr. Whitgift, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Strype says of this book, that ‘it contained a very learned and satisfactory vindication of the Church of England, and especially of the government of it by Bishops.’ Some years afterwards, Sir F. Knollys, a great Puritan, complains of Whitgift, that in this book he ‘had claimed, in the right of Bishops, a superiority belonging to them over all the inferior clergy, from God’s own ordinance.’ In 1593, Whitgift, when promoted to the see of Canterbury, wrote a letter to Beza, in which he expostulates with him for intermeddling in the dispute between the Church and the Puritans. In that letter he says, ‘We make no doubt, but that the *Episcopal degree* which we bear, is an institution *apostolic and divine*; and so hath always been held by a continual course of times, from the Apostles to this very age of ours.’ Again, ‘You may remember, learned sir, the beginnings of that episcopacy, which you make to be only of human institution, are referred by the Fathers, with one mouth, to the Apostles, as the authors thereof; and that the Bishops were appointed as successors of the Apostles; especially in certain points of their function. And what Aaron was to his sons and to the Levites, this the Bishops were to the Priests and Deacons; and so esteemed of the Fathers to be by divine institution.’”—BOWDEN’s *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy Asserted*, vol. ii. p. 58.

The following is extracted from STRYPE’s *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*; and though directly referring to Bishop Hutton, throws considerable light on the Archbishop’s opinion on the divine institution of episcopacy:—“In this interim (A.D. 1589), while the calling

establish, as what, when established by the state, was entitled to the respect of every citizen.”* I have subjoined the opinions of Whitgift and Jewel, that

of Bishops and their authority, as founded upon Scripture, was so much opposed as contrary thereunto; a very learned discourse was seasonably made, in conference with the Lord-treasurer and Secretary Walsingham, the Queen's two great counsellors of state, at their motion, by Hutton, Bishop of Durham, a man well studied in divinity, and sometime the public professor of that faculty in Cambridge, immediately before Whitgift; and for whom the said Whitgift, now Archbishop, had a great esteem for his learning. Those two great men, for their own satisfaction, heard that Bishop discourse accurately this and some other points, mightily now-a-days insisted on by Puritans. An account whereof the said Bishop wrote soon after, in the month of October, to his friend the said Archbishop, which is well worthy the recording in history. This discourse consisted of three heads. 1. Concerning the judicial law of Moses. 2. The authority of a Prince in causes ecclesiastical. 3. *The authority and lawfulness of Bishops.* This Bishop being at Court, the Lord-treasurer had his company in his private chamber to dinner; where none was present but himself, the Secretary, and the Bishop. There designedly these two statesmen, for their better satisfaction, desired to hear what that well-learned and grave man could say on those greatly contested arguments. His resolutions whereof, as himself penned them down in his letter, dated from York, to the Archbishop, being somewhat long, I have repositied in the Appendix. Wherein we may see and understand what were the judgments of the Bishops of the realm, and the learnedest divines in those times nearest the reformation of this Church; and so best knew the true constitution of it.”—Book iii. ch. 24.

In the *Appendix of Records and Originals*, No. 44, book iii., we have an account of this “Discourse” in a letter from Bishop Hutton to Archbishop Whitgift. The following extract refers to the question before us:—“The third question was, of the authority and warrant of a Bishop. My answer was, *Hujus rei gratiâ reliquite in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere*, &c., Tit. i. Also,

* See *Postscript*, upon the omitted passages.

the reader may judge for himself; whilst the fact of Bishop Cooper having been the subject of Martin Marprelate's libellous pen, in certain pamphlets en-

Adversus presbyterum ne accipias accusationem, &c., 1 Tim. v. Here is the chief office of a Bishop set down; to appoint and constitute Priests in parishes, and to amend things amiss in the Church. Whereby it appears, that both Titus and Timothy did exercise the office of Bishops. Therefore both Hierom and Eusebius affirm that they were Bishops; the one of Crete, and the other of Ephesus. And, albeit, that it cannot be denied, but that these names, *Episcopus* and *Presbyter*, in the New Testament, are often used for one thing, for Priests and Ministers of the Word and Sacraments; as Acts xx. St. Paul sent from Miletus for the Priests that were at Ephesus; and speaking unto them, he called them Bishops; *Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, in quo vos posuit Spiritus Sanctus Episcopos*. Whom before St. Luke called Elders, or Priests, St. Paul calleth Bishops. Likewise, Tit. i., first, he calls them Priests; *Ut constituas oppidatim presbyteros*: then he calls them Bishops; *Oportet enim episcopum irreprehensibilem esse*; also in the first to the Philippians, he saluteth 'the Saints at Philippi,' together with the 'Bishops and Deacons.' Bishops in this place do signify Elders or Priests. For it is not like that there were many Bishops in that one city at that time, as the word doth now signify. Yet it is certain, that there was an office in the Apostles' time, which Titus and Timothy did exercise, which was distinct from the office of them who had only authority to preach and minister the Sacraments, but not to appoint Priests and censure offenders. No; by a general Council of all the Church, they which do execute the same office which Titus and Timothy did, by the appointment of the Apostles, are called *Episcopi*, the other are called *Presbyteri* or *Sacerdotes*; and, since the Apostles' times, have been distinct, both name and office. And this was done, in *schismatis remedium*, as Hierom said upon the Epistle to Titus, and in an Epistle that he writeth to Evagrius. In which, albeit, he confoundeth the names, yet liketh he well of the distinction of the offices. For as Christ is *Apostolus*, Heb. iii.; and *Episcopus*, 1 Peter ii.; and St. Peter doth call himself *Presbyter*, 1 Peter v.; and St. Hierom saith, that St. John the Evangelist and Apostle calleth himself *Presbyter* in his two

titled, "*Have yee any more work for a Cooper?*" and "*More work for a Cooper,*" "written," as Strype tells us, "in answer to what the Bishop of Winchester,

last Epistles, (for there he seemeth to ascribe those Epistles to John the Apostle,) yet *may we not confound the offices of Elder or Priest, Bishop and Apostle.*

"I alleged, last of all, that Epiphanius, writing against Acrius, concludeth it for a heresy to say, *Idem est episcopus et presbyter.* And he allegeth against that heretic and that heresy, some of those places I cited before, to prove that they are distinct offices. He addeth, furthermore, that *presbyter gignit filios*, meaning, by preaching the Gospel; but *Episcopus gignit patres*, meaning, that he doth appoint presbyters unto the Church, which were Fathers."

Again, we have "The opinion of Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, touching certain matters, like to be brought in question before the King's Most Excellent Majesty, at the Conference at Court;" written, October 9, 1mo. Jacobi, to the Archbishop of Canterbury:—"Whereas, indeed, *Bishops have their authority, not by any custom or decree of man, but from the Apostles themselves*, as Epiphanius proveth plainly against Acrius the heretic; who, being a proud man, because he could not get to be Bishop himself, thought that *Idem est episcopus et presbyter.* With this opinion St. Augustine doth charge that heretic, in his book *De Hæresibus, ad Quod-vult-Deum.* But Epiphanius doth show the difference to be, not only because the Bishop hath authority over the Priests, but because the Presbyter begetteth children to the Church by preaching and baptizing, the Bishop begetteth Fathers to the Church by giving of Orders. *Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere; constituas oppidatim presbyteros, &c.* And so it hath continued in the Church ever since." Appendix, No. 44, book iv. The reader will find the opinions of Bancroft, Bilson, Hooker, Andrews, Hall, Bramhall, &c., &c., in favour of the divine right of episcopacy, fully detailed in my *Second Ordination Sermon*, pp. 157, 63. (Second Edition.)

⁴ The following is "the judgment of that reverend Father, Jewel, some time Bishop of Sarum, on this assertion, *Archiepiscoporum et archidiaconorum nomina, simul cum muneribus et officiis suis, sunt abolenda.* How know you that the fourth chapter *ad Ephes.* is a

whose name was *Cooper*, had wrote in vindication of the Bishops and the Church of England," will at once relieve him from the imputation of undervaluing Episcopacy: and I can only express my deep regret that such hasty and unsupported statements—statements involving matters of the deepest importance—should have had the aid of Mr. Macaulay's powerful pen, to give them currency amongst those who are unable or unwilling to search for themselves.

perfect pattern of all ecclesiastical government? We have now neither Apostles, nor Evangelists, nor Prophets, and yet are they the chief in that pattern. Neither have we there either Bishop, or Presbyter, or Diaconus, or Catechista, or Lector. And yet are these necessary parts in ecclesiastical government. Therefore that pattern is not perfect to hold for ever. The Church is not governed by names, but by offices. Every Bishop then was called *papa*. And Anacletus, that was next after Peter, (if there be any weight in his words,) nameth Archbishops." Again, "In the primitive Church God raised up Apostles and Prophets, and gave them power extraordinary, as the gift of tongues, the gift of healing, the gift of government, &c., in place whereof, he hath given now Bishops, Archbishops, &c." Bishop Jewel was also one of the disputants on the Protestant side, at a disputation in 1559, between the Papists and Protestants at Westminster, when the latter maintained against the former, who were anxious to lower the episcopal in favour of the papal dignity, that "the Apostles' authority is derived upon after ages, and conveyed to the Bishops, their successors." The eminent names of Scory, Grindal, Cox, Aylmer, Guest, Jewel, and Horn, may be mentioned as the Protestant disputants who maintained the above proposition.

⁵ I am, indeed, at a loss to understand why Mr. Macaulay should have added the name of Bishop *Cooper*. Was it because he was accused by Martin-Marprelate of being a *Papist*, on account of a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, in June, 1572, "*In vindication of the Church, its Liturgy, and its Rites?*" Or for the aid which he rendered to Archbishop Whitgift, in the latter's reply to the "Admonition?"

Let me now direct the reader's attention to the *Preface* to the *Ordination Service*, as contained in our own Prayer-book. This office⁶ was drawn up in the year 1549, under the authority of King Edward VI., by the Archbishop, six Bishops, and six other eminent Reformers, Cranmer⁷ being the chief. The act of Parliament, under which this Ordinal was framed, runs thus:—"It is requisite to have one uniform fashion and manner for making and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Be it, therefore, enacted by the King's Highness, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that such form and manner of making and Consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, be devised, and set forth," &c.; whereby it is evident, that different offices were contemplated and actually framed for different Orders. Now mark the opinions expressed in the *Preface*:⁸ "It is evident

⁶ See MASON'S *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, pp. 183—198; and the Author's *Succession of Bishops*, &c., p. 76.

⁷ See JENKYN'S *Remains of Cranmer*, *Preface*, p. 53.

⁸ "That our Church did believe our Bishops to succeed the Apostles in those parts of their office, I shall make appear by these things. In the *Preface* before the Book of Ordination, it is said, that 'It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' What is the reason that they express it thus, '*from the Apostles' time*,' rather than '*in the Apostles' time*,' but that they believed, while the Apostles lived, they managed the affairs of government themselves; but as they withdrew, they did, in some Churches sooner, and in some later, as their own continuance, the

unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ; which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same ; and also, by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And, therefore, to the intent these Orders should be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, it is requisite

condition of the Churches, and the qualification of persons were, commit the care and government of Churches to such persons whom they appointed thereto ? Of which we have an uncontrollable evidence in the instances of Timothy and Titus ; for the care of government was a distinct thing from the office of an Evangelist ; and all their removes do not invalidate this, because, while the Apostles lived, it is probable there were no fixed Bishops, or but few. But as they went off, so they came to be settled in their several Churches. And as this is most agreeable to the sense of our Church, so it is the fairest hypothesis for reconciling the different testimonies of antiquity ; for hereby the succession of Bishops is secure from the Apostles' times, for which the testimonies of Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and others, are so plain ; hereby room is left to make good all that St. Jerome hath said, and what Epiphanius delivers concerning the differing settlements of Churches at first ; so that we may allow for the community of names between Bishop and Presbyter for a while in the Church, *i. e.* while the Apostles governed the Churches themselves ; but afterwards, that which was then part of the Apostolical office, became the Episcopal, which hath continued from that time to this, by a constant succession in the Church."—STILLINGFLEET'S *Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 269.

that no man, (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon,) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following.”⁹ Now, the *Divine appointment* of the several Orders¹ is expressly declared in the first and subsequent Ordinals. “Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church ;

⁹ See the Bishop of Exeter’s *Ordination Sermon*, (1843,) p. 27.

¹ “As a further proof that the Reformers maintained a *distinction of offices* in the Church, they expressly said in their Preface to the old Ordinal, ‘*It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*’” Still further, the prayers in the old Ordinal expressly mentioned the appointment of *divers orders* by the Holy Ghost. Thus, at the Ordination of a Bishop, the prayer was just the same as it is now. ‘*Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers orders of ministers in thy Church, mercifully behold this thy servant now called to the work and ministry of a BISHOP,*’ &c. The same declaration that the Holy Spirit appointed ‘*divers orders*’ in the Church, was likewise in the prayers used at the Ordination of a Priest, and of a Deacon.

“Now, it is a consequence obvious to common sense, that when a committee was appointed for the express purpose of composing *distinct offices* for the ordination of *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*; when *three distinct offices* were actually composed; when in the Preface to these offices *three distinct orders* were particularly enumerated; and when in the prayers of each office it is expressly declared that *divers orders* were appointed by the Holy Ghost; and, lastly, when in the service for consecrating a Bishop it is *explicitly said* that the elect is to be admitted into the office of a *Bishop*; when, I say, these things are considered, it is obvious to common sense, that the Reformers believed that *Bishops* were superior to *Presbyters* by *Apostolic institution*.”—DR. BOWDEN’s *Testimony of the Reformers*, Letter xiv. p. 24.

mercifully behold this thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a Bishop," or Priest, or Deacon, as the case may be. The Preface remained the same, and the forms, with one or two trifling alterations, in the Prayer-book of 1552, and the slight variations in the Preface, and the alterations in the forms themselves, adopted at the last Review, in 1662, tend to develope more clearly the views of our Church in favour of Episcopacy and the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession.

The 23rd and 36th Articles of our Church next demand our attention. I need hardly state, that these Articles were drawn up by Cranmer and certain Bishops and other Divines, in the year 1552: they were revised in 1562, under Archbishop Parker: and, "when framed, and finished, and decreed, were," in the language of Strype,² "mostwhat the same with those made and constituted by the Synod under King Edward, in the year 1552." The 23rd, which I am now about to quote, was precisely the same: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same; and those we ought to judge lawfully" (that is, according to the *law of God*; for the judges, not the clergy, are the proper expositors of the *law of the land*,) "called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the Congre-

² *Annals*, vol. i. pt. i. ch. 27.

gation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard." The 36th Article, as revised in 1562, says, "The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward VI., and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering; neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly: and, therefore, whosoever are consecrated and ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the afore-named King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered." This declaration of the Church was afterwards confirmed by act of Parliament, in the eighth year of Elizabeth. Let any man compare these Articles with the "Preface to the Ordination Service," where he will read, that "to the intent these Orders (of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, which have been from the Apostles' time in Christ's Church,) should be *continued*, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon,) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following:" let a man, I say, compare these "Articles" with the "Preface to the Ordination Service," and the service itself—*all* drawn up under the same Archiepiscopal head—and I think that he will not doubt the sentiments of Cranmer and the

other Anglican Reformers on the question of *Episcopacy*, and the necessity of a *Divine Commission*.

A little diligence would, indeed, have enabled Mr. Macaulay to have avoided the serious misrepresentations in which he has unhappily indulged. In broadly asserting that the "founders of the Anglican Church" held extreme Erastian views, he doubtless referred to the answers which were given by the Bishops and Divines to the questions propounded in the Commission³ issued by Henry VIII. in the year 1540, nine

³ "But this matter deserves to be a little more particularly treated of. The King (Hen. VIII.) had appointed several of the eminent Divines of his realm to deliberate about sundry points of religion then in controversy, and to give in their sentences distinctly. And that in regard of the Germans. And also in regard of a more exact review of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, put forth about two or three years before, (1537,) and now intended to be published again, as a more perfect piece of religious instruction for the people. The King, therefore, being minded thoroughly to sift divers points of religion, then started and much controverted, commanded a particular number of Bishops, and other his learned Chaplains and Dignitaries, (1540,) to compare the rites and ceremonies and tenets of the present Church by the Scriptures, and by the most ancient writers; and to see how far the Scripture or good antiquity did allow of the same. And this, I suppose, he did at the instigation of Archbishop Cranmer. The names of the commissioners were these,—Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Lee, Archbishop of York; Bonner, Bishop of London; Tunstal, Bishop of Durham; (Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester;) Barlow, Bishop of St. David's; Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle; Skyp, Bishop of Hereford; Hethe, Bishop of Rochester; Thirlby, Bishop elect of Westminster; Doctors, Cox, Robinson, Day, Oglethorpe, Redman, Edgeworth, Symonds, Tresham, Leyghton, Curwen, and Crayford. And first, the doctrine of the Sacraments was examined, by propounding *seventeen distinct questions*, drawn up, as I have reason to conclude, by the Archbishop, on which the Divines were to consult;

years prior to the office of Ordination being reformed. Supposing Mr. Macaulay's assertion to be true, that Erastian views were then maintained by the "founders of the Anglican Church,"—how can the "peculiar conceits,"⁴ as Burnet calls them, of some of the

but each one was to set down in writing his sense of every of these questions singly and succinctly."—STRYPE'S *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 110.

It is important to remark, that the answers of these Bishops and Divines formed the *data* for drawing up the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, in 1543. See LINGARD'S *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 310; TODD'S *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 298 and 332; and WHEATLY, *on the Common Prayer*, p. 25.

⁴ As the "*Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines of some Questions concerning the Sacraments*," in 1540, have been, and are frequently quoted, to show that our Reformers were "Presbyterian in their principles," and only "retained episcopal ordination as decent and convenient," I will give the following summary of their opinions from *Courayer* :—

"Now it appears by the answers made to the Questions above mentioned, that the majority of the prelates and divines were not of the same opinion with Cranmer.

"As for instance, upon the seventh question, excepting *Cranmer* and *Barlow*, almost all agree upon the efficacy of the Sacraments; '*Conveniunt omnes, præter Menevensensem, naturam septem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracensis effectus singulorum enumerat, item Carliolensis.*' Upon the ninth question, viz., 'Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?' They all agreed that '*Christ had given this power to his Apostles*;' '*Omnes conveniunt Apostolos divinitus accepisse potestatem creandi Episcopos*:' and I do not find that any one fell into *Cranmer's* error, who was of opinion that there was no necessity for any further ceremonies to make a Bishop, than there was for any lay magistrate; and that the rites made use of were more for decency than out of necessity. Upon the eleventh question,—'Whether a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no?

Bishops and Divines, in 1540, affect the clear and authoritative testimony borne by the Church of England

and whether any other but a Bishop only may make a Priest?' All, excepting *Barlow*, Bishop of St. David's, were of opinion, that '*Bishops had the said power*;' '*Convenit omnibus præter Menevensem, Episcopos habere auctoritatem instituendi Presbyteros*;' and almost all agree that *they alone have this power*: '*Eboracensis videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc potestatem. Redmaynus, Symmons, Robertsonus, Leightonus, Thirlby, Correnus, Roffensis, Edgworthus, Oglethorpus, Carliolensis, nusquam legerunt alios usos fuisse hac potestate.*' To the *twelfth* query, which regards the *necessity of Ordination*, almost all were of a contrary opinion to *Cranmer* and *Barlow*, and did acknowledge the *necessity of Consecration*. '*Respondent Eboracensis, Londinensis, Carliolensis, Leighton, Tresham, Robertsonus, &c., Consecrationem esse requisitam. Redmaynus ait eam receptam esse ab Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam. Dayus, Roffensis, Symmons aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impositionem, idque è Scripturis; Consecrationem vero diu receptam in Ecclesia. Coxus institutionem cum manuum impositione sufficere, neque per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem,*' &c. To the *fourteenth*, 'Whether it be forefended by God's law, that (if it so fortune that all the Bishops and Priests of a region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptism and others unministered,) the *King* should make Bishops?' &c., few were of *Cranmer's* opinion. '*Fatentur, ut prius, omnes Laicos posse docere. Eboracensis, Symmons, Oglethorp, negant posse ordinare Presbyteros; tamen concedit Eboracensis baptizare, et contrahere matrimonia; Edgworth, tantum baptizare posse; nam sufficere dicit ad salutem,*' &c. These opposite sentiments of the majority of the prelates and divines to those of *Cranmer*, make it plain enough that the Reformation of the Liturgy was not blindly abandoned to the views and erroneous opinions of this Archbishop.

"It is, therefore, not true (as it was supposed) that those employed to reform the Liturgy* were *Presbyterians* in their principles,

* I shall examine, by and bye, more at large the above "*Resolutions*," so far as they were expressed by the *Compilers of the Book of Common Prayer* and the *framers of Edward's Ordinal*.

in the year 1549, in the *Preface*⁵ to the Ordinal in question, as to there “*having been from the Apostles’ time these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons?*” which offices (says *the Church*) were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by *public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto:*” it being, moreover, apparent, that an express declaration, on the part of the Church, as to the *Divine Institution of Episcopacy* pervades the entire Ordinal.⁶ And as regards the

or that they only preserved *Episcopal Ordination* for *form’s sake*, or that they looked upon *Consecration* to be useless. The errors of some cannot with justice be imputed to the whole: and at the very time when the charms of novelty increased the number of the innovators, a great many divines, and a good part of the clergy, remained firm in the defence of the Hierachy; and there has not been found in any Church more zealous defenders of *Episcopacy* than have appeared in the Church of *England* since the *Schism*.”*—*Defence of the Validity of English Ordinations*, p. 154. See also TODD’s *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 299—310.

⁵ Probably drawn up by Archbishop *Cranmer*.

⁶ It has been well remarked that “the Church of England is not bound by the errors of Cranmer. She has her own symbolical Books, her own Formularies; and by these her doctrine and discipline may be seen. What she holds on *this* subject (*Apostolical Episcopacy*) is stated in the Preface of her Ordinal, beginning with these words:—“It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church,—

* My readers must bear in mind that the author quoted was a *Romanist*.

framers of our Liturgy and Ordinal having held opinions inimical to the Divine Right of Episcopacy, I maintain, that there was not one of them, with the exception of *Cranmer*, of whom I shall presently speak more at large, who expressed the sentiments imputed to them by Mr. Macaulay; nay, I will prove that they did (so far as they expressed their views) record opinions⁷ *directly the reverse*. I presume that Mr. Macaulay admits, with *Heylyn*⁸ and other writers, that “the same persons who had been before employed in compiling the *Liturgy*,⁹ were now made use of to draw up our *Ordinal*.”¹ If this be not

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.”—*A Letter, &c., on Apostolical Episcopacy, by the REV. PREBENDARY SCOTT*, p. 14; a careful perusal of which will amply repay the reader.

⁷ That this is not a mere hasty assertion, my readers may learn from the fact, that of the *thirteen* compilers of the *Liturgy*, *Cranmer*, *Skyp*, *May*, *Cox*, *Redmayne*, *Robertson*, and *Goodrich*, had been engaged in drawing up the “*Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*” (1536-8); that *Thirlby* was one of the compilers of the *ERUDITION* (1543); that *Taylor* and *Ridley* were members of the sub-committee for preparing the *Reformatio Legum* (1551); and that *Day* was an avowed Papist. The other two were Bishop *Holbeck* and Dr. *Heynes*.

⁸ “The number of the Bishops and the learned men, which are appointed by this Act, assure me that the King made choice of the very same whom he had formerly employed in composing the Liturgy.”—*History of the Reformation*, p. 82.

⁹ “The Commission” (to draw up the English Liturgy) “is probably not upon record; and in the Statute the Archbishop only is named. The other Commissioners are there called “most learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned men of the realm.”—See *Note* in *SHEPHERD’S Introduction, &c.*, p. 26.

¹ *Courayer*, upon the authority of *Heylyn*, gives the names of the thirteen Bishops and Divines mentioned in a subsequent note, as the framers of Edward’s *Ordinal*. See p. 187, edit. 1844.

admitted, we shall, I believe, look in vain for further information as to the names of the Commissioners; for Strype² tells us that he “does not meet with any of their names, excepting that of *Hethe*, Bishop of Worcester,” who declined to act. He adds, that “the chief of them, no doubt, was the Archbishop.” Taking for granted, then, that the compilers of the *Liturgy*,³

² *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 273, edit. 1812.

³ The compilers of our Liturgy, according to the authority of Strype, *Memorials* vol. ii. pt. 1. p. 134, edit. 1822, and of Fuller, *Church History*, p. 386, and of Heylyn, *History of the Reformation*, p. 57, and of Collier,* *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. v. p. 246, edit. 1840, and of Wheatly, *on the Common Prayer*, p. 86, and of Shepherd, *Elucidation of the C. P.* Introduction, p. 36, (where see *note*,) and of Nichols, *on the Common Prayer*, *Preface*, p. 5, and of Gloucester Ridley, in his *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 222, and of Downes, *Lives of the Compilers, &c.*, p. 152, were the following:—“Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley, Goodrich, Holbech, Thirlby, Skyp, and Day; and Drs. Taylor, Cox, May, Robertson, Heynes, and Redmayne.† The list given by Courayer, though ostensibly that of the compilers, seems to be that of the “godly Bishops, and other learned and religious men, who were no less busily employed (the same year) in the Castle of Windsor, appointed by the King’s command to consult together about one *uniform Order for administering the*

* Notwithstanding the *note*, p. 16, in the new edit. of *Courayer*, (1844,) I must still claim *Collier* as a testimony in my favour. I think, with deference, that a perusal of the passages referred to in *Collier* and *Heylyn*, and even in *Burnet*, prove that *Collier*, in speaking of “a different list,” alludes to the list of commissioners for drawing up an “*Order for administering the Holy Eucharist in English*,” and not to that for revising the *Liturgy*. He distinctly says, speaking of the shorter list of thirteen commissioners, “*these were the persons who afterwards made the first Liturgy*.” The Editor will pardon me for drawing his attention to a misprint in the above note, viz, 1520 instead of 1550. I must add, that I much regret not having had the advantage of consulting the very valuable notes, &c., by the learned Editor of *Courayer*, until I had nearly completed my labours.

† The above list of the compilers of the Liturgy is adopted by Bishop Mant, Bishop Short, the author of the *History of the Church of England*, (J. B. S. Carwithen,) and other modern writers.

and the Commissioners appointed to draw up the new *Ordinal*,⁴ constituted one and the same body, may I be allowed to ask the name of any *one* Commissioner, (with the above exception, which I shall examine by and bye,) who held the Erastian views attributed to them all? I am aware that some confusion arises from the difficulty of ascertaining the precise sense in which "the Bishops and Divines," in their replies to "some Questions concerning the Sacraments," in 1540, used the terms "*making*," "*consecrating*," &c. &c. In the language of Dr. Redmayne, one of the respondents, "It is to be considered, that in this question, with other like, this word '*maker* of a

Holy Communion in the English tongue, under both kinds, of bread and wine."—Published in March, 1548. See Heylyn's *Hist of Ref.*, p. 57. Heylyn thinks that these framers of the new Communion Office, and the compilers of the Liturgy, were one and the same body, and gives the above names as constituting the Commissioners. Nichols makes the same assertion, adding that the same thirteen persons prepared the public services for *other special occasions*. At all events, Courayer would by his references make the number of the framers of the *Ordinal* 24, whereas they were limited to *twelve* by the Act of Parliament; neither is this passage consistent with that referred to in the previous note; nor does Collier, to whom he refers, substantiate his assertion. The reader must bear in mind, that there were *three* commissions issued, one for drawing up "*a new Office for the Communion only*," (published in March, 1548,) another for compiling "*a complete Liturgy, or Form of Public Prayer*," set forth by an Act of 2 and 3 Edw. VI., (adopted by Parliament, November, 1548,) and a third for drawing up the *Ordinal*, pursuant to the 3 and 4 Edw. VI., published in March, 1549.—See KENNETT'S *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 290, *note*; and JENKYN'S *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, *Preface*, pp. 50—52, and vol. i. p. 375, *note*.

⁴ The number was limited to *twelve* by the 3rd of Edw. VI., c. 12.

Bishop or Priest' may be taken two ways: for, understanding the word to 'ordain,' or 'consecrate,' so it is a thing which *pertaineth to the Apostles and their successors only*; but if by this word 'making,' be understood the appointing or naming to the office, so it pertaineth especially to the supreme heads and governors of the Church, which be Princes." Again, in the reply of Dr. Cox to the *twelfth* question, "Whether in the New Testament be required any *consecration* of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?" *viz.* "that by Scripture there is no consecration of Bishops and Priests required, but only the appointing to the office of a Priest, *cum impositione manuum*," it is evident that he attached a different sense to the word *consecration* from that which it bears now, or, in fact, was applied to it at the time by the other Divines.⁵ It will be observed that Cox speaks of the *consecration* of Bishops and *Priests* as not being required, but only the appointing to the office of a Priest, "*per impositionem manuum*," admitting the necessity of *Ordination*.⁶ To the *ninth* question, "Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them of God?" Dr. Cox replies,

⁵ And we may add, by Dr. Cox himself, when, in 1549, he assisted in drawing up "*The Form of CONSECRATING of an Archbishop or Bishop*."

⁶ Dr. Cox was one of the Divines who drew up the *Reformatio Legum*, 1551, and *The Institution of a Christian Man*, in 1537; in the latter of which "*the invisible grace imparted at Ordination by the imposition of the Bishop's hands*" is distinctly admitted.

“Although the Apostles had no authority to force any man to be Priest; yet they, moved by the Holy Ghost, *had authority of God* to exhort and induce men to set forth God’s honour, *and so to make them Priests.*” And again, to the *eleventh* question, “Whether a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no?” Dr. Cox replies, “*Bishops have authority*, as is aforesaid, *of the Apostles*, in the tenth question, *to make Priests.*” That the term “*consecration*” was used by the different Divines in a very different sense, may be learnt from the answers of Dr. Day and others. Thus Bishop Hethe, who held the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, says, “the Scripture speaketh *de impositione manús et de oratione*; and of other manner of *consecrations* I find no mention in the New Testament expressly; but the old authors make mention of *Inunctions.*” Dr. Day (who was, as Strype tells us, “a strong *Papist*,”) says, “*Consecration* of Bishops and Priests, I read not in the New Testament; but *ordinatio per manuum impositionem cum oratione* is read there; and *the only appointment to the office of a Priest*, as I think, *is not sufficient.*” And yet he replies to the question as to “the authority of a Bishop to make a Priest,” that “*Bishops have authority by Scripture to ordain Bishops and Priests*, John xx., ‘*Hujus rei gratiá reliqui te Cretæ, ut constituas oppidatim presbyteros,*’” Tit. i., Acts xiv. Drs. Redmayne, Robertson⁷, Leighton, Tresham, and others,

⁷ I should add, that Dr. T. Robertson also, with Dr. Cox, was engaged, in the year 1537, in drawing up *The Institution of a Christian Man*, in which the *Episcopal* functions are clearly maintained.

say that, "Besides the *appointing* to the office, it appeareth that, in the primitive Church, the Apostles used certain *consecration* of the Ministers of the Church, *by imposition of hands, and prayer, and with fasting.* (*Redmayne.*) "Opinor requiri *consecrationem quandam, hoc est, impositionem manuum, orationem, jejunium,*" &c. (*Robertson.*) "I suppose that there is a *consecration* required, as by imposition of hands; for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles." (*Leighton.*) "There is a *certain kind of consecration* required, which is *imposition of the Bishop's hands, with prayer; and the appointment only is not sufficient.*" (*Tresham.*) It will be seen by these extracts that though *Drs. Cox* and *Day* objected to the term *consecration*,⁸ which was admitted by most of the other Divines, yet that they all agree as to the mode of conveying the commission, "*per manuum impositionem.*" My readers must not, however, suppose that the Bishops and Divines, who were principally concerned in framing the new Ordinal, had, on any occasion, recorded opinions even as vague and loose as those of *Drs. Cox* and *Day*. It will hardly be believed, after Mr. Macaulay's positive assertions as

⁸ It is, however, worthy of remark, that in the new Ordinal of 1549, of which *Drs. Cox* and *Day* were compilers, the titles ran thus,—"*The Form of Consecrating* of an Archbishop and Bishop"—"*The Form of Ordering* Priests." In the Review of 1662, the first title was altered thus,—"*The Form of Ordaining* or *Consecrating* of an Archbishop or Bishop." Perhaps, after all, the position then held, and still maintained by the Church of Rome—"Quamvis UNUS sit Sacerdotii ORDO, non tamen unus est Sacerdotum gradus"—may be the simplest elucidation of the above supposed discrepancies. See *Cat. Concil. Trident. Pars. ii. cap. vii. Quæst. 25.*

to the views of "the founders of the Anglican Church," that only *six* (we might, perhaps, say but *five*) of the framers of the new Ordinal *expressed any opinion at all*, as far as we have any record, on the subject of the Questions propounded in 1540. Of these six, *Drs. Robertson and Redmayne* thus speak: "Opinor (says the former) *Apostolos autoritate divina creasse Episcopos et Presbyteros, ubi publicus magistratus permisit.*" Again, "Opinor *Episcopum habere auctoritatem creandi sacerdotem* He then adds, "*ordinat. conferr. gratiam, vide. Ec. Homil. lx.*" *Dr. Redmayne*, (whom *Strype* calls "one of the solidest and best read Divines in the land,") writes, "*Christ gave his Apostles authority to make other Bishops and Ministers in his Church, as He had received authority of the Father to make them Bishops ;*" and adds, that "it was meet that they which were special and most elect servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by Him to convert the world, and having most abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have *special ordering* of such ministry as pertained to the planting and increasing of the faith." He then says, that "*to ordain or consecrate is a thing which pertaineth to the Apostles and their successors only,*" Again, *Dr. Redmayne* writes, "As for *making*, that is to say, *ordaining and consecrating of Priests*, I think it specially *belongeth to the office of a Bishop, as far as can be showed by Scripture, or any example, as I suppose, from the beginning.*" The opinions of *Drs. Day and Cox* we have considered already, and have seen that they are very far from supporting the statement of

Mr. Macaulay; and we must bear in mind that *Dr. Cox* had, in 1537, subscribed to the declaration, that —“ *Orders* is a holy rite or ceremony, instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts; that is to say, of a spiritual and invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. The *invisible gift or grace* conferred in the Sacrament (of Orders) is nothing else but the *power*, the *office*, and the *authority* before mentioned. The visible and outward sign is *the prayer and imposition of the Bishop's hands upon the person that receiveth the said gift or grace*. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destitute of such Ministers, as should have and execute the said *power of the keys*, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applied and administered by the Bishop, *from time to time*, to such other persons as had the qualities necessarily required thereunto; which said qualities the Apostles did also very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the 3rd ch. 1st *Tim.* and 1st ch. *Tit.*”—*Institution of a Christian Man.* *Dr. Cox* also assisted in drawing up the *Reformatio Legum*, in 1551. But what will my readers think, when I repeat that *Dr. Day* also, (then Bishop of Chichester,) though appointed a Commissioner for compiling the Liturgy, and subsequently for *framing*⁹ the new Or-

⁹ *Downes* says, upon the authority of Heylyn, that *Day's* name was omitted in the latter Commission; but Heylyn seems to have hazarded a conjecture. *Courayer* gives the name of Bishop *Day*, when he enumerates the Commissioners.

dinal, was “a strong Papist,” notwithstanding his replies to the seventeen Questions; that he was deprived of his See for not taking down the Popish altars in his diocese; that he reproved his College for favouring the Reformation and leaving off masses; sided with Gardiner against Cranmer; and in Mary’s reign was a violent persecutor of the Protestant Bishops and others! “In truth, (says Strype,¹) in the composing of that Office, (the Common Prayer,) choice was made, not so much of men with respect to their opinions, as to their great learning and knowledge in the usages and practice of the ancient Church. For Bishop *Day*, another of them, (besides *Redmayne*,) was a strong Papist; and so was *Robertson* affected, and not much otherwise was Bishop *Skyp*!” Be it remembered, that Bishop Skyp (and probably Bishop Day) and Drs. Robertson and Redmayne assisted in drawing up the *Ordinal*, in which Mr. Macaulay says “*Episcopacy* was retained” only “as an ancient, decent, and convenient Ecclesiastical polity!” But we must proceed with the “Resolutions.” The remaining two were those of Archbishop *Cranmer* and Bishop *Thirlby*. Bishop *Thirlby*² thus writes:—“Making of Bishops hath two parts; appointment, and ordering. Appointment, which the Apostles by necessity made by common election, and sometimes by their own several assignment, could not then be

¹ *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 529, edit. 1822.

² According to Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 111, and vol. ii. p. 749, edit. 1812. See also Bishop *Thirlby*’s opinions, as stated by Burnet, in the *Collection of Records*, Book iii. No. 21.

done by Christian Princes, because at that time they were not; and now at these days appertaineth to Christian Princes and Rulers. *But in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, (as afore,) the Apostles did follow the rule taught by the Holy Ghost, per manuum impositionem, cum oratione et jejuniis.*" Again: "A Bishop, having authority of his Christian Prince to give orders, may by his ministry, given to him of God in Scripture, ordain a Priest. And we read not that any other, not being a Bishop, hath, since the beginning of Christ's Church, ordered a Priest." Again: "Only appointment is not sufficient, but consecration; that is to say, imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, is also required. For so the Apostles used to order them that were appointed; and so have been used continually; and we have not read the contrary."³ I have thus examined the opinions of five⁴ of the Commissioners, who on a previous occasion had recorded their sentiments on the authority of the Episcopate; and I again ask, whether the imputations against these "founders of the Anglican Church," on the

³ The substance of what I have above stated has already appeared in a previous work,—"*The Succession of Bishops in the Church of England Unbroken;*" and as the positions there advanced have not been refuted, and are, I believe, irrefutable, I have taken advantage of my previous labours in preparing my present publication.

⁴ Of the remaining seven compilers (whose opinions on Episcopacy, it will be remembered, are not recorded in the celebrated "Resolutions") Bishop Skyp is accused by Strype of having been affected with Popery; and Bishops Goodrich and Ridley, and Drs. Taylor and May, were four of the committee for drawing up the *Reformatio Legum*, in which Episcopacy is clearly maintained in all its efficiency.—See JENKYN'S *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer, Preface*, p. 110, note.

subject of Episcopacy, are supported by historical testimony?—whether it would appear that they “retained Episcopacy as an ancient, decent, and convenient Ecclesiastical polity” only; “but had not declared that form of Church Government to be of Divine Institution?”

The opinion of *Archbishop Cranmer* alone remains to be considered. Mr. Macaulay tells us (p. 53), that “Cranmer plainly avowed his conviction, that, in the primitive times, there was no distinction between Bishops and Priests, and that the laying on of hands was altogether unnecessary.”⁵ “It was unnecessary that there should be any imposition of hands. The King—such was the opinion of Cranmer, given in the plainest words—might, in virtue of authority derived from God, make a Priest; and the Priest so made needed no ordination whatever. These opinions Cranmer followed out to their legitimate consequences.”⁶ “The founders of the Anglican Church had retained Episcopacy as an ancient, decent, and convenient Ecclesiastical polity, but had not declared that form of Church Government to be of Divine Institution. We have already seen how low an estimate Cranmer had formed of the office of a Bishop.” The Author adds much more to the same effect. Now, is this quite fair? Is this a full, true, and correct representation of Cranmer’s real sentiments? Would not any reader imagine that the above were the known, deliberate, and often expressed opinions of *Archbishop Cranmer*? Would any reader guess that the

⁵ See Note 2, page 6.

⁶ See Note 3, page 6.

Archbishop had, in *The Institution of a Christian Man*, published in 1537, in *The Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*, in 1536-8, in *The Erudition of a Christian Man*, in 1543, in his *Catechism*, in 1548, in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in 1551, and in the *Preface*⁷ to the *Ordinal*, which was probably written by Cranmer himself, in 1549, clearly, distinctly, and unequivocally, to quote the language of Dr. Hickes, (*Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, p. 40,) "derived the order and mission of Bishops and Priests from Christ to the Apostles, and from them successively to others, unto the world's end;" and that Cranmer had actually *cancelled the replies* to the 'Questions' concerning the Sacraments,' upon which Mr. Macaulay founds his assertions respecting the Archbishop's views! I am willing to admit that, in the Archbishop's replies in 1540, certain "singular opinions"⁸ seem to be recorded on the "Ecclesiastical Functions," which are not conformable to the principles maintained throughout the new *Ordinal* of 1549; but I think that, in fairness, Mr. Macaulay should have informed his readers that Cranmer had, as Bishop Burnet expresses himself, quite "laid aside

⁷ See JENKYN'S *Remains of Cranmer, Preface*, p. 36.

⁸ Jenkyns, speaking of Cranmer's *Answers to the Questions on the Sacraments*, says, "The opinions thus elicited from him, afford a curious evidence of the fluctuations of a mind which, in escaping from the errors of Rome, did not immediately arrive at the truth; for several of them are wholly untenable, and have, consequently, though he afterwards abandoned them, exposed him to no little animadversion."—*Remains of Cranmer, Preface*, p. 32.

those peculiar conceits of his own" *six years at least prior* to the rejection of the Roman Pontifical and the introduction of the *new Ordinal*; and that in the years 1537⁹ and 1538 he had not embraced these "singular opinions."¹ I have said that certain "singular opinions" *seem* to be recorded in the replies of the Archbishop in 1540, because I believe that some of Cranmer's answers may be capable of an interpretation very different² from that which is generally attached to them. How otherwise can we reconcile the opinions expressed in *The Institution of a Christian Man*,—drawn up under the immediate direction of the Archbishop,³ and published in 1537, of which he was the principal compiler,—and similar sentiments to which he subscribed in 1536-8, when he signed a document⁴ containing "*The Judgment of*

⁹ See Note from Bishop Burnet, p. 16.

¹ At the end of Cranmer's replies to the seventeen questions appears this paragraph, written by the Archbishop himself:—" *T. Cantuarien.* This is my opinion and sentence at this present, which nevertheless I do not temerarily define, but refer the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty."

² See Dr. BOWDEN's *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy Asserted*, vol. ii. p. 6; HOBART'S *Apology for Apostolic Order*, p. 135; and the *Healing Attempt Examined*.

³ "It has long been believed that the Reformers were mainly indebted to Cranmer for the larger Formulary of Doctrine above alluded to, entitled *The Institution of a Christian Man*. And this fact is now established beyond dispute, by the recent publication in the *State Papers* of some letters to Crumwell from Bishops Latymer and Fox (1831). These two prelates were members of the Commission to which the preparation of the work was entrusted; they had, therefore, abundant opportunities of being well informed."—JENKYN'S *Remains of Cranmer*, Preface, p. 17.

⁴ See Note, page 16.

some *Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy*," and also "*A Declaration*⁵ *made of the Functions and*

⁵ "*A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*," signed by thirty-eight Bishops, Divines, and Canonists; amongst whom were seven of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, viz., *Cranmer, Skyp, Robertson, Redmayne, May, Cox, and Goodrich*. "It declares that the power of the Keys, and other Church functions, is formally distinct from the power of the Sword. That this power is not absolute, but to be limited to the rules that are in the Scripture, and is ordained only for the edification and good of the Church: that *this power ought to be still preserved, since it was given by Christ as the means of reconciling sinners to God*. Orders were also declared a Sacrament, since they consisted of an outward action, instituted by Christ, and *an inward grace conferred with them*; but that all inferior orders, *Janitors, Lectors, &c.*, were brought into the Church to beautify and adorn it, and were taken from the Temple of the Jews; and that in the New Testament there is no mention made but of Deacons or Ministers, and Priests or Bishops. Nor is there belonging to Orders any other ceremony mentioned in the Scripture but *prayer and imposition of hands*."—BURNET'S *Hist. of the Ref.*, vol. i. p. 345, and WILKINS'S *Concilia Mag. Brit.*, vol. iii. p. 834. The reader will find in Burnet (*idem*, p. 346,) some explanatory remarks on the words "Priests or Bishops." Though the "Declaration" is, in fact, nearly the same as the Exposition upon Orders in the *Institution of a Christian Man*, it appears to have been a distinct document, and to have preceded the publication of the latter. A very interesting and important document will be found in Jenkyns's *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, (vol. iv. p. 300,) entitled "*De Ordine et Ministerio Sacerdotum et Episcoporum*," from the pen of Cranmer. The date is supposed to be about 1538. The following brief extracts will suffice to show the opinions of the Archbishop at that time:—"*Sacerdotum et Episcoporum ordinem ac ministerium, non humana auctoritate sed divinitus institutum, Scriptura aperte docet. Proinde potestatem seu functionem hanc Dei verbum et sacramenta ministrandi cæterasque res agendi quas ante recensuimus, Christus ipse Apostolis suis dedit, et in illis ac per illos eandem tradidit, haud promiscue quidem omnibus, sed quibusdam duntaxat hominibus, nempe*

Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests,”—with the replies of 1540, as commonly interpreted? And we should bear in mind that assertions equally strong in favour of *Episcopacy* pervade *The Erudition of a Christian Man*, published in 1543, which was “chiefly,” Strype⁶ tells us, “of the Archbishop’s composing,” and his *Catechism*,⁸ published in 1548. I shall leave the solution of the question in the hands of my readers; but the following extracts from the *Bishop’s Book* will show what were Cranmer’s sentiments in 1537.

“We think it convenient (that is, *proper* and *right*) that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge;—1st. How that Christ and his Apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, that, besides the civil powers and governance of Kings and Princes, which is called *potestas Gladii*, “the power of the Sword,” there should also be *continually*

Episcopis et Presbyteris, qui ad istud muneris initiantur et admittuntur.” Throughout the document the *two* Orders are distinguished, “Presbyteri et Episcopi.”

⁶ *Memorials of Cranmer*, book i. chap. xx. an. 1540.

⁷ “The principal director seems to have been Cranmer himself. He is named in the minutes of the proceedings in Convocation, as a member of all the select committees appointed to examine its several divisions; and he is proved also to have been an efficient member, by the fact of his carrying some of the amendments which he had suggested three years before, even though they were opposed to those of Henry VIII.”—JENKYN’S *Remains of Cranmer*, Preface, p. 38, and vol. ii. p. 96, note.

⁸ See TODD’S *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. ii. ch. iii.

in the Church Militant certain other ministers or officers, which should have special *power, authority, and Commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the Word of God* unto His people; *to dispense and administer the Sacraments of God* unto them, and by the same to *confer and give the graces of the Holy Ghost; to consecrate the blessed Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar; to loose and absolve from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and to excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order, and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves.* It appeareth evidently that this *power, office, and administration*, is necessary to be *preserved* here in earth for three special and principal causes.—1st. For that it is the commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. 2nd. For that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument, whereby He will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the graces of His Holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right inheritors of everlasting life, there to reign with Him for ever in glory, but only His Word and Sacraments. And, therefore, *the office and power to minister the said Word and Sacraments*, may in no wise be suffered to *perish* or to *be abolished*. 3rd. Because the said power and office, or function, hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy

Ghost, with all his graces, and finally our justification and everlasting life. Again,—*This office, this power, and authority, was committed and given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain persons only; that is to say, unto Priests or Bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto, by their prayer and imposition of their hands. . . . Orders is a holy rite or ceremony instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts; that is to say, of a spiritual and invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in this Sacrament is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned. The visible and outward sign is the prayer and imposition of the Bishop's hands upon the person that receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destitute of such ministers as should have and execute the said power of the Keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applied and administered by the Bishop, from time to time, unto such other persons as had the qualities necessarily required thereunto; which said qualities the Apostles did also very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, and the first chapter of his Epistle to Titus.*"

These were the Archbishop's sentiments in 1537. That Cranmer had, moreover, completely relinquished the loose opinions imputed to him on the subject of Church government, *some years before the new Ordinal*

was framed, may be learnt from his recorded sentiments on the same topic, as given in the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, published in 1543, and from his *Catechism*,⁹ published in 1548.¹ In the former of

⁹ Dr. Lingard says, "It is remarkable that in this *Catechism* the Archbishop leans more than usual to the ancient doctrines; and attributes the *origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Christ*, in a manner which seems to do away his former opinion on the same subject."—*History of England*, vol. iv. p. 395. See also some interesting remarks on this head in JENKYN'S *Preface to the Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 34.

¹ I must, even at the risk of being accused of repetition, give the reader the benefit of the following succinct statements, relative to the Archbishop's opinions, both before and after the year 1540, on the subject immediately before us, from the respective pens of Mr. Jenkyns and Mr. Palmer. Speaking of Cranmer's answers to the *Questions concerning the Sacraments*, the former writes,—“Thus extreme were the opinions into which the abuses of ecclesiastical power had driven him. But even at the moment of expressing them, he seems to have had some misgivings respecting their soundness; and as he had but lately adopted, so he very quickly saw reason to forsake them. Shortly before, in 1537, he had held, ‘that Christ and his Apostles did institute and ordain, in the New Testament, that, besides the civil powers and governance of Kings and Princes. . . . there should also be continually in the Church militant certain other ministers and officers, which should have special power, authority, and commission under Christ, to preach and teach the Word of God unto his people;’ that ‘the said power and office hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things;’ and that it ‘was committed and given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto Priests or Bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their prayer and imposition of hands.’—(*Institution of a Christian Man*, pp. 101, 104, Oxford, 1825. See also HENRY VIII.'s *Corrections of the Institution*, JENKYN'S *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 41, &c.) And shortly afterwards, in 1543, he had returned, in a great degree, to these earlier opinions. For in the *Necessary Doctrine* (p. 277,) to which he then assented, it is laid down, that

these he tells us, that “ *Order is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ’s Church, given of God to Christian men, by the consecration and imposition of*

‘Order is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ’s Church, given of God to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the Bishop’s hands upon them.’”—(JENKYN’S *Remains of Cranmer*, *Preface*, p. 33.) Again, Mr. Palmer writes, “The subjects on which Cranmer’s opinions have been condemned, are the Eucharist, and the powers of the civil Magistrate in connexion with the Ministry and ordinances of the Church. Of the first I have already spoken above, and in chapter vi. ; with reference to the latter, it is not to be disputed that Cranmer did, at one time, entertain *privately* opinions which merit censure. It appears, from his answer to queries concerning the Sacraments, and the appointment and power of Bishops and Priests, (1540,) that he held several strange errors ; such as that the Clergy are as much Ministers under the King as the civil officers ; that ordination is unnecessary ; that popular election or appointment by the civil Magistrate confers a sufficient mission ; that Bishops and Priests were not two offices originally ; and that excommunication was not allowable if the law of the land forbade it. These doctrines, as maintained by Cranmer, seem certainly indefensible ; but we may observe that they were only private opinions, not made public, but merely given in answer to certain queries of the Government. Secondly, he did not hold them firmly ; for he added, ‘this is mine opinion and sentence at this time present, which, nevertheless, I do not temerarily define ;’ and besides, it is fairly to be presumed that he afterwards corrected his error ; for in 1543 he allowed, in the *Necessary Doctrine*, that ‘order is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ’s Church, given by God to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the Bishop’s hands upon them.’ His *Catechism* (1548) in the article on the Keys, insists on the Divine commission, apostolical succession, and sacred character of the Priesthood. He was instrumental in drawing up the Preface to the Ordinal, in which it is declared that no man might ever exercise the office of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, without being admitted to the same by lawful authority, with imposition of hands ; and, therefore, no one shall be accounted lawfully ordained in this Church, unless he be episcopally

the Bishop's hands upon them ; and this was conferred and given by the Apostles, as it appeareth in the Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, whom he had ordained and consecrated Priest; where he saith thus: 'I do exhort thee that thou do stir up the grace of God, the which is given thee by the imposition of my hands.' And in another place he doth monish the same Timothy, and put him in remembrance of the room and ministry that he was called unto, in these words: 'Do not neglect the grace which thou hast in thee, and the which is given thee through prophecy and with imposition of hands, by the authority of Priesthood ;' whereby it appeareth that St. Paul did *Consecrate and Order Priests and Bishops by the imposition of his hands*. And as the Apostles themselves, in the beginning of the Church, did Order Priests and Bishops, *so they appointed and willed the other Bishops after them to do the like*, as St. Paul manifestly sheweth in his Epistle to Titus, saying thus: 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain Elders in every city, according as I have appointed thee.' And to Timothy he saith, 'See that thou be not hasty to put thy hands upon any man.'" Collier² tells us that Cranmer subscribed the *Erudition*, countenanced it in his diocese, and checked Joseph, a Clergyman, who took the liberty to preach against it.

Again, in the *Catechism*, which was published in

ordained. It appears, therefore, that Cranmer did not continue to maintain these errors."—*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. i. p. 544.

² *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. v. p. 125, edit. 1840.

Cranmer's³ own name, we read that "*the ministration of God's Word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the Apostles unto others after them, by imposition of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, from the Apostles' time to our own days ; and this was the consecration, and orders, and unction of the Apostles, whereby they, at the beginning, made Bishops and Priests ; and this shall continue in the Church unto the world's end,*" &c.; from which it is clear, as Dr. Hickes⁴ remarks,

³ See TODD's *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. ii. ch. iii.

⁴ "I have (says Dr. Hickes) made this sermon public again, because I think the doctrines set forth in it are as beneficial to the Church now, as when they were published one hundred and sixty years ago. I say *the doctrines*, for in order to explain the *power of the Keys*, he hath treated of the *sacerdotal mission* of God's ministers, to whom the power of the Keys is committed, and delivered his doctrine about it in several propositions ; as 1st.—That it is necessary to have preachers, or ministers of God's most Holy Word. 2nd.—That they must not aspire to that high office, before they are called, ordained, and appointed to it, and sent to us by God. 3rd.—That, except they be so called and sent, they cannot fruitfully teach, because God doth not work with the preacher whom he hath not sent, &c. I have set all this in the reader's view, for the honour of Archbishop Cranmer's memory, to show that, when he wrote this book, he could not be of the opinion, that '*the form of Church Government is mutable, that there is no distinction between a Bishop and a Priest, and that a man appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest, needs no consecration by the Scripture ; election, or appointment, being sufficient thereunto*, as is said of him, with great triumph, in the 178th page of the book of *Rights*.* These loose opinions, which are so apparently contrary to what the Archbishop published in this sermon, that fraudulent writer took from a manuscript, as cited by Dr. Stillingfleet in the 8th ch. of the 2nd book of his *Irenicum* ;

* By Matthew Tindal, answered by Turner, in his *Vindication of the Rights of the Christian Church*, and by Hickes, in his *Christian Priesthood, and Dignity of the Episcopal Order*.—See *Preface*.

that Cranmer “*derived the orders and mission of Bishops and Priests from Christ to the Apostles, and from them to others, and from them successively to others, unto the world's end.*”

though *Dr. Durel*, who saw the manuscript afterwards, told the world how it was manifest from it, that the Archbishop changed his opinion, and came over to that of *Dr. Leygh-ton*,* who, in answer to the 11th question, asserted, that ‘*a Bishop had authority from God in Scripture, as his minister, to make a Priest, and that he had not read that any other man had authority to make a Priest by Scripture, or knew any example thereof.*’ And in answer to the 12th he said, ‘*I suppose that there is a consecration required, as by imposition of hands, for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles;*’ who, in answer to the 10th question, he had said, ‘*were made Bishops and Priests by Christ,*’ and that ‘*after them the seventy-two† Disciples were made Priests.*’ This account of the Archbishop changing his opinion as to the point of Church Government, *Dr. Durel*, afterwards Dean of Windsor, gave‡ from the manuscript itself, wherein it appeared that *Th. Cantuariensis* was written with the Archbishop’s own hand underneath *Leygh-ton’s* opinion, to signify his approbation of it; and his sermon, which I have here reprinted, shows that it was his final opinion, and that he thought the people were to be instructed in it, as part of the Erudition of a Christian Man. *Dr. Stillingfleet*, afterward Bishop of Worcester, never wrote, or, that I heard, said anything to contradict *Dr. Durel’s* account of his manuscript, all his life long. And the Bishop of Sarum also acknowledges, that the Archbishop did retract his opinion, though he printed his manuscript in another order and method than the original is written in, contrary to the advice of *Dr. Stillingfleet*, as *Dr. Grove* told the world in his shuffling answer to *Dr. Lowth’s* letter to *Dr. Stillingfleet*; which was a fancy, or rather a liberty in his Lordship, which, perhaps, he would censure in another historian. I am sure it cannot be justified in any, and, in matters of law, it would be called altering

* Collection of Records in the 3rd Book of the Bishop of Sarum’s *History of the Reformation*, page 227.

† On the Number of Disciples, whether 70 or 72, see Heylyn’s *Hist. of Epis.* p. 19.

‡ *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. xxvi. p. 326.

Again, the Archbishop says — “ Teachers, unless they be called and sent, cannot fruitfully teach ; for the seed of God’s Word doth never bring forth fruit, unless the Lord of the harvest doth give the increase, and by his Holy Spirit, do work with the sowers. But God doth not work with the preacher whom he hath not sent ; as St. Paul saith, ‘ How shall they preach if they be not sent ? ’ Wherefore it is requisite that preachers should be called and sent of God ; and they must preach according to the authority and commission of God granted unto them.”

And to the intent that we may know to whom this commission is granted, the Archbishop adds :—

“ Again, *our Lord Jesus Christ himself hath both ordained and appointed ministers and preachers, to teach us his holy Word, and to minister his Sacraments ; and also hath appointed them what they shall*

a record. I must also observe, that Archbishop *Cranmer’s* book must be written in 1547, or some time before, because it was printed in 1548. Which also further shows the great mistake of *Bishop Stillingfleet*, when he wrote his *Irenicum*, in dating the birth of his manuscript from the first settlement of King Edward VI., as a paper containing the principles upon which the Reformation proceeded in 1547,* to the great dishonour of our Reformers, and the disgrace of our Reformation, and giving our adversaries of Rome great occasion to misrepresent our Church to be *Erastian* in its foundation, as giving the Prince the power of the Apostles, and other unconsecrate laymen authority to ordain Bishops and Priests, and to excommunicate, and administer the Sacraments, if the law of any kingdom *alloweth thereunto*.”—Dr. HICKES’s *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, pp. 38-41.

* It may be added that *Edward, Archbishop of York*, who subscribed the Paper of Questions, *died* in 1544.

teach in his name, and what they shall do unto us. He called and chose his twelve Apostles. And, after Christ's ascension, the Apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men to minister God's Word; chiefly in those places where there were Christian men already, which lacked preachers, and the Apostles themselves could not longer abide with them. Wherefore, when they found godly men, and meet to preach God's Word, they laid their hands upon them, and gave them the Holy Ghost, as they themselves received of Christ the same Holy Ghost, to execute their office. And they that were so ordained were indeed, and also were called, the Ministers of God, as the Apostles themselves were, as St. Paul saith unto Timothy; and so the ministration of God's Word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the Apostles unto others after them, by imposition of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, from the Apostles' time to our own days: and this was the consecration, and orders, and unction of the Apostles, whereby they, at the beginning, made Bishops and Priests; and this shall continue in the Church unto the world's end. Wherefore, good children, you shall give due reverence and honour to the ministers of the Church, and shall not meanly or lightly esteem them in the execution of their office, but you shall take them for God's ministers, and the messengers of our Lord Jesus Christ. For Christ himself saith in the Gospel, 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.' And whatsoever they do to you, as when they baptize you, when they give

you absolution, and distribute to you the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, these you shall so esteem as if Christ himself in his own person did speak and minister to you ; for Christ hath commanded his ministers to do this unto you ; and he himself, although you see him not with your bodily eyes, is present with his ministers, and worketh by the Holy Ghost in the administration of his Sacraments."

But I shall further prove that Cranmer, probably before the publication of the *Erudition* in 1543, had repudiated the *Erastian* views imputed to him, by *cancelling his replies* to the "Questions concerning the Sacraments," which, on presenting them to the King, he had declared, though "*at present* his opinions and sentence," he did "nevertheless not temerarily define."⁵ *Dr. Durel*, it appears, examined "Bishop Cranmer's MS." (cited in the *Irenicum*) with *Stillfleet* himself, and not only discovered that the date of the MS., as stated in the *Irenicum*, viz., 1547, was incorrect, but found that *Cranmer had subscribed to the opinions of Dr. Leighton*;—"Th. Cantuariensis' being written with the Archbishop's own hand under *Leighton's* opinion, to signify his approbation of it." "Tantus, inquam, fuit Cranmeri candor, et tantus amor⁶ veritatis, (writes *Dr. Durel*,) ut in hanc Leigh-

⁵ "Even at the moment of expressing them, he seems to have had some misgivings respecting their soundness: and, as he had lately adopted, so he very quickly saw reason to forsake them."—JENKYN'S *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, Preface, p. 33.

⁶ After having heard so much of late respecting the *compliant, dishonest, and time-serving* spirit of Archbishop Cranmer, it will be a positive relief to peruse the following extract from *Strype*, wherein

toni sententiam, propriâ mutată, concedere non dubitaverit. Quod ex eodem Cl. Stillingfleeti manuscripto libro manifestum est; in quo scilicet videas ‘Th. Cantuariensis’ nomen manu propriâ *ad calcem Leightonianæ sententiæ* appositum, *in signum approbationis.* Cranmerus itaque non modo in Formulæ Ordinandi Præ-

he shows “*the honesty and courage of the Archbishop in discharge of a commission.*” — “The next year, viz., 1540, the Archbishop lost his great friend and assistant in carrying on the Reformation; I mean the Lord Crumwell. And when he was, by popish craft and malice, taken off, their next work was to sacrifice Cranmer. And many were the accusations that were put up against him; and trial was made many ways to bring him to his death, or at least to bring him in disgrace with the King. And first, they thought to compass their ends against him by occasion of a Commission now issued out from the King to a select number of Bishops, whereof the Archbishop was one, (which Commission was confirmed by Act of Parliament,) for inspecting into matters of religion and explaining some of the chief doctrines of it. These Commissioners had drawn up a set of articles favouring the old popish superstitions; and meeting together at Lambeth they produced them, and vehemently urged that they should be established, and that the Archbishop would yield to the allowance of them; especially seeing there was a signification that it was the King’s will and pleasure that the articles should run in that tenor. But they could not win the Archbishop, neither by fear nor flattery; no, though the Lord Crumwell, at this very time, lay in the Tower. There was not one Commissioner now on his part, but all shrank away, and complied with the time; and even those he most trusted to, viz., Bishop Hethe, of Rochester, and Bishop Skyp, of Hereford. The Archbishop, as he disliked the book already drawn up by them, so he presented another book, wherein were divers amendments of theirs. After much arguing and disputing, (nor could the Archbishop be brought off,) Hethe and Skyp, with a friend or two more, walked down with him into his garden at Lambeth, and there used all the persuasion they could; urging to him that the King was resolved to have it so, and the danger, therefore, of opposing it. But he

fatione, sed in eo ipso qui penes est Cl. Stillingfleetum manuscripto *totus noster est.*"⁷ Dr. Hickes, referring to this point, says* that "Dr. Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, never wrote, or, that I heard, said anything to contradict Dr. Durel's account of his manuscript, all his life long."

honestly persisted in his constancy; telling them, 'that there was but one truth in the Articles to be concluded upon, which if they hid from his Majesty, by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, his Highness would, in process of time, perceive the truth, and see how colourably they had dealt with him. And he knew,' he said, 'his Grace's nature so well, that he would never after credit and trust them. And they being both his friends, he bade them beware in time, and discharge their consciences in maintenance of the truth.' But though nothing of all this could stir them, yet what he said sufficiently confirmed the Archbishop to persist in his resolution. The Archbishop, standing thus alone, went himself to the King, and so wrought with him that his Majesty joined with him against all the rest of them; and the Book of Articles passed on his side. When, indeed, this stiffness of Canterbury was the very thing his enemies desired; thinking that for this opposition the King would certainly have thrown him into the Tower; and many wagers were laid in London about it. So that this ended in two good issues; that the Archbishop's enemies were clothed with shame and disappointment, and a very good book, chiefly of the Archbishop's composing, came forth for the instruction of the people, known by the name of *A Necessary Erudition of any Christian Man.*"—*Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 108.

⁷ The following summary of Cranmer's views, from 1537 to 1550, on the point we are considering, is from TODD'S *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 307. "It will be seen, that in Cranmer's paper, as Burnet has stated it, there are some singular opinions about the nature of Ecclesiastical Offices; but they were not established as the doctrines of the Church. They were laid aside as particular conceits of his own. Indeed, he soon afterwards changed his

* *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, p. 43.

Now, what were the opinions of *Dr. Leighton* to which Cranmer subscribed? "To the ninth question, I say, that the Apostles (as I suppose) *made Bishops*

opinions; for he subscribed the book that was formed in consequence of these discussions, (*The Necessary Erudition*, published in 1543,) which is directly contrary to the opinions delivered in his paper; as the reformed *Ordinal*, in the time of Edward, is, of which he was one of the compilers (1549). On mature consideration, he abandoned those dangerous principles, which subject the validity of the Sacraments of Christ's Church to the caprice of every tyrant, who may choose to call himself a Christian. He had, before the artful questions of his Sovereign were circulated, entertained sentiments very different from his present answers. I have already briefly noticed them. He was then in perfect agreement with the Archbishop of York, eleven other Prelates, and several Canonists and Theologians, in declaring, on Henry's abolition of the inferior Orders in the Church of Rome, such as Subdeacons, Janitors, Lectors, and the like, that in Scripture those Orders are not to be found: this being the sole object of their declaration in answer to certain Romanists, who represented the partial, as a general suppression of ecclesiastical offices. He had also been the principal compiler of the *Institution* (1537); his opinions in which, as to the government of the Church, and the functions of the Hierarchy, the reverse of those in his present answers, are, as I have before said, recovered in the *Necessary Erudition*. In not proclaiming now (1540) the Apostolical institution of Episcopacy, he had been, perhaps, led by the King to aim at an acknowledgment of the Sovereign's right to exercise every office in the Church. But in these answers he met with little support."—The "pliability" of the Archbishop has been adduced as the cause of his apparent inconsistency; but if we refer to his *Annotations* on the *King's Book*, being remarks on Henry's corrections of the *Institution*, we shall find that Cranmer was not such a "cowardly time-server to a dogmatical tyrant," as some writers are apt to imagine. "It will be found, on the contrary, that he criticised both the grammar and the theology of his master with a caustic freedom, which might have given offence to an author of far humbler pretensions than a Sovereign who had entered the lists with Luther, and who prided himself on his titles of 'Defender of

by authority given unto them of Christ ; howbeit I think they would and should have required the Christian Princes' consent and license thereto, if there had been any Christian Kings or Princes." "To the tenth: the Apostles were made of Christ Bishops and Priests, both at the first; and after them *septuaginta duo discipuli* were made Priests." "To the eleventh: I suppose that *a Bishop hath authority of God, as his minister, by Scripture to make a Priest ;* but he ought not to admit any man to be Priest, and consecrate him, or appoint him to any ministry in the Church, without the Prince's license and consent, in a Christian region. *And that any other man hath authority to make a Priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof.*" "To the twelfth: I suppose that *there is a consecration required, as by imposition of hands ;* for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles."

Dr. Durel adds,⁸ "Didicimus disceptationem, quæ in eo manuscripto continetur, factam fuisse *ante exactum annum millesimum quingentesimum quadragesimum quartum*, quo anno diem suum demum obiit Edvardus Lee, Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, cujus nomen manu pro-

the Faith,' and 'Supreme Head of the National Church.' It is true that he softened the severity of his criticisms by an apology for his presumption, in being 'so scrupulous, and as it were a picker of quarrels to his Grace's book.' But even when these excuses have been allowed their full weight, there will still remain enough of *boldness* to surprise those, who have no other idea of Henry than that he was a dogmatical tyrant, or of *Cranmer*, than that he was a cowardly time-server."—JENKYN'S *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, Preface, p. 19, and vol. 2, p. 65.

⁸ *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, pp. 327-8.

priâ in eo libro, eodem tempore et eâdem occasione cum cæteris scriptum legitur.” “Which also farther shows (remarks Hickes) the great mistake of Bishop Stillingfleet, when he wrote his *Irenicum*, in dating the birth of his manuscript from the first settlement of King Edward VI., as a paper containing the principles upon which the Reformation proceeded in 1547; to the great dishonour of our Reformers, and the disgrace of our Reformation, and giving our adversaries of *Rome* great occasion to misrepresent our Church to be *Erastian* in its foundation, as giving the Prince the power of the Apostles, and other unconsecrate laymen authority to ordain Bishops and Priests, and to excommunicate, and administer the Sacraments, if the law of any kingdom *alloweth thereunto*.” Thus wrote Dr. Hickes,⁹ at the close of the seventeenth century. It is also worthy of remark, that, in the margin of the paper of “Resolutions,” attributed by Strype to *Bishop Thirlby*, portions of which I have previously quoted, the names of *Cranmer* and others are written, “for what purpose (says Strype) I do not know, unless to *signify their judgments as agreeable with his*.” It will be seen from the passages quoted, that the *judgment* of this Bishop, upon some of the seventeen Questions bearing on the subject before us, was in favour of the *Apostolical Succession* and of *Episcopal Ordination*; and to each reply, as given above, is added in the margin, “*Abp. Cant.*”

I ought perhaps to add, that the same opinions in

⁹ *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, p. 44.

favour of *Episcopacy* and the necessity of a *Divine Commission*, transmitted through the medium of *Ordination*, which are found in *The Institution of a Christian Man*¹ (1537); the *Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests* (1536-8); the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543); and *Cranmer's Catechism* (1548), are distinctly stated in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*,² drawn up at the close of 1551, of which the

¹ How far Cranmer was concerned in drawing up this Formulary will be seen in JENKYN'S *Preface to Cranmer's Remains*, p. 17. See also *Note*, p. 39.

² I subjoin the chapters referred to in the original, as the work is somewhat scarce.—Tit. "*De Ecclesia, et Ministris ejus, illorumque officiis.*" Cap. 3. *De Diaconis.*—"Diaconus erit patronus pauperum, ut languidos confirmet, soletur vinctos, inopes juvet, eritque pater orphanis, patronus viduis, et solatium afflictis et miseris, quantum in illo est, omnibus. Nomina etiam pauperum Parocho diligenter deferet, ut ejus suasu ecclesia tota permota necessitatibus illorum prospiciat, ne mendicantes latè fratres obambulent, eodem et cœlesti patre nati et pretio redempti. Pastoribus suis, à quibus adsciti fuerint, in sacris precationibus et officiis perpetuò adsint. Lectiones ex verbo Domini quotidianas populo recitabunt, et, si quando necessitas incumbat, concionabuntur, et sacramenta (modò id Episcopi aut Ordinarii permissione faciant) administrabunt. His officiis nisi diligenter eos invigilasse per presbyteros ecclesiæ demonstratum sit, Episcopi illos ad altiorem gradum non promoveant."

De Presbyteris, cap. 4.—"In Presbytero mores eluceant à D. Paulo descripti ad Tim. iii., et ad Titum primo. Gregem Dei sibi commissum verbo vitæ subinde nutrant, et ad sinceram tum Deo tum magistratui ac in dignitate positis obedientiam assiduè eliciant, et ad benevolentiam mutuam Christianos omnes sedulò invitent. Non sint compotores, non aleatores, non aucupes, non venatores, non sycophantæ, non otiosi, aut supini, sed sacrarum literarum studiis et prædicationi verbi et orationibus pro ecclesia ad Dominum diligenter incumbant. Nullus expers conjugii mulierem sexaginta

principal matter was furnished by the Archbishop. In the third, fourth, tenth, and subsequent chapters, we have the offices of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop,

annis natu minorem in ædibus sinat diversari, nisi sit ejus mater, aut amita, aut matertera, aut soror. Presbyter quivis Biblia sacra habeat propria, non Anglicè modò, verum etiam Latinè; vestis sit decens, et gravis, quæ ministrum deceat, non militem, juxta arbitrium Episcopi."

De Episcoporum gradu, ac dignitate in Ecclesia., cap. 10.—"Episcopi, quoniam inter cæteros ecclesiæ ministros locum principem tenent, ideo sana doctrina, gravi autoritate, atque provido concilio, debent inferiores ordines cleri, universumque populum Dei, regere ac pascere, non sanè ut dominantur eorum fidei, sed ut seipsos verè servos servorum Dei exhibeant, sciantque autoritatem et jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam non alia de causa sibi præcipuè creditam esse, nisi ut suo ministerio et assiduitate homines quam plurimi Christo jungantur; quique jam Christi sunt, in eo crescant et exædificentur; atque si nonnulli deficiant, ad pastorem Christum Dominum reducantur, et per salutarem pœnitentiam instaurentur."

De obedientia Episcopis exhibenda, cap. 11.—"Omnes in ecclesia cum pacem sectari debeant, et ad concordiam quantum licet incumbere, Episcopo qui Ecclesiæ præficitur, non solum decanus, archidiaconus, archipresbyter, et reliqui ministri parebunt, sed omnia etiam Christi membra ejus curæ commissa sic ad ejus se voluntatem accommodabunt, ut et in his quæ juxta verbum Dei præcipiunt, et in illis etiam quæ mandabunt ad Christianam disciplinam, et ad nostras ecclesiasticas leges pertinentia, paratissimè morem gerant."

De variis et multiplicibus Episcopi muneribus, cap. 12.—"Verbi Dei sanam doctrinam cum primis tum per seipsum, tum per alios, Episcopus tradat in sua ecclesia, quanta diligentia et sedulitate fieri potest: sacros ordines opportuno tempore conferat; sed nemini, vel mercede conductus, vel temerè manus imponat; idoneos ministros ad ecclesiastica beneficia instituat; indignos verò, ubi graves causæ ac morum perversitas id requisierint, submoveat, et ab ecclesiæ administratione dejiciat; ecclesiæ testimonia et querelas de suis pastoribus audiat; rixas inter ministros et ecclesias subortas componat; vitia, et contaminatos mores, censuris ecclesiasticis corrigat; edicta ad meliorem vivendi formam præscribat; eos qui pertinaciter et obsti-

clearly and specifically stated. The *Deacon* was to preach, and administer the Sacraments, "*modò Episcopi permissione.*" The chapter on the office of *Presbyter* refers us to the 3rd ch. of 1st Epis. to *Tim.* and to the 1st ch. of Epis. to *Tit.* for an elucidation of their official character; and speaks of the flock of God *committed* to them: which *Commission* we learn, from the Ordination Service, (which was drawn up two years before, under the same authority, and again printed in 1552, with a few alterations,) is *imparted by the imposition of the Bishop's hands.* The chapter on the Order and dignity of *Bishops*, and the subsequent chapters on the obedience due to them, are still more explicit. The first speaks of the Bishops as holding the chief place among the ministers of Christ's Church, and gives them authority to govern the inferior orders of the Clergy, "*inferiores ordines Cleri*"; the others allude to the Ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction of the Bishops; and declare that the whole diocese, both

natè reluctantur, excommunicet; pœnitentes verò in gratiam recipiat; diocesim totam, tam in locis exemptis quàm non, tertio quoque anno visitet, et consuetas procuraciones accipiat: ut verò aliis temporibus, quoties visum fuerit, visitet propter novos casus qui incidere possint, ei liberum esto; modò suis impensis id faciat, et nova onera stipendiorum aut procurationum ab ecclesiis non exigit; statis temporibus annuatim synodos habeat: Illi quoque sit curæ ut in Catechismo instructos certo anni tempore confirmet; testamenta quoque approbet. Et demum omnia et singula Episcopis curæ sunt, quæ ad eos ex Dei præscripto spectant, et nostræ leges ecclesiasticæ illorum cognitioni et judiciis commiserunt."

See some interesting and valuable remarks connected with the *Reformatio Legum*, in "Archdeacon Reynolds's *Historical Essay upon the Government of the Church of England*, ch. 4."

Clergy and Laity, "*omnia Christi membra ejus curæ commissa*," were to be under the Bishop, and to be governed by his discipline and direction, not only on those points which are clearly specified in the Word of God, but on such as appertain to the maintenance of Church discipline, and the carrying out the requirements of the Ecclesiastical Laws. A subsequent chapter speaks of the Bishop as conferring Holy Orders, "*sacros Ordines conferat*;" and alludes to the imposition of the Bishop's hands as the mode of conferring these Orders, "*nemini temerè manus imponat*."³ I should likewise state that *Cranmer*, *Goodrich*, *Ridley*, *Cox*, *Taylor*, and *May*, six of the compilers of the Liturgy and the Ordinal, together with three others, formed a sub-committee to prepare the above code.⁴

I think, then, that my readers—and even Mr. Macaulay's readers—will regard his assertions, that

³ The reader will pardon me for referring him to my second *Ordination Sermon* (p. 102) for further extracts, in the original, from the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

⁴ "But the matter," says Strype, "was in effect wholly entrusted by the King to the Archbishop, who associated to himself, in the active part of this work, Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon." "And this account is confirmed by the numerous corrections in the handwriting of Cranmer and Peter Martyr, which may still be seen in a manuscript copy of the projected code preserved in the British Museum. Thus the Archbishop's share in its composition seems to have been much more than that of mere general superintendence. If he did not actually assist in drawing it up, as is most probable, his interference must be supposed to have at least extended to the exclusion of any thing which he thought objectionable. It may therefore be safely referred to as an authentic record of his opinions." — JENKYN'S *Remains of Cranmer*, *Preface*, p. 110. See also TODD'S *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. ch. 13.

“the founders of the Anglican Church retained Episcopacy,” not as of Divine Institution, but “as an ancient, decent, and convenient Ecclesiastical Polity;”—that, according to Cranmer and the theologians of his school, “the King was to be the Pope of his kingdom, the Vicar of God, the expositor of Catholic Verity, the channel of sacramental graces;”—that he was to have “the whole power of the keys;”—that, “in the opinion of Cranmer, given in the plainest words, the King might, in virtue of authority derived from God, make a Priest, and the Priest so made needed no ordination whatever,” and that “Cranmer carried out these opinions to their legitimate consequences;”⁵—as statements which militate against historical testimony, give a very unfair and imperfect view of the opinions of our Reformers, and are contrary to the mature and deliberate judgment both of the compilers of our Ordinal and of Archbishop Cranmer himself: and I may be allowed to add, that, though Mr. Macaulay is a very attractive writer, he is not a very safe guide in matters Ecclesiastical.⁶

⁵ See Notes on these passages, page 6.

⁶ In proof of the truth of this assertion, I would, for a moment, revert to the passage in Mr. Macaulay's History, where he refers to Archbishop *Whitgift*, and Bishops *Cooper and Jewel*, as having retained and “defended Prelacy as innocent, as useful, as what the state might lawfully establish, as what, when established by the state, was entitled to the respect of every citizen.” Is it possible that Mr. Macaulay could have taken the trouble to ascertain the opinions of these eminent Reformers on the subject of Episcopacy? And, without having exercised a little diligence, ought he to have indulged in such dangerous and erroneous statements? In addition to the exposition of their views already given, (notes pp. 18, 23) I would

call the reader's attention to the fact, that Whitgift and Cooper were accused by Martin Marprelate of being Papists, for their several vindications of the Church of England and of her Liturgy! "Martin Marprelate mentioned, among other particular Popish points, wherein as he supposed they agreed, his (the Archbishop's) maintenance of the hierarchy of Bishops, and his ascribing the name of *Priest* unto the Ministers of the Gospel." To this objection, viz., that "the calling of Bishops, as superior to other Ministers of Christ, was a Popish principle," the Archbishop gave this answer; "acknowledging that he was persuaded that there ought to be, *by the word of God, a superiority* among the Ministers of the Church; and that it was sufficiently proved in his books against T. C., and in Dr. Bridges' book likewise. And that he was at all times ready to justify it *by the Holy Scriptures, and by the testimony of all antiquity*. And added, that Epiphanius and Augustin accounted them heretics that held the contrary. And that as for the arguments to the contrary, they were vain; their answers were absurd; the authority they used shamefully abused; and the Scripture they made use of for their purpose wrested. That angry author would also have it an agreement with the Church of Rome, that the Ministers were commonly called *Priests*. The Archbishop answered to this, that he had shewed sufficient reason in his book against T. C. why the Ministers of the Gospel might be called *Priests*. That the ancient Fathers so called them; that the Church of England embraced that name, and that by the authority of the highest Court in England. The Archbishop proceeded, and said, that in these points *he did agree with the Holy Scriptures, with the Universal Church of God, with all antiquity, and in some sort with the Church of Rome!*" (STRYPE's *Life of Whitgift*, book iii. ch. 22.) Something more, methinks, is here expressed than the 'innocency,' 'decency,' or 'utility' of 'the calling of Bishops.'—And as regards Bishop Cooper, he, "one of our learnedest Bishops, was, together with other Bishops and learned men," consulted upon, and in fact, revised Whitgift's answer to "*An Exhortation to the Bishop to answer the Admonition*," in which he defends the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, upon "the testimonies of ancient councils and learned Fathers, which those unlearned men (the writers of the *Admonition*) unlearnedly contemned." This same Bishop was the object of Marprelate's virulence, as a Papist, for "magnifying the English Service Book, and defending the ungodly titles and unjust lordship of

Bishops." He was also attacked for papistical views, exhibited, as alleged, in a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, on the 27th of June, 1572, "In Vindication of the Church, its Liturgy, and Rites." And in a sermon preached at the Queen's Chapel, in 1588, Bishop Cooper says, "For the truth of the doctrine, according to the Word of God; for the right administration of the Sacraments; for the true worship of God in our prayers, laid down in the Book of Service; since the Apostles' age unto this present age of the restoring of the Gospel, there was never Church upon the face of the earth *so nigh the sincerity of God's truth*, as the Church of England is at this day."—STRYPE's *Annals*, b. i. ch. 21; *Preface to the Life of PARKER*, p. 15; *Life of WHITGIFT*, b. i. ch. 7.—Bishop Jewel also is mentioned as one of the Divines of Elizabeth's day, who regarded Episcopacy as 'innocent and useful,' and nothing more. Again Mr. Macaulay is most unfortunate in his selection. We read in his 'Apology,' (p. 19,) that "we believe that there is one Church of God; that this Church is the kingdom, the body, and spouse of Christ; that Christ is the only prince of this kingdom; that there are in the Church divers orders of Ministers; that there are some who are *Deacons*, others who are *Presbyters*, and others who are *Bishops*, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religion, are committed; that a minister ought to have a lawful call, and be duly and orderly preferred in the Church of God, and that no man ought at his own will and pleasure to intrude into the sacred ministry." Let Mr. Macaulay try whether he can reconcile his opinion of Jewel with the following extracts. "The truth is, this Church hath been persecuted because she alone, of all the Churches in Europe, has had the blessing and singular favour of God to reform with prudence, moderation, and an exact and regular conduct, after great and wise deliberation, by the consent of our Bishops, Convocations, States, and Princes, without tumults or hasty counsels. So that the Papists themselves do ever envy *our primitive doctrine, government, and discipline*, and both fear and hate us more than any other of the Reformed Churches. They are the same things that have raised the spleens and animosities of the other side, with whom whatever is older than Zuinglius and Calvin, is presently Popery, and must be destroyed. Tell them that *Episcopacy was settled in all Churches in the days of the very Apostles, and by them*, and they reply, the mystery of iniquity began then to work; intimating, if not affirming, that *Holy Order* was

part of it."—*Preface to Apology*. Whether, then, "Whitgift, Cooper, and Jewel, defended prelacy as innocent, as useful, as what the State might lawfully establish, as what when established by the State, was entitled to the respect of every citizen,"—thus, regarding it as a mere human institution; or whether they and 'the founders of the Anglican Church,' "constantly and clearly insisted," to adopt the language of Mosheim, (*Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 237,) "on the Divine Origin of the Government and Discipline of the Church of England," are questions which, to an unprejudiced mind, will admit of an easy solution.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the publication of my Pamphlet, on "The Reformers of the Anglican Church, and Mr. Macaulay's History of England," it has been objected, that I have not done Mr. Macaulay justice, inasmuch as I have omitted two passages which might have considerably elucidated his meaning; the first, referring to the Commission which was taken out by Cranmer, on the death of Henry; the second, to the opinions of the Elizabethan Divines respecting Christian communities who were not under Episcopal government. I must confess that I cannot see the force of the objections: but as Mr. Macaulay or his friends may object, and as some have objected, to the omissions, I hasten to rectify the error, if error it be.

In page 14, and again in page 43, I have endeavoured to point out the erroneous exposition of Cranmer's views by Mr. Macaulay, on the subject of Episcopacy, and of the power and authority of Bishops. With this intent, I quoted a passage from p. 53; "Cranmer, indeed, plainly avowed his conviction, that in the primitive times there was no distinction between Bishops and Priests, and that the laying on of hands

was altogether unnecessary.”¹ This passage occurs at the end of a paragraph, and nothing, of course, could be added thereto by me to elucidate the meaning of the author. I would, in passing, submit that the assertion is directly contrariant to the opinions of Cranmer, as expressed in the works of the Archbishop, which I have quoted at large, viz. “*The Institution of a Christian Man*,” “*The Erudition*,” the “*Catechism*,” containing his “*Sermon of the Authority of the Keys*,” &c. I added, in page 43, another passage, taken from page 56 of Mr. Macaulay’s History, and which I had shewn, at page 6, to be a passage distinct from the above. It is this—“It was unnecessary that there should be any imposition of hands. The King—such was the opinion of Cranmer, given in the plainest words—might, in virtue of authority derived from God, make a Priest; and the Priest so made needed no ordination whatever. These opinions Cranmer carried out to their legitimate consequences.”² The passage omitted, and which immediately follows, is this:—“He held that his own spiritual functions, like the secular functions of the Chancellor and Treasurer, were at once determined by a demise of the crown. When Henry died, therefore, the Archbishop and his suffragans took out fresh commissions, empowering them to ordain and to perform other spiritual functions³ till the new Sovereign should

¹ See Note 2, page 6.

² See Note 3, page 6.

³ The passage is altered thus in the 4th and 5th editions:—
“When Henry died, therefore, the Archbishop and his Suffragans took out fresh commissions, empowering them to ordain and to

think fit to order otherwise." Now, in order that the passages which I have quoted should, in the opinion of the reader, be at all affected by those which I have omitted, he must admit, what I was not prepared to admit, that Mr. Macaulay intended to imply that Cranmer "carried out" the opinions previously expressed "to their legitimate consequences," by taking out a fresh Commission on the death of Henry. And what were "these opinions?" We are told in the previous page; "What Henry and his favourite Counsellors meant⁴ by the supremacy was certainly nothing less than *the whole power of the Keys*. The King was to be the *Pope of his kingdom*, the *Vicar of God*, the *Expositor of Catholic verity*, the *Channel of sacramental graces*."⁵ Mr. Macaulay having further elucidated his statement, adds, "The King—such was the opinion of Cranmer, given in the plainest words—might, in virtue of authority derived from God, make a Priest; and the Priest so made needed no ordination whatever."

These opinions were, I allow, too clearly implied in some of his answers to "Questions concerning the Sacraments," in 1540, and I have said so: but I did not, and do not see *one word in the Commission*, which implies that Cranmer held the above opinions in

govern the Church till the new Sovereign should think fit to order otherwise."

⁴ Altered thus:—"What Henry and his favourite counsellors meant, *at one time*, by the supremacy, was certainly nothing less than the whole power of the keys."

⁵ The italics are mine.

1546, but *quite the reverse* ; and therefore I did not, in fairness, impute such an interpretation to Mr. Macaulay. I would only add, that as respects the omission of passages in quoting Mr. Macaulay, from an idea that there is no immediate connection with the sentences immediately preceding, the fault is not altogether on the side of those who may be blamed for so doing. In the 56th page, for instance, of which I have been speaking, it is impossible to read the sentences as referring to *consecutive* events: "The opinions of Cranmer given in the plainest words," refers to 1540; his taking out a fresh Commission, to 1546; and the subsequent passages, which at first sight would appear to be an elucidation of the former, to 1532 or 1534.

With regard to the immediate point at issue, I cannot more clearly state my views respecting Cranmer's Commission, than by giving the following passages from Charles Leslie's "*Case of the Regale and of the Pontificate stated*," in which he gives "a short and clear state of the case lately discoursed (at a conference) concerning the Regale, or power of the State over the Church, as to her purely spiritual character. *First*. It was agreed on all hands, that the State cannot deprive Bishops of their *Episcopal character*;"⁶

⁶ In the first three editions a passage occurred, at page 55, which ran thus: "He (the King) proclaimed that all jurisdiction, spiritual as well as temporal, was derived from him alone, and that it was in his power to confer the *Episcopal character*, and to take it away." In the subsequent editions, the latter part of the sentence is altered thus: "And that it was in his power to confer *Episcopal authority*, and to take it away."

but that they remain *Bishops* still; and their ordinations, confirmations, and other Episcopal acts are valid; except such acts of jurisdiction as respect that particular diocese out of which they are ejected by the State; as visiting and censuring the Clergy and others, conferring benefices, &c.” In the course of the conference, it was advanced, “That it is certain the Levitical Priesthood was set up by God four hundred years before there was a King in Israel; as the Evangelical Priesthood was three hundred years before there was a Christian King in the world; and therefore, that neither the one nor the other could be made dependent upon Kings.....Here one interposed, and desired to know how all this would agree with our present laws, and since the Reformation; and instanced the Statutes 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, and 37 Henry VIII. c. 17, &c., with *the Commission that Archbishop Cranmer took out for his bishopric from Edward VI.*, which is inserted in Bishop Burnet’s History of the Reformation, part ii., Collection of Records to Book i. No. 2, p. 90; and the like done by other Bishops, whereby they held their bishoprics during pleasure of the King, and owned to derive all their power, even Ecclesiastical, from the crown, *Velut a supremo capite, et omnium infra regnum nostrum magistratum fonte et scaturigine*, as from the fountain and original of it, &c.”

“To this it was said,—1st, That all this is to be understood only of the civil power and authority, which, by the laws of the land, were annexed to the sacred office; as the civil jurisdiction that is

granted to the Bishops' Courts, to the Bishops themselves, as Lords of Parliament, &c.; to the civil penalties which follow their excommunications, and the *legal protection to their Ordinations, and other acts of their office*; and these are derived only and solely from the King. Nothing of this was granted to the Apostles, or the Bishops, their successors, by Christ; and as the state granted these, they may recall them, if there be sufficient reason for it.—That, in that very Commission before-mentioned, which was given to Cranmer for his bishopric, there is an exception; *Per (præter) et ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris literis divinitus commissa esse dignoscuntur*; i.e., *Over and above those powers and authorities which the Holy Scriptures do testify are given to thee by God*. These the King did not take upon him to grant, but only what was over and above these, that is, the protection and civil privileges granted by the State, which were annexed to fortify and encourage these. And take notice, that that of which the King is here called the *head and fountain*, is *omnium magistratuum*, of all the magistracy within his dominions, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; for there is a civil magistracy annexed by the laws to the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction; *and of this only ought these expressions to be meant*; because we see the other, *the spiritual authority, which, in Holy Scripture, is granted to the Church, is expressly excepted*; and that Ecclesiastical authority, which in this Commission is said to flow from the King, is *juris dicendi autoritas, et quæcunque ad forum ecclesiasticum pertinent*; that is, *the Episcopal jurisdiction*

considered as a forum, a court established by the secular power, and part of the laws of the land.—That in the said History of the Reformation, part i., in the Addenda, No. 5, p. 321, there is “A Declaration made of the Function and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests,” subscribed by Lord Cromwell, then Vicegerent to King Henry VIII. in Ecclesiastical matters, by Archbishop Cranmer, with the Archbishop of York, eleven other Bishops, and twenty Divines and Canonists, declaring that *the power of the keys, and other Church functions, is formally distinct from the civil power,*⁷ &c. And *ibid.* Collect. Records, No. 10, p. 177, there is the judgment of eight Bishops concerning the King’s supremacy, whereof *Cranmer* is the first, asserting that the Commission which Christ gave to his Church, had “*no respect to Kings’ or Princes’ power;*” but that the Church had it by the “*Word of God, to which Christian Princes acknowledge themselves subject.*” They deny that the Commission Christ gave to his Church did extend to civil power over Kings and Princes; and they own that the civil power was over Bishops and Priests, as well as other subjects; that is, in civil matters, which the Church of *Rome* did deny: but they assert that “*Bishops and Priests have the charge of souls, are the Messengers of Christ, to teach the truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c., as Christ was the Messenger of his Father*⁸ :” which sure was *independent of all Kings and Powers upon earth.*”⁹

⁷ See Note 2, page 46.

⁸ See Note 2, page 16.

⁹ Consonant with the above positions is the reply of the Bishop

“Here one desired it might not be forgot, that *Bonner* took out the same Commission for his bishopric from Henry VIII. as that before mentioned

of *Rochester* to the eleventh ‘Question concerning the Sacraments,’ in the celebrated ‘Resolutions,’ so often referred to. *Question*.—“Whether a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no? and whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?” *Answer*.—“*The Scripture showeth by example, that a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest; albeit no Bishop, being subject to a Christian Prince, may either give orders to excommunicate, or use any manner of jurisdiction, or any part of his authority, without commission from the King, who is Supreme Head of that Church, whereof he is a member; but that any other man may do it besides a Bishop, I find no example, either in Scripture or in Doctors.*”—See *COLLIER’S Eccles. Hist.* vol. ix. p. 205, edit. 1841. Again, *Dr. Redmayne* replies to the same question: “Truth it is, that the office of a godly Prince is to oversee the Church, and the Ministers thereof; and to cause them to do their duty, and also to appoint them special charges and offices in the Church, as may be most for the glory of God, and edifying of the people; and thus we read of the good Kings in the Old Testament, David, Joas, Ezekias, Josias. *But as for making, that is to say, ordaining and consecrating of Priests, I think it specially belongeth to the office of a Bishop, as far as can be shewed by Scripture, or any example, as I suppose, from the beginning.*” So also to the ninth Question: “Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?” the same general principles are recognized. “We find in Scripture (replies the Archbishop of *York*) that the Apostles used the power to make Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; which power may be grounded upon these words: ‘*Sicut misit me vivens Pater, sic ego mitto vos,*’ &c., and we verily think, that they durst not have used so high power unless they had authority from Christ; but *that their power to ordain Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, by imposition of hands, requireth any other authority than authority of God, we neither read in Scripture, nor out of Scripture.*”—Thus *Dr. Robertson*: “*Opinor Apostolos autoritate divina creasse Episcopos et Presbyteros, ubi publicus*

of Cranmer from Edward VI. which is verbatim inserted in the said History of the Reformation, pt. i., Collect. of Records to Book iii. p. 184; and that the

Magistratus permittit." *Dr. Oglethorpe*: "*Apostoli, autoritate et mandato Dei, ordinabant ac instituebant Episcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magistratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat.*" *Dr. Tresham*: "I say that *the Apostles had authority of God to make Bishops*; yet if there had been a Christian King in any place where they made Bishops, they would, and ought, to have desired *authority* also of him for the *executing* of such their godly acts, which no Christian King would have denied." And lastly, *Dr. Leygh-ton*: "I say, that the Apostles (as I suppose) *made Bishops by authority given unto them of Christ*; howbeit I think they would and should have required the Christian Princes' consent and *license* thereto, if there had been any Christian Kings or Princes."—See COLLIER, vol. ix. pp. 197-206, edit. 1841. These were the opinions of the "Bishops and Divines" in 1540. And to these 'Resolutions' we may, I think, refer for a solution of a passage in Bonner's and Cranmer's 'Commission,' (received from the King in 1546,) which is frequently misapplied by Cranmer's opponents: "Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinati, et nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes, Tibi vices nostras sub modo et forma inferius descriptis committendas fore, Teque *Licentiaudum esse* decernimus, *ad Ordinandum* igitur quoscunque infra Dioces. tuam Cant. ubicunque oriundos, quos moribus et literatura prævio diligenti et rigoroso examine idoneos fore compereris, ad omnes etiam Sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines promovendum, ordinandum," &c.; the passage implying, I would submit, nothing more than that the *exercise* of the *inherent powers of the Episcopate*, derived from Christ, the Head of the Church, through the Apostles, would receive a *legal sanction*, "*obtenta prius facultate a principe ac Magistratu, qui tum præerat*" (to quote Dr. Oglethorpe); but it by no means follows, as some would infer, that purely Episcopal acts, done '*autoritate Divina*,' would not be perfectly *valid*, '*facultate a principe non obtenta*,' though they would be *irregular*, and might subject the party officiating to Ecclesiastical censures. The language of Cranmer in '*The Institution of a Christian Man*,' in 1537, is at least perfectly plain and intelligible: "*How shall men*

Convocation who made that submission of the Clergy, 25 Henry VIII., were all Roman Catholics; for it was before the beginning of the Reformation, before the King's supremacy was enacted, which, when enacted afterwards, was grounded upon this submission of the Popish Clergy, and the acknowledgment of both Convocations before that time, (22 Henry VIII.) who owned the King as supreme head of the Church within his own dominions. This was the first time; and these Popish Bishops and Clergy were the first who bestowed that title upon the King, with which they have ever since upbraided the Reformation."

"2nd. It was further said, that, as our laws stand at present, the Church is left wholly independent on the State as to her purely spiritual power and authority. Because our Kings claim no other Ecclesiastical authority than was granted by God to the Kings in Holy Scripture; and what that was, we have seen before to have nothing in it but mere civil power; though it might be exercised over Ecclesiastical persons, (who are subject, as all others, as Christ himself was, to the civil powers in all civil things,) and in Ecclesiastical causes too, to punish with temporal pains, as well blasphemers, idolaters, and

dare take upon them to preach and shew of God, unless they be first sent with AUTHORITY AND COMMISSION FROM GOD so to do? And, therefore, it is said by the Prophet Esai, Blessed be the feet of those preachers, which, being authorised and sent by God, do preach and shew unto us the peace and benefits which we receive by Christ" (on the Sacrament of Orders).—See Formularies of Faith, p. 104, edit. 1825. See also Note at the end.

heretics, as thieves, robbers, &c.; as well the transgressors against the first as second table.”—(*Case of the Regale and of the Pontificate stated*; Works, vol. iii. page 279 and 323, sixth edition, 1832, Oxford.) Should the reader desire to prosecute the subject, he will find much interesting matter connected with the point, in Bishop SANDERSON’S “*Episcopacy, as established by law in England, not prejudicial to Regal Power* ;” Bishop SMALLRIDGE’S “*Reflections on the Historical part of (Woodhead) Church Government*, part 5,” especially reply to ch. iii. iv. ; BRETT’S “*Independency of the Church on the State* ;” and GRAY’S “*Bampton Lectures*,” from the fourth of which I extract the following passage: “When the rights of the Church were investigated at the Reformation in this country, the same moderation and regard to just claims were preserved in this important point as in others : and while the genuine privileges of the different orders of the ministry were revered, their fictitious pretensions were rejected. Every just power, which could be derived in virtue of a transmitted authority, was asserted *on the ground of a legitimate and uninterrupted succession from the Apostles* ; whatever of exclusive right, whatever of permanent jurisdiction, could be justly challenged by the Priesthood, as composed of ‘Ambassadors of Christ, rightly called to their office, and ordained by the laying on of hands,’ and duly appointed ‘Stewards of the mysteries of God,’ however affected or infringed by transient declarations, was finally respected and ratified. Such power, indeed, and such jurisdiction, it was perceived,

could only be of a spiritual nature, importing a right to offer and to withhold the Sacraments; to admit and to reject from the fellowship of Christ's kingdom; to superintend its discipline and administration, and to impart to others that authority, which they had been empowered by their commission to exercise."¹ (pp. 153-5.)

¹ The following reply, on the subject of Cranmer's commission, addressed by Professor Bowden to Dr. Miller, will give the reader a succinct view of the question, and will, I think, be found very much to the purpose :—

“ You say—‘ Another circumstance, which serves to shew that Archbishop Cranmer considered the Episcopal system in which he shared, as founded rather in *prudence* and the will of the *Magistrate*, than the *Word of God*, is, that he viewed the exercise of all Episcopal jurisdiction as depending on the pleasure of the King, and that, as he gave it, so he might take it away at pleasure. Agreeably to this, when Henry VIII. died, the worthy primate regarded his own Episcopal power as expiring with him; and therefore would not act as Archbishop till he had received a new commission from King Edward.’ There is, Sir, nothing easier than to mis-state facts, and superinduce false colours upon truth. Your unlearned and prejudiced readers have, no doubt, been greatly misled by your numerous mis-statements, and your extremely plausible assertions. No doubt you mean what you say, and are perfectly free from any intention of giving a wrong view of the subject. But how to acquit you from *negligence in the investigation of facts*, I declare, Sir, I do not know; and therefore shall not attempt it. That Archbishop Cranmer took out a new commission for the exercise of his office, is true; but it was not upon the principle which you mention. *It is undeniable that it was the doctrine of the King, the Bishops, and the whole Nation, that authority to administer the Sacraments, and to perform all other spiritual offices, was derived, not from the Crown, but from Christ.* This doctrine was explicitly maintained in ‘ *The Institution of a Christian Man*,’ as you will see by consulting Collier. And that it was maintained by the King, is evident from a letter of his to the Convocation of the province of York, explaining the

The other omission referred to is at page 76, of Mr. Macaulay's History, and at page 18, of my Pamphlet. "Once more, speaking of Whitgift, Jewel, and Cooper, and other eminent Divines, in the reign of Elizabeth, Mr. Macaulay says, that 'they defended Prelacy as innocent, as useful, as what the State might lawfully establish, as what, when established by the State, was entitled to the respect of every citizen.'" Mr. Macaulay adds that which I have omitted—"But they never denied that a Christian community without a Bishop, might be a pure Church. On the contrary, they regarded the Protestants of the Continent as of the same household of faith with them-

Supremacy. That letter you will find in Dr. Chandler's '*Appeal defended*,' p. 54. Therein the King makes a clear distinction between the *temporal* and *spiritual* powers of the Bishops; the former he derives from the *State*, the latter from *Christ*. It is, therefore, evident, that what was meant to be given by the King, was nothing more than a *legal right to exercise that spiritual function which was derived from Christ*, and jurisdiction relating to matters testamentary, matrimonial, &c., which was derived from the State. Afterwards, in the reign of Edward VI., from 1548 to 1553, Bishops were commonly appointed by the King's Letters Patent. 'By those letters,' says Bishop Burnet, 'it is clear, that the Episcopal function was acknowledged to be of *Divine appointment*, and that the person was no other way named by the King, than as lay patrons present to livings; only the Bishop was *legally* authorized in such a part of the King's dominions, to execute that function which was to be derived to him by imposition of hands.' This, Sir, is the true state of the matter; and it evidently shows how very incorrect you are, when you advance Cranmer's taking out a new commission after the death of Henry, as a proof that he believed Episcopacy was a mere human institution."—BOWDEN'S *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy Asserted*, vol. ii. p. 14.

selves.² Englishmen in England were, indeed, bound to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop, as they

² I have, however, yet to learn, even after a careful perusal of "OWEN'S *Validity of the Dissenting Ministry, or the Ordaining Power of Presbyters evinced from the New Testament and Church History*,"—I have yet to learn, that *the Church of England, either at the period of the Reformation, or in the days of Elizabeth, or at any other period, recognized, directly or indirectly, the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination.* Mr. Owen, indeed, says that, "in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Ordination by Presbyters was publicly allowed," and refers to the cases of *Whittingham* and *Travers* to prove his assertion; and these instances are still complacently quoted by every writer who is hostile to Episcopacy. Supposing the cases good, they would, in fact, not touch the point in question; but as they are, they are most unfortunate examples to adduce in favor of the recognition of Presbyterian Ordination; since *Whittingham's* "orders were called in question by Archbishop Whitgift," and a "commission was issued to report thereon;" which, but for his death, would have ended in his being "deprived (to quote Whitgift's language) without special grace and dispensation:" and *Travers* was actually "inhibited by Archbishop Whitgift from preaching," the Archbishop "objecting chiefly against him his foreign ordination;" for "this was the Archbishop's great reason for his disallowance of *Travers*, and his refusal to restore him to his ministry, viz., his Ordination at *Antwerp*, and his denying to receive the orders of the Ministry according to the *English Book of Ordination*."—See STRYPE'S *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 448 and 478; *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 167, 175. As this is a question of deep interest, I will give extracts from "*Mr. Travers's reasons; that his being made minister at Antwerp should not be sufficient cause of his restraint; or, that he ought to be made minister again; with Archbishop Whitgift's marginal animadversions thereupon.*"—*Travers*: "Making of a minister is such an action, as being once lawfully done, ought not by the Word of God to be repeated. Aaron and the Priests in the old law were but once to be called and consecrated. Proved thus, Heb. v. 4, 'No man taketh this honor to himself, but he that was called to it of God, as was Aaron;' and Levit. viii. 33, 'Ye shall not depart from the door of the tabernacle of the congregation

were bound to acknowledge the authority of the Sheriff and of the Coroner; but the obligation was

seven days, until the day of the consecration be at an end. For seven days shal he consecrate you.'"

Whitgift's Animad.—"I think this to be true. But Mr. Travers his schoolmasters think and practice otherwise; as *Danæus Isagog.* lib. ii. c. 18."

Travers.—"Pastors and teachers of the Church, in the New Testament, have in like manner, by the same word, their calling to their ministry but once given to them; which sufficeth, and is not to be reiterated; as may appear by the speech of the Holy Scripture, in al the rules and examples that concern the vocation. Of which sort are these;—'Appoint elders in every city,' Tit. i. 5; 'Look to yourselves, and al the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers,' Acts xx. 28; 'Lay hands hastily on no man; neither communicate with other men's faults,' 1 Tim. v. 22; 'Stir up the grace which is in thee, by the laying of my hands,' 1 Tim. iv. 14; 'Neglect not the grace which is in thee; which is given thee to prophesy, by laying on of the hands of the eldership,' 2 Tim. i. 6; 'They ordained them elders in every Church,' Acts xiv. 23."

Whitgift's Animad.—"These Scriptures prove not his purpose."

Travers.—"The reiterating in one dominion of any such action, as being once sufficiently don, ought not for ever to be repeated, (because it is don in the kingdom of another civil prince,) for it taketh from Christ his authority, given him of God in al places; as it is said, 'I will give thee the ends of the world for thine inheritance,' Psalm ii., 'and al nations to be possessed by thee.'"

Whitgift's Animad.—"And yet the French Churches practise otherwise; neither wil they admit any of our Ministers, ordained according to the laws of this Church, to exercise his function among them, without a new kind of calling according to their platform."

Travers.—"The universal and perpetual practice of al Christendom, in al places and in al ages, proveth the Ministers lawfully made in any Church of sound profession in faith, ought to be acknowledged such in any other."

Whitgift's Animad.—"Excepting always such Churches as allow of PRESBYTERY, and practise it."

purely local." It has been suggested, that the addition of four lines to the extract which I gave in

Travers.—"In the primitive Church we read, when Polycarpus came out of the East country, whereof he was, being minister of the Church of Smyrna, to Rome, in the West; that with the good consent, and at the request of Victor, their pastor there, he dealt in the ministry, and administered the Lord's Supper."

Whitgift's Animad.—"This is true; but Mr. Travers his case is far differing from it. For Polycarpus went not to Rome to be made minister; but being ordained minister, according to the order of the Church wherein he lived, was suffered to execute his function at Rome. But Mr. Travers, misliking the order of his country, ran to be ordered elsewhere, by such as had no authority to ordain him, to the contempt of the ministry of this Church, and the manifest maintenance of Schism. And as well may Mr. Cartwright and his adherents now make ministers at Warwick, to serve in this Church of England, as he and Villiers might have done at Antwerp."

Travers.—"In this Church of England, many *Scottish* men and other, made ministers abroad, have been so acknowledged, (viz., to execute the office of the Priesthood,) and executed their ministry accordingly; and yet do still amongst us."

Whitgift's Animad.—"I KNOW NONE SUCH: and yet their case is far differing from his."

Travers.—"Afore Mr. Whittingham's case, there was never any question moved in this Church to the contrary. The question being moved about him, yet was neither the Word of God, nor the law of the land found to be against him. But notwithstanding that exception, he continued in his place and ministry after to his death."

Whitgift's Animad.—"THIS IS UNTRUE. For if Mr. Whittingham had lived, he had been deprived without special grace and dispensation. Although his case and Mr. Travers's are nothing like. For he in time of persecution was ordained minister by those who had authority in the Church persecuted. But Mr. Travers, in the time of peace, refusing to be made minister at home, gaddeth into other countries to be ordained by such as had no authority, condemning thereby the kind of ordering ministers at home."

Travers.—"Popish priests, notwithstanding they were made after

the pamphlet, would have tended to elucidate Mr. Macaulay's meaning. I must again confess that I

another order, and that against the Word of God, yet to the 13th of the Queen's reign, they were suffered to deal, by virtue of their calling, with duties of the ministry, without any question moved of it.—Anno 13th Eliz. When question was made of their calling, the Parliament appointed not that they should be ordered again, according to the form established in the first year of her Majesty's reign; but only that they should subscribe to the articles concerning *Christian doctrine and faith*, agreed on in the Convocation, anno 1562; and so doing, enabled them to al duties and benefits of the ministry."

Whitgift's Animad.—"When the like act is made for his ministry, then may he alledge it. But THE LAWS OF THIS REALM REQUIRE THAT SUCH AS ARE TO BE ALLOWED AS MINISTERS IN THIS CHURCH OF ENGLAND, SHOULD BE ORDERED BY A BISHOP, and subscribe to the Articles before him."

Travers.—"In the said book of Articles, the doctrin whereof is authorised by the said Parliament, it is thus set down in the 23rd Article: 'It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same.' 'And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation to cal and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.'"

Whitgift's Animad.—"This doth not justify his calling."

Travers.—"Last of al: The late Archbishop of Canterbury, being made privy and acquainted with this my calling in the ministry abroad, was contented I should preach in England. The Bishop of London was likewise contented I should preach at the Temple, which I have don now almost six years. And the present Archbishop of Canterbury hath taken no exception against me, since his coming to this province, to forbid me preaching in it until this time. Upon consideration of these reasons, I humbly pray to be suffered to procede, as I have don, in my place and ministry again."

Whitgift's Animad.—"This is to abuse our patience. He never

am quite unable to see the force of the objection. I was not contending as to the opinions of the Elizabethan Divines, respecting the "Reformed Churches³ beyond the Seas" which had not retained Episcopacy; but I was objecting, as strongly as I could, to Mr. Macaulay's extraordinary assertion, that "Whitgift, Jewel, and Cooper,⁴ and other eminent Divines in the reign of Elizabeth, defended Prelacy as innocent, as useful," &c.; when, in fact, they defended it, as I have shewn, on the grounds of its being of *Apostolical and Divine Institution*;⁵ in perfect consonance

allowed of your kind of calling; neither CAN HE ALLOW OF IT."
—STRYPE'S *Life of Whitgift*, vol. iii. pp. 182-6, ed. 1822. See also FOULIS'S *Cabala, or the Mystery of Conventicles Unveiled*, p. 34.

³ The reader will see this question fully elucidated in DUREL'S "*View of the Government and Publick Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas.*" See also MILBOURN'S *Legacy to the Church of England, Vindicating her Orders from the Objections of Papists and Dissenters*, vol. i. pp. 284, 292.

⁴ See *Notes* in Pamphlet, pp. 18 and 67.

⁵ "It is evidently uncandid and unfair, to urge that, because Hooker and other Divines maintain what is, in fact, a *Church principle*, that in an *extensive* sense there is no precise form of Church government, in all its parts, prescribed in the Word of God, they therefore give up *Episcopacy* as a *divine institution*. They expressly maintain, in the strongest language, all that is essential to Episcopacy, that Bishops are superior to Presbyters and Deacons by '*divine and apostolical institution.*' It is equally uncandid and unfair to urge, from particular expressions of some of the Reformers, at an early period of the Reformation, that the Church of England was not constituted upon the principle that *Episcopacy was instituted by Christ and his Apostles*. Such were the arbitrary pretensions of Henry VIII., and such, unhappily, for *some time*, the submission of some of the English Reformers to those pretensions, that they were led to submit to Erastian princi-

with the principles on which the *Ordinal* was drawn up, (as clearly expressed in the *Preface*, which was

ples, which, viewing the Church merely as a creature of the State, tended to subvert entirely her spiritual authority. Happily, however, *the Church of England was not founded on these principles*, and those of the Reformers who once avowed, finally disclaimed them. We want no stronger evidence of this, than the fact, that the Church of England, at the Reformation, preserved the *Episcopal succession*. She formed all her public offices on the principles that there are the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; that these 'Orders' were 'constituted' by Almighty God, by 'His Divine Providence,' and by His 'Holy Spirit;' and that the Bishops alone have the power of Ordination. When, therefore, the opponents of Episcopacy urge that the *Reformers* of the Church of England, and many of her most eminent Divines, did not maintain that Episcopacy was the Institution of Christ and his Apostles, Episcopalians have only to reply—*The sense of the Church of England, as to Episcopacy, is to be learnt from her public offices, and from her practice, and not from the sentiments of individuals.*

"Will you allow that the Church of Scotland is Anti-Calvinistic in her doctrines, because many of her most eminent Divines are confessedly so? The Church of England receives no one as a minister, who has not been Episcopally ordained. Some of the Reformers entertained, at a certain period, lax notions on the subject of Episcopacy. But they were, at the same time, equally erroneous in many of their opinions concerning some of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. If *Cranmer's* sentiments were at one time favourable to the *equality* of Bishops and Priests, so were they also to transubstantiation. But he renounced his errors on both these points. You will not dispute Bishop Burnet's authority, who asserts,—'In *Cranmer's* Paper some singular opinions of his about the nature of Ecclesiastical offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible modesty, so *they were not established as the doctrine of the Church*, but *laid aside*, as particular conceits of his own: and it seems that afterwards he changed his own opinion; for he subscribed the book which was soon after set out, which was directly contrary to those opinions.'

written by Cranmer,) and on which the nineteenth, twenty-third, and thirty-sixth Articles were framed:

He published also a Catechism, in which, according to Bishop Burnet, 'he fully owns the Divine institution of Bishops and Priests.'

"It is useless then (the Episcopalian may continue to address his opponents) to dispute, whether some of the Divines of the English Church did not acknowledge that there is no precise form of government, in all its parts, of Divine right. This is not bringing the matter to a point; 'it is not taking the question by the proper handle.'

"The only essential question is—'Were Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with their distinctive and subordinate powers, *instituted by Christ and his Apostles?*' And on this question will you acknowledge, with the Church of England, and the Episcopal Church in this country, that 'it is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that, from the Apostles' times there have been these Orders of Ministers, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons?' Will you maintain, with these Churches, that 'Almighty God, by His Divine Providence and Holy Spirit, appointed *divers Orders* of Ministers in His Church;' and that these orders are 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons?' Will you adopt the *practice* of those Churches, and acknowledge none as 'lawful ministers among you, who have not had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination?' Will you maintain, with Cranmer, who adopted those ordination services, the 'Divine institution of Bishops and Priests?' Will you assert, with Whitgift, 'that the Episcopal degree is an Institution Apostolical and Divine?' Will you allow, with Hooker, that 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, had their beginning from Christ and his blessed Apostles?' And 'that besides these *last times*, which for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order are the worst, there are *none*, wherein ye can truly affirm, that the *complete form* of your discipline, or the substance thereof, was practised?' Will you adopt the reasoning of Chillingworth, in his celebrated tract, in which he demonstrates 'the Apostolical institution of Episcopacy?'

* * * * *

whereas Mr. Macaulay says, in the passage immediately preceding that which refers to the Elizabethan Divines, that “the founders of the Anglican Church had retained Episcopacy as an ancient, a decent, and a convenient Ecclesiastical polity; *but had not declared that form of Church government to be of Divine Institution.* We have already seen how low an estimate Cranmer had formed of the office of a Bishop;”⁶—re-

“If the non-Episcopalian will make these concessions, and will hold this language, he fairly gives up his cause. He maintains all that the Episcopalian could wish. And we shall be glad to hear on what grounds he will justify his rejection of the ‘originally constituted order,’ and of degrees of the ministry, who had ‘their beginning from Christ and His blessed Apostles.’”—HOBART’S *Apology for Apostolic Order*, pp. 134-40.

⁶ These are consecutive sentences: but surely the name of Cranmer, and the reference to his opinions, either expressed in the ‘Resolutions’ of 1540, or implied (as supposed) in the language of his ‘Commission,’ could not have been introduced as elucidating the principles upon which “the founders of the Anglican Church retained Episcopacy.” “There is but one consideration (to quote the language of Dr. Bowden) necessary to be mentioned; that is, that *the whole Ordinal of the Church proceeds upon the ground of a Divine Institution.* And (adds Dr. Bowden) that any man who can consult the *Common Prayer Book* of the Church of England, should ever venture to assert that her Reformers did not place the superiority of Bishops on the ground of *Divine Right*, is to me most extraordinary. Even Mosheim declares that the Church of England ‘constantly insisted on the *Divine Origin* of its government and discipline.’”—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 231.

One word, however, respecting the ‘Resolutions’ of 1540, and ‘the founders of the Anglican Church.’ I must refer my readers to pp. 35—43 of this Pamphlet, for a more full exposition of the opinions of so many of the ‘Bishops and Divines’ as were framers of the Ordinal, touching the point in question, as detailed in the ‘Resolutions.’ The following clear and succinct statement from

ferring, as I supposed, to the "Resolutions" of 1540, and, as I now may add, to the "Commission" which the Archbishop took out under Edward VI. The opinions

the pen of the Rev. Prebendary Scott will, however, leave little to be added or explained. "The fact is, that Henry VIII. drew up, with Cranmer's assistance, (the rough draft is extant in Cranmer's writing,) a set of Seventeen Questions on debated theological points, with a view to the compilation of his '*Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man.*' These were privately submitted to a Committee of twenty-one Divines, among whom were the two Archbishops, and six Bishops; 'generally learned and moderate men, and such as, we may conjecture, the Archbishop had the nomination of to the King,' says Strype: and the answers of *fourteen* out of the whole number, with a summary of the others, are contained in the document alluded to. The questions which concern us are four, Nos. 9—12; and are as follow; (*Appendix to Collier*, No. 49, p. 40, fol.):—

9. 'Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?'

All, except Cranmer, answer that it was by the authority of God: some adding, that if there had then been Christian Princes, their license would have been asked.

10. 'Whether Bishops or Priests were first; and if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop?'

Cranmer answers in the words which you have quoted; but he finds only four persons who agree with him.

11. 'Whether a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest by the Scripture or no? And whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?'

Cranmer says that not only Bishops, but also Princes make Priests: which is denied by all the rest; two, however, excepting cases of great necessity; and two mentioning, as a solitary exception, *the consecration of Aaron by Moses*, ["*by singular privilege of God,*" says Dr. Redmayne; "*by a special commission, or revelation, from God, without which he never would have so done,*" says Dr. Edgeworth.]

12. 'Whether in the New Testament be required any consecra-

expressed in the former, Cranmer has himself amply refuted in his several treatises, as I have already proved; the latter, I submit, after what I have urged,

tion of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?’

Cranmer says that the appointment is sufficient; but no one is found to agree with him. One other only says ‘appointment with *imposition of hands*.’

‘Now, Sir, you have indeed shewn that *at this time*, (the autumn of 1540,) Cranmer, like yourself, held views concerning Episcopacy at variance with Scripture and antiquity. But if there had been any thing *authoritative* in the proceedings, the opinion of Cranmer, which you quote, must have been formally condemned. *Virtually condemned it was*, when the ‘*Necessary Doctrine and Erudition*’ was published ‘*by authority*,’ in 1543; for there it is laid down that ‘*Order is a gift or grace of ministration in CHRIST’S Church, given of GOD to Christian men by consecration and imposition of the Bishop’s hands upon them.*’”—(*A Letter, &c., on Apostolical Episcopacy, by the Rev. Prebendary Scott.*) And I would add, as more immediately bearing upon the point at issue, that Cranmer did not hold these ‘singular opinions’ in 1536-8, as may be learnt by referring to the ‘*Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*,’ which ‘Cranmer, together with thirty-eight Bishops, Divines, and Canonists, at that period subscribed; and also by referring to ‘*The Institution of a Christian Man*,’ called ‘*The Bishop’s Book*,’ to which he assented in 1537, and of which, in fact, he was the principal compiler. And as he had but lately adopted, so he very quickly saw reason to forsake his ‘peculiar conceits’ (on Episcopacy); for in ‘*The Erudition of a Christian Man*,’ published in 1543, and “which was chiefly,” Strype tells us, “of the Archbishop’s composing,” it is laid down, that “*Order is a gift*,” &c., as quoted above by Mr. Scott. We must also bear in mind that Cranmer had, probably before the publication of the *Erudition*, in 1543, *cancelled his replies* to the ‘Questions concerning the Sacraments,’ and subscribed to the opinions of Dr. Leighton.—(See *Sup.* pp. 43—66, where these points are distinctly proved. See also JENKYN’S *Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, Preface, p. 33; DURELLI *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ*

does not prove, but rather *disproves*, Mr. Macaulay's position. My view of the question will be best expressed, by giving the reader the benefit of Dr. Bowden's statement, in his *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy Asserted*. "The question between us is not, whether the Reformers of the Church of England believed that Presbyterian ordination is valid, where no other can be had; but whether Episcopacy is of *Apostolic* and *Divine* Institution? That they (the Reformers) believed it is, has been proved beyond all reasonable contradiction; (by a consideration of the Articles, Ordinal, &c.) It was not the business of the Reformers to say in the above Article (the 23rd), that the Divine Institution of Episcopacy necessarily precludes from the character of Churches, those which have not the order of Bishops. They said enough, when they declared that 'it is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons;'⁷ and when they said, that 'no

Anglicanæ Vindiciæ, ch. xxviii. p. 328; and Dr. HICKES's *Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, pp. 38—41.)

⁷ "You have these words in the Books of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, which is confirmed by Parliament: '*It is evident to all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that, from the Apostles' time, there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*' And again, the prayer in the form of consecrating Bishops: '*Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church; mercifully behold this thy servant now called to the work and ministry of*

man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.' It is clear, beyond all controversy, from the above declarations, that the Reformers maintained the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy; and therefore, when they say, in the twenty-third Article, that 'it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same;' the words 'before he be lawfully called and sent,' must necessarily be interpreted by the

a Bishop.' And in the question to the person to be consecrated Bishop, '*Are you persuaded that you be truly called to this ministration, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ,*' &c. I beseech you, Sir, consider whether these words, or the prayer, could fall from any man not possessed with this tenent, that *Episcopacy is of Divine right*? For if the three Orders may be found by reading Scripture, together with ancient authors,—if men are taught to pray, that God '*by His Spirit hath appointed divers Orders in His Church,*' and this be made the ground of praying for the present Bishop,—if the person to be consecrated must profess, that he is '*called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ*;' either all this must be nothing but pure pageantry, and then the Parliament mocked God by their confirmation of the office; or else *Episcopacy is grounded on Scripture, is appointed by the Spirit of God, is according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ*; and all this hath not 'been said of late only,' and 'countenanced solely by some few of the more lordly clergy.'" — *A Discourse of Episcopacy and Sacrilege, written in 1640, by Richard Steward, D.D., Clerk of the Closet to King Charles the First*, p. 4.

words in the Preface to the Ordinal; viz., ‘No man shall be accounted or taken for a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, except he be called according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.’⁸ Here it is evident that

⁸ The words in the *Preface* to the *Ordinal*, in 1552, were these : —“ And therefore to the intent these orders should be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England; it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following.” Dr. Bowden’s words were adopted at the Savoy Conference. I would only add that in “the form hereafter following,” in 1552, occur, as at present, these words,—“*Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers orders of Ministers in thy Church*, mercifully behold this thy servant, now called to the office of”—Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, as the case may be. Let any man compare these words with the following passages in the Preface, and he will be at no loss to learn the opinions of our Reformers on the *Apostolical and Divine Institution of Episcopacy* : “It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there hath been these orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man by his own private authority might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities, as were requisite for the same. And also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereto.” Then follows the passage which I have given above. “We see, therefore, that our Church rejects the ministry of all who have not been thus (Episcopally) ordained, even though they come from foreign countries—thus seeming to imply the absolute necessity of Episcopal Ordination, to confer the ministerial character; for, by the most universally admitted rule of Christian communion, all who are constituted Christ’s ministers in any one portion of his Church, carry with them their character and commission in every other into which they may migrate.”—The BISHOP of EXETER’S *Ordination Sermon*, 1843, page 27.

the Reformers consider none as lawful Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, without Episcopal ordination; at the same time, they say nothing about Presbyterian⁹

⁹ Mr. Macaulay, referring to a later period, tells us (p. 76), that "It was even held that Presbyterian ministers were entitled to place and voice in œcumenical councils. When the States General of the United Provinces convoked at Dort a synod of doctors not episcopally ordained, an English Bishop and an English Dean, commissioned by the head of the English Church, sate with those doctors, preached to them, and voted with them on the gravest questions of theology." And in a note it is added, "Joseph Hall, then Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was one of the Commissioners. In his life of himself, he says: 'My unworthiness was named for one of the assistants of that honorable, grave, and reverend meeting.' To high churchmen this humility will seem not a little out of place." One word, therefore, in parting, respecting the *Synod of Dort*. I am not about to enter upon a defence of either the 'English Bishop' or the 'English Dean,' so far as regards their *presence* at the Synod of Dort; though the object of their mission can scarcely be doubted; but it may be interesting to learn, that "the thirty-first article in the Belgic Confession, which maintained *ministerial parity*, was *opposed by the British Divines*, who had been sent to that Synod, (viz., George Carleton, D.D., then Bishop of Llandaff, Joseph Hall, D.D., then Dean of Worcester, John Davenant, D.D., Margaret-professor, and Master of Queen's College, in Cambridge, and Samuel Ward, D.D., Master of Sidney College, in Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Taunton). Bishop Carleton, in his own name and that of his colleagues, publicly protested against it, as we learn from his declaration published on his return." His words are these: "When we were to yield our consent to the Belgic Confession at Dort, I made open protestation in the Synod, that whereas in the Confession there was inserted a *strange conceit* of the *parity of ministers* to be instituted by Christ, I declared our dissent utterly in that point. I showed, that by Christ *a parity was never in the Church*; that he ordained twelve Apostles, as also seventy Disciples; that the authority of the twelve was above the other; *that the Church preserved this order left by our Saviour. And therefore*

ordination, leaving it to shift for itself, upon the plea of necessity, or any other plea its advocates may

*when the extraordinary power of the Apostles ceased, yet this ordinary authority continued in bishops who succeeded them, who were by the Apostles left in the government of the Church, to ordain ministers, and to see that they who were so ordained should preach no other doctrine; that in an inferior degree the ministers who were governed by bishops succeeded the seventy disciples; that this order hath been maintained in the Church from the times of the Apostles. And herein I appealed to the judgment of antiquity, and to the judgment of any learned man now living; and craved herein to be satisfied, if any man of learning could speak to the contrary. My lord of Salisbury (Bishop Devenant) is my witness, and so are all the rest of our company, who spake also in the cause.”—See Collier, book viii.—Again, in the language of Bishop Hobart, “Let us pass on to the testimony of the Reformed Church of Holland in favour of *Episcopacy*, made by the famous *Synod of Dort*. At this Synod several of the Bishops of England attended by invitation. In a Tract which these Bishops published, they declare, ‘In our private converse with the most eminent of the ministry, we found many more ready to *deplore* than to *defend* their own estate, and wished, rather than hoped, to be made like the flourishing Church of England.’ And when the *British Delegates* ‘asserted publicly and openly in the Synod THE DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, and appealed therein to the judgment of antiquity,’ the Members of the Synod replied, ‘that they had a great respect and value for the good Order and Discipline of the Church of England, and wished with all their hearts that the *same Order* were observed and settled there; that they durst not, however, hope for such a happiness in the present state of affairs; but hoped that, though their *ability bore no proportion to their will*, God would assist them by his grace and favour, and that they would do all in their power towards it.’ A famous Divine of the same Church, *Le Moyne*, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, in Holland, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of London (Compton) in 1680, not only *defends Episcopacy*, but expressly asserts that it had *always subsisted* throughout the universal Church; ‘for the EPISCOPAL Government, what is there in it that is dangerous, &c. &c. For the space of fifteen hundred years,*

advance in its favour. This, considering the danger to which the whole Reformation was exposed, was a

all the other churches of the world had no other kind of government.' And he adds, 'And from whence does it then come, that some Englishmen themselves have so ill an opinion of the Church of England at present, and divide rashly from her, as they do? *Is not this to divide from all the ancient Churches, and from all the Churches of the East?*'"—(See Letter, in the *Appendix* to STILLINGFLEET'S *Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 403); HOBART'S *Apology for Apostolic Order*, &c. p. 95.—Again: "At the Synod of *Dort*, held in 1619, the Bishop of Llandaff, one of the English Divines who attended it, openly controverted a proposition inserted in the Calvinist *Confession of Faith* of the Low Countries, that *Christ established an equality among Ministers of the Gospel*. He said that Christ chose twelve *Apostles* and seventy *Disciples*; that the *Apostles* had authority and inspection over all the other *Ministers* of the Gospel; and that *the Church* had preserved the same *subordination*, constantly and without interruption; for which he appealed to all *antiquity*, and to all *the learned* at present, and challenged the Synod to prove the contrary. And it was very remarkable that *not one member of the Synod undertook to answer him.*"—Dr. HALE'S *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. iii. p. 398. Again, to quote Dr. Wells, "The good opinion which the Church of Holland hath of *our Episcopacy* may be learnt from a Tract entitled, '*A Joint Attestation, avowing that the Discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synod of Dort.*' For the Bishops and other ministers of our Church sent over to that Synod, give us in the fore-mentioned *Attestation* these particulars following; viz., 'In our private converse with the most eminent of the ministry, we found many, upon our declaring unto them the Order and Government of our Church, more ready to *deplore* than *defend* their own estate, and wished, rather than hoped, to be made like the flourishing Church of England.' We are farther assured by the same Right Reverend and Reverend persons, that when the *Belgic* Confession was propounded to the consideration of that Synod, there being some Articles therein which did not agree with the discipline of our Church, 'twas therefore 'provided, that before the examining or reading the said Confession, a *Protestation* should

mark of prudence; but I think no impartial and candid man can consider it as affording the smallest

be made by the President of the Synod, that nothing but the *Doctrinal* points was subjected to their consideration and suffrages; and that accordingly (in respect to the discipline of the *British Church*) such articles of the *Belgic* Confession, as did not comport therewith, were *suppressed* in the reading of that Confession to the Synod.* Nay, we are farther assured, that whereas “the *British Delegates* did think fit (notwithstanding so great a condescension of the other party) *openly and publicly in the Synod, to assert THE DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, and to appeal therein to the judgment of antiquity*, or of any learned man then living, if any could speak to the contrary, &c., yet to these allegations of our Delegates *none of the other party replied*, but rather approved of such their necessary and just performing their bounden duty to the Church of England.”—Dr. WELLS’S *Testimonies, Domestick and Foreign, concerning Episcopacy*, p. 14.—Lastly, hear Bishop Hall: “There is witness enough in the late *Synod of Dort*. When the Bishop of Llandaff had, in a speech of his, touched upon Episcopal Government, and shewed that the want thereof gave opportunities to those divisions, which were then on foot in the Netherlands, Bogermannus, the President of that Assembly, stood up, and in a good allowance of what had been spoken, said, *Domine, nos non*

* The above is an interesting fact, as tending to throw some light upon the object which the King had in view, in sending the British Divines to the Synod of Dort. We learn that all discussion on the subject of *Episcopacy and Church Government* was, through the intervention of the English representatives, *suppressed*; and we learn that “to the foreign assembly at Dort the *Scottish* malignants applied for redress, under the grievances they pretended to complain of, about *Episcopacy*, and the Five Articles of Perth; but their application was to no purpose. That Convention meddled with nothing but those abstruse points of speculative divinity which were before them; they entered into no extraneous discussion of any kind.”—(SKINNER’S *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 272.) Now, we well know how anxious James was to retain Episcopacy in Scotland, and how hostile he was to these “*Scottish Malignants*,” and it requires no great ingenuity to connect the ardent wish of the King, with the mission of our Divines, and the appeal for redress on the part of the Scotch Presbyterians, with the suppression of discussion on the subject of such appeal, through the instrumentality of the English Delegates.

proof that the Reformers did not consider Episcopacy as of *Divine Institution*, and Presbyterian ordination as irregular, and totally destitute of Apostolic sanction.”¹—(vol. ii. pp. 31-3.)

sumus adeò felices: ‘Alas! my Lord, we are not so happy.’ Neither did he speak this in a fashionable compliment; neither the person, nor the place, nor the hearers, were fit for that; but in a sad gravity, and conscionable profession of a known truth. Neither would he, being the mouth of that select assembly, have thought it safe to pass those words before the Deputies of the States, and so many venerable Divines of foreign parts, (besides their own,) if he had not supposed this so clear a truth, as that Synod would neither disrelish nor contradict. What, do I single out a few? All the world of men, judicious and not prejudiced with their own interests, both do and must say thus; and confess, with learned Casaubon, Fregeville, and Saravia, that *no Church in the world comes so near to the APOSTOLIC form, as the Church of England.*”—*Episcopacy by Divine Right*, Works, vol. x. p. 151.—The reader will find the above interesting and important statements, respecting the Synod of Dort, amply corroborated, by referring to BRANDT’S *History of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*. (See vol. iii. book xl. p. 288.) I would also refer him to the *Acta Synodi*, in the *Golden Remains of John Hales, of Eton*, from which I extract the following:—“*Sessio 145. 30 Aprilis. Britanni. monent de tribus capitibus, quæ Ordinem Ecclesiasticum spectant, se nullam ferre sententiam, sed interim putare se regimen Ecclesiarum suarum esse INSTITUTIONIS APOSTOLICÆ. Episcopus autem Landavensis, oratione brevissimâ, contra illa tria prædicta capita perorabat; contendebatque in Ecclesiâ, neque Apostolorum temporibus, neque postea unquam fuisse ministrorum æqualitatem.*” (p. 544.)

¹ The reader may consult with advantage, ‘THOMAS’S *Answer to Owen’s Plea for Scripture Ordination*,’ ‘recommended in a *Preface* by Dr. George Hickes,’ especially chap. x. pp. 90—104. ‘HOBART’S *Apology for Apostolic Order*,’ will also well repay a careful perusal. In the second edition of my ‘*Ordination Sermons*,’ pp. 125—167, I have given abundant authorities in favour of “*the Divine Institution of Episcopacy being maintained by the Reformers of the Anglican Church.*”



ADDENDUM.

As Bishop Carleton has been brought so prominently before my readers, under the designation of "an English Bishop" who was present at the Synod of Dort, his judgment upon questions of grave importance, bearing on the subject-matter of the previous pages, will doubtless be acceptable. It will be seen that the following extracts from the Bishop's work, "*On Jurisdiction, Regal, Episcopal, and Papal*," are replete with valuable remarks, not only on the point of *Episcopacy*, but also on the question of *Regal and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*: and a careful perusal of Carleton's positions may tend to elucidate the character of *Cranmer's Commission*, and to solve some difficulties which are supposed to be connected therewith.

"Of the Jurisdiction of Princes, in Causes and over Persons Ecclesiastical.

"CHAP. I.—*The state of the Question.*

"Concerning the King's right, we hold that, *in external coactive Jurisdiction*, the King hath supreme authority in all cases, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil.....Concerning the ministerial head, we say with the ancient Fathers, that the Catholick Church is but one, and hath one head, Christ Jesus: because to one body there can be but one head, from whom grace is infused to the whole body. This Catholick Church is, as that head is, both perfectly known to God, not to man: this, then, is but one in all times and places. But the visible Churches or particular, are many, at many times, in many places; and therefore must have heads or governors, answerable to themselves: for many Churches, many governors. These are either spiritual governors or temporal. The spiritual government of the Church is committed to spiritual governors; as, first from Christ to his twelve Apostles, of whom

none was above the rest in this spiritual government or kingdom of Christ, as the Lord doth often expressly declare to them: from them to Bishops and Pastors, their successors. Temporal governors are such as have the custody of *external coactive jurisdiction*, both in temporal and ecclesiastical causes; for the power of the Church, with all her spiritual jurisdiction, never reached to coercion. This was by God first given to magistrates, and never revoked, in all times practised, but when the Church and Kings were oppressed by the great power of Antichrist. When we call the King the supreme governor of the Church, our meaning is, that he is appointed by God to be a Father and preserver of religion, a keeper of ecclesiastical discipline, and, as the Prophet Isaiah calleth him, a nursing Father of the Church; he is the Sovereign in all affairs of *coactive jurisdiction*. Let the distinction be remembered, which is usually received of Ecclesiastical power; for all power Ecclesiastical is commonly divided into *power of order* and of *jurisdiction*. The power of *order*, by all writers that I could see, even of the Church of Rome, is understood to be immediately from Christ, given to all Bishops and Priests alike, by their Consecration. As they confess that in this power the Pope hath no pre-eminence, but that it is given from Christ to all Bishops and Pastors equally, so we confess that in this power the Prince hath no part, and that Bishops and Pastors have this power only from the Divine Ordinance, and not from earthly Princes. Then of this we are agreed, that the question between us and them is only of jurisdiction in the third* sense, and therein especially of *jurisdiction coactive in external courts*; binding and compelling by force of law, and other external mulcts and punishments, beside excommunication. As for spiritual jurisdiction of the Church, standing in examinations of controversies of faith, judging of heresies, deposing of hereticks, excommunication of notorious and stubborn offenders, Ordination of Priests and Deacons, institution and collation of benefices and spiritual cures, &c., this we reserve entire to the Church, which Princes cannot give or take from the Church. This power hath been practised by the Church, without coactive jurisdiction, other than of excommunication. But when the matters handled in the Ecclesiastical Consistory, are not matters of Faith and Religion, but

* The other two senses, of which the Bishop had spoken, being the '*power of Order*,' and '*internal Jurisdiction*.'

of a civil nature, which yet are called Ecclesiastical, as being given by Princes, and appointed to be within the cognizance of that Consistory; and when the censures are not spiritual, but carnal, compulsive, coactive,—here appeareth the power of the civil magistrate. This power we yield to the magistrate.....Then this is the thing which we are to prove, that *Ecclesiastical coactive power*, by force of law and corporal punishments, by which Christian people are to be governed in external and contentious courts, is a power which of right belongeth to Christian Princes. Concerning the power of Orders, and institutions, of excommunication and deposition, and of internal jurisdiction in the Court of Conscience, and in administration of Sacraments, and absolution by power of the Keys,—this we give not to Princes: but Princes, as they are preservers of Religion, and nursing Fathers of the Church, are to see that Bishops and all inferior ministers perform their faithful duties in their several places, and if they be found faulty, to punish them; because that belongeth to external jurisdiction coactive. Thus much may suffice for the state of the question.

“CHAP. II.—*Kings, in the time of the Law of Nature, had all power Ecclesiastical, both of Order and Jurisdiction.*

“CHAP. III.—*All external Jurisdiction coactive, was a right belonging to Kings under the Law.*

“CHAP. IV.—*External coactive Jurisdiction was not left by Christ to his Church, nor practised by the Church all that while that the Church was without Christian Magistrates: wherein is declared the Jurisdiction of the Church, and of Bishops, that the power of excommunication proceeded not to coercion.*

“The things which belonged to Apostolical Jurisdiction, either concerned the government of the ministry, or of the whole Church. Touching the government of the ministry, these things belonged to the Apostles so long as they lived, and afterwards to Bishops, their successors. First, a power to ordain ministers. Thus did Paul and Barnabas when they called Churches through Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia. ‘They ordained Elders in every Church’: Elders, that is, Pastors, Preachers, to preserve the doctrine continually, which the Apostles had once planted. And this charge to ordain Elders or Priests, did the Apostles leave also to them that succeeded in the government of the Church. This Commission St. Paul gave to Titus. ‘For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst continue to redress the things that remain, and ordain Elders in

every city, as I appointed thee': which ordaining signifieth also institution in the place or cure they ministered in.

"The Apostles had also in themselves, and left to their successors, power and jurisdiction to command those Pastors which thus they had ordained, to preach the truth without mixture of false doctrines. This power, as St. Paul had in himself, so he left the same to Timothy, and consequently to others. 'As I besought thee to abide still in Ephesus, when I departed to Macedonia, so do; that thou mayest command some that they teach no other doctrine.' These were the principal parts of jurisdiction which the Apostles left to their successors, to continue in the Church for ever. For the end and use of this Government is perpetual, as to ordain Preachers, and to see that they, so ordained, should teach the truth without heresy. It followeth certainly, that such Governors as the Apostles themselves ordained in the Church for these perpetual uses, are to remain perpetual Governors in the Church. Thus was the government of Bishops placed by the Apostles, to stand and continue till the end of the world, because the Apostles placed these for the Ordination of ministers, and the preservation of true doctrines. For they who answer, that these offices and places, wherein the Apostles placed Timothy and Titus, were either extraordinary, or to endure for a short time, do not consider the end and use of such places; which end and use is neither extraordinary nor temporary, but ordinary and perpetual. For ministers must be ordained, and commanded to preserve the truth without heresy, so long as the Church standeth. Then the necessity and use of the ends, will prove the like necessity and use of these Governors, which by the Apostles were placed for these ends.

* * * * *

"Further, concerning the extension of this jurisdiction, it cannot be denied, but that there is a power in the Church, not only internal, but also of external jurisdiction: of internal power there is no question made. External jurisdiction, being understood all that is practised in external courts or consistories, is either difinitive or mulctative. Authority difinitive in matters of faith and religion, belongeth to the Church. Mulctative power may be understood, either as it is referred to spiritual censures, or as it is with coercion: as it standeth in spiritual censures, it is the right of the Church, and was practised by the Church, when the Church was without a Christian magistrate, and since. But *coactive jurisdiction* was

never practised by the *Church*, when the Church was without Christian magistrates ; but was always understood to belong to the *civil magistrate*, whether he were Christian or Heathen. We deny not but that the Apostles did sometimes take vengeance upon the disobedient, but that was not by the material sword, (in the power whereof we place coercion,) but by the spiritual sword, which always shewed itself in their ministry, sometimes in an extraordinary manner, as in the striking of Ananias and Sapphira with present death, in the striking of Elymas the sorcerer with blindness, and such like. These were signs of extraordinary power ; but we seek here the ordinary jurisdiction of the Apostles, which they left to their successors.

“ Upon these grounds, joined with the assured knowledge of the history of those times, the ancient Fathers deliver it as a truth never questioned, nor doubted, *that in the government of the Church, the Bishops are the undoubted Successors of the Apostles.* Irenæus, speaking of hereticks, saith : ‘ *Omnes hi posteriores sunt Episcopis, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesias.* If Bishops were before any hereticks, they were questionless in the Apostles’ time, and by the Apostles instituted, because some hereticks were even in the Apostles’ time. Irenæus saith also : ‘ *Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis.*’ And a little after : ‘ *Quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant.*’ And again in the same place : ‘ *Quos et successores reliquerunt, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes.*’ Cyprian saith : ‘ *Potestas peccatorum remittendorum Apostolis data est, et Ecclesiis, quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et Episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt.*’ The same he hath also *Epist.* 69. Hierome saith : ‘ *Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt.*’ It were hard to kick against all these pricks ; against so evident grounds of Scripture, so express testimonies of Fathers, to devise a new government of the Church. Leaving the ancient and known government, which hath the testimony of those that lived in the first age, and heard and saw those that were endued with miraculous gifts, (as Irenæus testifieth of himself, that he heard those which spake by the Spirit in all languages, and saw them who often raised the dead to life again). Leaving, I say, the testimony of these, whose name and authority is so reverend in the Church, and striving for a government which came but of late to the know-

ledge of men, seemeth to proceed from affections too much blinded with the love of innovation.

“But though this be true, that *Bishops, in the government of the Church succeed the Apostles*, yet we are cautiously to distinguish between the things, wherein they succeed the Apostles, and those things which, since the Apostles’ times, have been added to their government by godly Princes. For the preservation of true doctrine in the Church, the Bishops are the great watchmen. Herein they are authorized by God. If Princes withstand them in these things, they have warrant not to obey Princes, because with these things Christ hath put them in trust. Therefore St. Paul saith not that it is the King’s office, but the Bishop’s, to command that they teach no other doctrine. Upon which ground, St. Ambrose was bold to withstand Valentinian, Emperor. For Ambrose as the watchman of the Church of Milan, would not suffer Auxentius, an Arian Bishop, to have any place to teach in his Diocese. Auxentius complained to the Emperor, as the contention grew thus between them; the one like a vigilant watchman, seeking to remove all dangers from his flock,—the other like a wolf, seeking to spoil. At the earnest entreaty of Auxentius, the Emperor willed that the cause between these two might be heard in the *Ecclesiastical consistory*, and that the Emperor might sit as judge in the cause. This thing Ambrose utterly denied; and of this he writeth thus to the Emperor: ‘*Quando audisti, clementissime Imperator, in causâ fidei, Laicos de Episcopo judicasse?*’ And again: ‘*Si vel Scripturarum seriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora tractemus, quis est qui abnuat in causâ fidei, in causâ, inquam, fidei, Episcopos solere de Imperatoribus Christianis, non Imperatores de Episcopo judicare?*’ And in another place: ‘*Volens nunquam jus deseram, coactus repugnare non novi; arma enim nostra preces sunt et lachrymæ.*’ This example of Ambrose’s courage is worthily commended by all posterity, wherein this worthy man seemeth to direct a true rule of obedience. For Justina, the Emperor’s mother, seeing she could not draw Ambrose to favour the Arians, purposed to put him from the government of the Church. Which thing would have been effected, if he had not refused to appear in the Court, where the Emperor was to sit as judge. There appeared in him courage, godliness, and exact obedience, all truly tempered. He denieth the Emperor to be a sufficient judge in a cause of faith and religion. ‘*In causâ fidei, in causâ, inquam, fidei.*’ For this he

repeateth precisely, desirous to be rightly understood: he would rather die than admit such an example as to betray the truth, and that Commission and charge wherein God hath set him. And yet if the Emperor would by force do any thing, he denieth that there is any power in him, or in the Church, to resist by force. The faith and right of the Church was not, in his judgment, to be maintained by force and arms, but by prayers and tears. Thus resolute is this godly man in the cause of faith against the Emperor; but in other causes he claimeth no privilege, no immunities, and therefore in the same place he saith: '*Si tributum petit Imperator, non negamus; agri Ecclesiæ tributum solvunt.*' Athanasius, speaking to Constans, the Emperor, saith: 'Let religious Bishops persuade the Emperor, that he corrupt not the Church, nor mingle the Roman Empire with Ecclesiastical Constitutions.' And Hilary, writing to Constantius, saith to the same purpose: '*Provideat et decernat clementia tua,*' &c. 'Let your clemency provide and establish, that all judges, to whom the care of public business belongeth, may abstain from religious constitutions.' Thus did the ancient Bishops govern the Church; not suffering any King or Emperor to meddle with the determinations of matters of faith: for of such matters are these testimonies to be understood, and only of such. In like manner, Chrysostome resisted Gaina, General of the Forces of Arcadius, Emperor, who would have had a Church within Constantinople for himself and the Arians. The Emperor was willing to gratify him, or not willing to displease him for his greatness; but John Chrysostome did utterly deny it, as a thing unlawful. Thus by the warrant of Scriptures and examples of Fathers, we give to *Cæsar all coactive power which is due to him; but spiritual government we give not to him: this is that government which is reserved to Bishops, as the Apostles' successors.* After which example Gregory the First writeth thus: "*Serenissimi domini animum non ignoro, quod se in causis sacerdotalibus miscere non soleat.*" Gregory calleth those causes with which the Emperors meddled not, *causas sacerdotales*; meaning thereby, the same which Ambrose calleth '*causes of Faith.*'

* * * * *

"As Christ left an equality and parity among his Apostles, often affirming and confirming that one of them should not be greater than another; and yet the Apostles were in government above other ministers; and that by the institution of Christ himself;—for the Lord, after that he had chosen his twelve Apostles, did choose

also seventy Disciples, 'and sent them two and two before him, into every city where he himself should come,' saith St. Luke ;—then Christ himself is the author of this Order in the Church, which the Church hath since that time ever held ; the Bishops succeeding the Apostles, as the inferior Pastors succeeded the seventy Disciples. So the Apostles after them left the like equality among Bishops, that one of them should not be above another ; and yet Bishops in government above other ministers : for jurisdiction was never in the multitude, but in governors, the Bishops then being the governors after the Apostles, the like jurisdiction was in all. As Cypr. saith : '*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis pars in solidum tenetur.*' And Hierome saith : '*Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, &c., ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et Sacerdotii.*'"—CARLETON'S *Jurisdiction, Regal, Episcopal, Papal*; ch. i.—iv. pp. 5—47.

The reader will find this deeply important question treated of in Archbishop BRAMHALL'S *Schism Guarded*; especially sect. i. cap. ix. in whose words I conclude :—" *All the Schools have tied TWO KEYS to the CHURCH'S girdle, the KEY OF ORDER, and the KEY OF JURISDICTION ; and I do not mean to rob my Mother of one of her KEYS.*"—*Works*, tom. i. dis. iv. p. 338.

PLYMOUTH :

Printed by LIDSTONE and BRENDON,
George Street.



A LETTER, &c.
ON
THE LV. CANON,
AND
THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND;

WITH AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
THE CASES OF MORRISON, WHITTINGHAM, TRAVERS, &c.;
THE WITNESS OF ANGLICAN DIVINES FOR EPISCOPACY;
THE CONSECRATION OF THE SCOTCH BISHOPS IN 1610;
&c. &c. &c.

BY
E. C. HARINGTON, A. M.,
CHANCELLOR OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF EXETER.

LONDON:
F. & J. RIVINGTON;
EXETER: H. J. WALLIS, J. SPREAT, & A. HOLDEN;
PLYMOUTH: R. LIDSTONE.

MDCCCLI.

CONTENTS.

—

<i>Viz.</i> —Cranmer	58	Downname	74
Whitgift	58	Beveridge	75
Jewel	59	Taylor	77
Rollock	60	Barrow	80
Bancroft	60	Sage	80
Morton	58	Stillingfleet	81
Bilson	62	Brett	82
Andrewes	63	Madox	83
Hall	63	Leslie	83
Hammond	58	Dodwell	84
Hooker	66	Hickes	85
Land	89	Burscough	85
Bramhall	67	Milbourn	87
Heylin	58	Bowden	88
Mason	58	Daubeney	89
Cosin	73	<i>Beauty of the Church of England</i>	89
Potter	73	Peter Du Moulin	94
Sanderson	58		

A LETTER, &c.

To the Rev. Bouchier Wrey Savile.

REV. AND DEAR SIR.

I have perused your letter on the Kirk of Scotland, and on the clause in the 55th¹ Canon, and can only regret that you should have occupied so much space in contending with a shadow, inasmuch as I have *not* “raised the question whether the Church of Scotland was in 1604 under a Presbyterian or Episcopal form of Government;” the positions which I have laid down in the little work which you have done me the honour to quote, the *Brief Notes on the Church of Scotland*, and which I advanced still more recently in a note on the 55th Canon, at page 11 of the second edition of the *Reformers of the Anglican Church*, being, so far as I believe, in strict accordance with historical accuracy, and being, therefore, not easily relinquished by me.

¹ *Canon 55th*: “Before all Sermons, Lectures, and Homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer, in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: Ye shall pray for Christ’s Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*.”

The subject, arising from the very anomalous state of the Church Catholic in Scotland at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, is, I am aware, pregnant with difficulty ; and the difficulty is not lessened by the majority of writers having taken for granted, that the Presbyterian form of Government, as established in 1592, still existed, in all its fulness, in 1604, and, therefore, having hastily concluded, without paying due attention to other collateral points in the argument, that the clause in the Canon must have referred to the Kirk² of Scotland : nor do I know of any writer, with the exception of Mr. Palmer (*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. i. p. 572) who has directly touched upon the question. I have, therefore, to thank you for giving me an opportunity of stating my reasons for doubting the soundness of your conclusions. You stated broadly that “the Church of Scotland was in 1604 under a *Presbyterian form of Government, as she now is ;*” referring, I presume, to the Discipline laid down in the Act of 1592, which “still continues to be the Charter of the Church of Scotland’s liberties,” and which maintains the “Divine Institution of *Parity*, and the unlawfulness of all kinds of Prelacy.” This position, if established, might tend, in the minds of some, to

² Thus the Bishop of Manchester, in a recent Charge, asserts that, “In the 55th Canon, she (the Church of England) enjoins her teachers and ministers to move the people to pray for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, although the Church was then, in 1604, *as now, Presbyterian*, and Episcopacy was not yet established.”

elucidate the meaning of the clause in the 55th Canon, though it would be difficult to account for the recognition of the Presbyterian Kirk by such strong opponents to that "Platform" as King James, Bishop Bancroft, Archdeacon King, Dean Overall, and Dean Andrews.

I have sought a solution of this question, so far as the history of the Kirk is involved, by correspondence and conference with several eminent Presbyterian writers in Scotland, and I have generally found that they have *ignored* all the proceedings of the "Court Church" from 1597 to 1638; nor would they thank you for stating that the General Assembly of the Kirk admitted Episcopacy in 1610, for they deny the legality of that Assembly, as Dr. Hetherington tells us, and maintain that the Kirk "from kingly constraint," was incapable of action, though still existing, and continuing to exist, under persecution; in other words, (to quote *the Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, which, I may here state, was recommended to me by the most eminent ecclesiastical historian in Edinburgh, as an able exponent of the views of the Kirk,) that "from the Assembly of Perth, 1597, to the Assembly of Glasgow, in 1638, the Presbyterian Constitution of the Kirk was subverted by the interference of the King, and the Acts of Assemblies were little else than a record of the Royal Edicts." And I find that the views of the ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland during this period of Church anarchy and confusion, from 1597 to 1610, is fully corroborated

by writers of authority on both sides of the question, who are far from admitting that "the Church of Scotland in 1604 was under a Presbyterian Form of Government, as she now is ;" nor do I believe for a moment, with a knowledge of the well known opinions of James, Bancroft, Andrews, Overall, &c., on the subject of Episcopacy, and *with the Canons themselves before me*, that the Convocation in 1604, in alluding to the Scottish branch of "Christ's Holy Catholic Church," referred directly or indirectly to the Presbyterian Form of Government, as it had existed from 1592 to 1597, or as it exists in the Kirk at the present day. I believe that they referred to that branch of Christ's Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which had existed in Scotland from the days of St. Ninianus, in the beginning of the fifth century, and which, amidst persecution and spiritual rebellion, had no more ceased to exist than had the Church of Carthage during the absence and persecution of St. Cyprian, or the Church of England during the usurpation of Cromwell,³—which had also been represented, subsequent to the Reformation, by Bishops canonically consecrated, and by the Archbishop of Glasgow, who was restored to his See in 1599, and retained it till his death, in the year 1603, (see Palmer's *Treatise* and Keith's *Cata-*

³ "The Church of Scotland, in 1604, (writes the Venerable Archdeacon Churton, in a recent Letter to the Guardian) was about as much *Presbyterian*, as the Diocese of Manchester was in 1848, during the interregnum before the Consecration of the present learned and moderate Prelate."

logue of Scottish Bishops ;)—and which, under all her difficulties, had, by the care and dexterity of the King, retained the semblance of Episcopal Rule, and which he had been most anxious to restore to her full efficiency and “perfect organisation in accordance with the Divine Institution,” “for six years prior to his coming into England,” in 1603, (as he himself informs us,) and which he did restore in 1610.

And here I might pause, and spare you any further trouble; but, as I have no intention of inflicting upon you, or the readers of the *Gazette*, another communication, I shall be pardoned for briefly citing the authorities upon which I rest my conclusions. First, then, as regards the recognition of the General Assemblies by the Kirk subsequently to the year 1597; Calderwood, referring to the Assembly of 1596, utters this lamentation, “*Here end the Sincere General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*” (p. 323, ed. 1678); and Dr. Hetherington tells us that, “The Assembly of 1602 was the last which was recognised by the Church of Scotland as a free and lawful Assembly, from that time till the year 1638” (vol. i., p. 224). Again, as to the alteration in the ecclesiastical polity; Dr. Cook, speaking of the year 1597, tells us that “the King brought the subject of restoring to the Church a vote in Parliament under discussion, in a Parliament which met at Edinburgh, and an act was passed ordaining that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should at any time please to invest with

the office, place, and dignity of a Bishop, Abbot, or other prelate, should at all time hereafter have vote in Parliament, in the same way as any prelate was accustomed to have ; declaring that all Bishopricks presently vacant, or which might hereafter become vacant, should be given by his Majesty to actual preachers and ministers, or to persons qualified to become such, and who should pledge themselves that they would enter upon the ministry. This part of the Act (adds Dr. Cook) appears to be a *complete Parliamentary restoration of Episcopacy* ; and it certainly did put it in the power of the Sovereign, without needing any further consent of the Estates, to introduce that form of Church Government:" (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 100). It is true that a clause was added, "to avoid giving offence,"—"without prejudice of the jurisdiction and discipline of the Kirk;"—but, as Scotchly remarks in his *Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk* (p. 98), "what that office of the Bishop, Abbot, and Prior should be, and not prejudicial to the jurisdiction and discipline of the Kirk, I think it were hard to determine."

"This act (says Stephen) advanced James's plans for the restoration of the Titular Episcopacy, formerly established ; and there cannot be any doubt but that he was firmly determined to restore it." (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 405.)

Again, Dr. Cook, speaking of the Acts of 1600, and remarking upon "the altered form of ecclesiastical polity," writes,—“This Assembly may be

considered as having introduced a new form of Ecclesiastical Polity, and as thus marking an epoch in the History of the Church of Scotland. Instead of the Parity for which Melvil, in conformity with the principles which he had embraced at Geneva, had strenuously contended, and which he had successfully established, there was recognised an order of ministers who, in addition to the pastoral office, had civil duties to perform, and were, consequently, in a different situation from the rest of their brethren" (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 117).

And thus, "notwithstanding the vigorous and well directed opposition of the advocates for the established Presbyterian Discipline, at the General Assembly in 1600; notwithstanding their attempts to shew that the granting to the Clergy a vote in Parliament would terminate in Episcopacy," or, to quote Calderwood, in "anti-Christian and Anglican Episcopal dignities, offices, places, titles, and all ecclesiastical prelacies, which are flat repugnant to the Word of God;" and notwithstanding it was declared that "all corruptions of these Bishoprics are damned and rejected," "the resolutions passed at Falkland were sanctioned."

"After an establishment, then, of only eight years, —[1592-1600]—and after eight years of intolerable agitation, *the Presbyterian form of Government was abolished by the King, with the full consent of an overwhelming majority of the Ministers, and the applause of the people, whose opinions seem to*

have been changed by experience of its tyranny.”—(Stephen’s *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 413, 417.)

“Henceforward, therefore, and indeed from the Assembly at Perth, the Church in Scotland must be regarded as Episcopalian, since, from the time that the General Assembly of Perth was held in 1597, the Presbyterian Constitution of the Church, as established in 1592, may be regarded as subverted by the interferences of King James; and this restoration of Episcopacy, effected by the Assemblies of Perth and Dundee, was rendered effectual by another Act of Parliament in 1606, whereby Bishops were reponed and restored to their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, livings, lands, teinds rents, &c.”—(*Compendium of the Laws of Scotland*, part ii., pp. 36, 37.)

“And now (to quote Collier, vol. vii., p. 239) nothing remained but to fill the vacant bishoprics; and here the condition of things was very lamentable. It is true that the sees of Aberdeen and Argyle were full, and furnished two prelates that preached, but the Bishoprics were in a manner secularized; Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblaine had their Titulars. But these, as Spotswood speaks, were not ordinary preachers; by which description, I suppose, he means, they were Roman Catholics. Ross and Caithness were the only two sees, where some part of the lands were left unreformed, and to these Prelacies Mr. David Lindesay and Mr. George Gladstaves were preferred by the Church’s

consent. The first was made Bishop of Ross, and the other of Caithness.”⁴

“And thus (says Skinner, vol. ii. p. 237) a *shadow* of Episcopacy was once more restored to Scotland, and the King appeared to be satisfied for the present till he could get the *substance* properly and regularly recovered, which he seems all along to have had in his eye.” “Then it was (says Calderwood) that the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in covered with caveats, that the danger might not be seen, which, notwithstanding, was seen of many, and opposed unto, considering it to be better to hold thieves at the door, than to have an eye upon them in the house, that they steal not. And indeed the event declared that their fear was not without just cause, for these Commissioners, voters to Parliament, afterwards Bishops, did violate these caveats, as easily as Sampson did the cords wherewith he was bound.”—(p. 441, Edit. 1678.)

“And these Commissioners (to quote the language of Scot) were the chief workmen for Episcopacy, were a wedge taken out of the Kirk, to rend her with own forces; and this General Commission was the very needle which drew in Episcopal authority.”

“I am quite aware (to quote the language which I

⁴ “True, (writes Archdeacon Churton) these Bishops-Designate were not consecrated till a few years later; but when the law of the land had recognised their estate, and the men were known and appointed, it appears to me a verbal shuffle, and something more, (unintentional, of course,) to say that the Church of Scotland ‘*was then, as now, Presbyterian.*’”

adopted in my *Reformers of the Anglican Church*) that this was the re-introduction of the Titular Episcopacy only ;” the King and the wiser part yielding (as Skinner expresses it) to the times, with a view of getting all rectified at a more convenient season. Still, with a knowledge of these facts before me, I would again submit, that an examination into the history of the Kirk of Scotland, at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, would “have induced you to have modified your statement,” as to the form of Church Government in 1604 ; and even had I nothing more to advance, I should hesitate to admit, that the 55th Canon bids us pray for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and recognises that Church “under a Presbyterian form of Government, as she now is.” But when we examine into the real sentiments of King James, and of Bancroft, the President of the Convocation, and of Andrews, and Overall, and King, and others, who were members of that Assembly, and when we refer to the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Canons enacted by that same Convocation, in 1604, and to the 6th and 7th Canons passed by the same body in 1606, the idea of the Presbyterian Kirk, an establishment of man’s creation, and without even a Presbyterian Succession, (see *Brief Notes*, &c., ch. iv.) being recognised by the Canon, as a branch of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church, is positively absurd.

With regard to the King, it would seem that James, from an early period, laboured to continue the

Episcopal Succession, and "to depress the new Discipline;" nay more, that he strove to effect this from a conviction of the *Apostolical Institution of Bishops*, and the recognition of *Episcopacy as an Ordinance of God*. This conviction on the part of the King throws considerable light upon all his proceedings during the period of the Church's persecution, at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. I will give his own words, which I quote from Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, "*That BISHOPS ought to be in the Church, I ever maintained AS AN APOSTOLIC INSTITUTION, and so THE ORDINANCE OF GOD ; so was I ever an enemie to the confused anarchie and Parity of the Puritans, as well appeareth in my Basilicon Doron. I that in my said book to my son do speak ten times more bitterly of them (the Puritans) nor of the Papists. I that for the space of six years before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to depress their Parity, and to re-erect Bishops again.*"—(*Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance.*) In the *Basilicon Doron*, written in 1598, the King addresses his son thus: "Parity is the mother of confusion, and enemy to unity, which is the mother of order. For if by the example thereof, once established in the Ecclesiastical Government, the politic and civil estate should be drawn to the like, the great confusion that thereupon would arise, may easily be discerned. Take heed, therefore, my son, to these Puritans, very pests in the Church, and common-weal of Scotland, whom, by long experience, I have

found no deserts can oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind; breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations, without any warrant of the Word, the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, (and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in,) that ye shall never find with any Highland or Border thieves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits. Suffer not the principals of them to brooke your lands, if ye like to sit at rest, except ye would keep them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife. And for preservative against their poison, entertain and advance the godly, learned, and modest men of the ministry, of whom (God be praised) there lacketh not a sufficient number; and *by their provision to Bishopricks*, (annulling that vile act of Annexation, if ye find it not done to your hand,) *ye shall not only banish their conceited Parity*, whereof I have spoken, and their other imaginary grounds, which can neither stand with the order of the Church, nor the peace of a common-weal and well ruled monarchy, but ye shall also re-establish the old institution of three Estates in Parliament, which can no otherwise be done. But in this I hope (if God spare me days,) to make you a fair entry; always where I leave, follow ye my steps. And to end my advice about the Church estate, cherish no man more than a good pastor, hate no man more than a proud

Puritan" (pp. 31, 32). Again, (to quote from the original edition,) "The Reformation of Religion in Scotland, being made by a popular tumult and rebellion, (as well appeared *by the destruction of our policie*), and not proceeding from the Prince's order," &c. (p. 46). Once more he writes, "And because the learned, grave and honest men of the Ministry, were ever ashamed and offended with their temerity and presumption, pressing by all good means, by their authority and example, to reduce them to a greater moderation, there could be no way found out so meet in their conceits, that were turbulent spirits among them, for maintaining their plots, as *Paritie* in the Church, whereby the ignorants were emboldened (as bairdes), and cry the learned, godly, and modest out of it" (p. 30).

I find, also, that this royal volume was formally condemned in a Provincial Synod. "In the *Basili-con Doron*" (to quote Dr. Hetherington and Dr. M'Crie) "the extent and nature of the King's hatred of the Presbyterian Church was revealed, as may be seen from the propositions extracted from that treatise, and condemned by the Synod of Fife, as of the most pernicious tendency. Of these propositions the following are a sample :—That no man is more to be hated of a King than a proud Puritan ; that Parity among Ministers is irreconcilable with Monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion ; that Puritans had been a pest to the Commonwealth and *Church of Scotland* ; that the chief persons among them should not be allowed to

remain in the land ; and *that parity in the Church should be banished, Episcopacy set up, and all who preached against Bishops vigorously punished.*” And the consistency of the King is evinced by the following fact, which relates to the year 1603, and is recorded in Rowe’s *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, (p. 221):—“As⁵ soon as some of the sincerest ministers in England perceived, at his very first coming into England, how his Majesty inclined to the Bishops, and countenanced them, and how he looked down upon and discountenanced their opposites, they brake their hearts, making an heavy regret that they were so far disappointed of their expectation ; yet having some hope that the King, who was so well educated, and understood so perfectly the great good that the established discipline of the Kirk of Scotland had wrought, there were sundry treatises and books set out against Prelacy and Prelates, which enraged the King, affirming that there was none who would own or durst avow them, (for they came out *ανωνυμοι*, without the authors’ names,) and, therefore, he said he regarded them not ; which caused an aged gentleman, called Thomas Whitinghall, Esquire, well versed in Scriptures and in ancient writers, to set out a treatise in print, putting his name thereto, wherein he proved the unlawfulness of that hierarchy of Bishops in England ; who also had, for his opposition to them,

⁵ In tenderness to the reader and the compositor, I have not retained the marvellous orthography which appears in the Scottish authors.

and maintenance of the truth, suffered great troubles in the time of Queen Mary's reign. This treatise he put into the King's own hand, but when the King understood what the subject of the book was, he put it in the Bishop of Canterbury's hand, (query, Bancroft,) desiring him to peruse it. But the gentleman, for his reward, was imprisoned, and detained in prison till he fell into great sickness ; and then, being both very old and heavily diseased, he was, upon great influence and solicitation, enlarged ; but very shortly after he departed this life." Again, at the Hampton Court Conference, in 1603, the same hostility to the Scottish Kirk is apparent : " Dr. Reynolds desired (I quote Barlow's "*Account*," &c., in *The Phœnix*, p. 168,) that such things as could not be resolved upon at the Archdeacon's Visitation should be referred to the Episcopal Synod, where the Bishop, with his Presbytery, should determine all such points as before could not be decided. At which speech his Majesty was somewhat stirred ; yet, which is admirable in him, without passion, or show thereof ; thinking they aimed at a *Scottish Presbytery, which*, saith he, *as well agreeth with a Monarchy as God and the Devil.*" And Hetherington tells us that the King, "in his first speech in Parliament, expressed his tender indulgence of Papal errors, and his utter detestation of the Puritans, '*with their confused form of policy and parity*,' whom he termed '*a sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth*'"—(*History*, &c., vol. i., p. 225). And lastly, Calderwood gives the

following as a portion of the above speech:—"As I am no stranger to you in blood, no more am I a stranger to you in faith, nor in the matters concerning the House of God. And although this my profession be according to my education, wherein, I thank God, I sucked the milk of God's truth, with the milk of my nurse, yet do I here protest unto you, that I would never, for such a conceit of constancy, or other prejudiced opinion, have so firmly kept my first profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all reason, and to the rule of my conscience. But I was never violent nor unreasonable in my profession. I acknowledge the Roman Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jews were when they crucified Christ." . . . "As my faith is the true, ancient, Catholic, and Apostolical Faith, grounded upon the Scriptures and express Word of God, so will I ever yield all reverence to antiquitie on the points of Ecclesiastical Policy; and by that means shall I ever, by God's grace, keep myself from either being an heretick in faith, or a schismatick in matters of policy"—(*Historie*, &c., vol. vi., pp. 253, 255, edit. 1845). And yet, after all this testimony in proof of King James having acknowledged "*Episcopacy to be of Divine Institution, and so the ordinance of God*," and after his oft declared "*hatred of the Presbyterian Church*," (to quote Dr. Hetherington,) we are to admit that his Majesty ratified a Canon which recognised the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland as a Branch of Christ's Holy

Catholic Church, and which required all preachers and ministers “to pray for the Church of Scotland, when she was under a Presbyterian form of Government, as she now is !” I repeat, without wishing to give offence, that the very idea involves an absurdity.

Turn we now to Bancroft, the President of the Convocation in which the 55th Canon was enacted, and by whom “the Canons themselves were collected out of the Articles, Injunctions, and Synodical Acts, passed and published in the reigns of Edward VI. and Q. Elizabeth ;” (Collier. vol. vii., p. 310). In order to ascertain this Bishop’s views, on the Divine Institution of Episcopacy, and the Ecclesiastical Polity of the Kirk, we have but to peruse his celebrated Sermon, preached at St. Paul’s Cross, in the year 1588, from 1 Jno. iv. 1, “*Dearly beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God ; For many false Prophets are gone out into the world.*” The entire Sermon is directed against the Scottish Presbyterians, whom he accuses of “perverting the meaning of the Scriptures, for the purpose of maintaining and defending false doctrine, heresy and schism” (p. 252). “For,” he adds, “it is most manifest that there hath been a diverse Government from this (Presbyterian) used in the Church ever since the Apostles’ times. And these men themselves confess that, long before the Council of Nice, this their Government began greatly to decay, and that since the said Council it was never heard of in Christendom until these their

times. A very strange matter, if it were true, that Christ should erect a Form of Government for the ruling of His Church, to continue from his departure out of the world until his coming again, and that the same should never be once thought of or put in practice for the space of 1500 years, or at the least, (to take them at the best,) that the Government and Kingdom of Christ should then be overthrown" (p. 253). "These men murder the Scriptures to serve their own purpose." "*Many false Prophets are gone out. Are gone out*, that is, are manifest: before, they lay hid in the Church, but now by their Schisms they have made themselves known. They departed from the Congregations of the Faithful, accounting them ungodly, and have gathered to themselves companions agreeable to their own humours, which they only esteem for the Churches of God. Thus all heretics and schismatics have done from the beginning" (p. 254). And, adopting the language of St. Cyprian, he adds, "By these means men stray from the Church; thus a profane Altar is placed without the doors, and thus they rebel against the peace of Christ, and the ordinance and purity of God" (p. 256). Again, referring to the Presbyterian argument respecting the identity of office in a Bishop and a Priest, from the identity of names, as sometimes adopted, he says, "Aerius entered into a schism, and departed from the Church, and affirmed himself, being but a Priest, to be equal in honour and dignity with Eustathius, a Bishop, and that there was no difference, by the Word of God, betwixt

a Priest and a Bishop. He used for proof of those his assertions the very same arguments which now are used of those who maintain his opinions: As that the Apostles, sometimes writing to Priests and Deacons, and sometimes to Bishops and Deacons, should thereby signify that *a Bishop and a Priest is all one*. Which is an assertion (says Epiphanius), ‘*stultitiæ plena, full of folly*’ (p. 258). I could fill a column with similar extracts, but I will quote only the following passages. “It had been good for the Church, that, when false Prophets will needs separate themselves from the Communion thereof, they would have gone likewise, and have dwelt in some strange countries, as *India, Cataia*, or to the farthest parts of *Africa*, where they might have delighted themselves in all sorts of novelties, and erected such Governments as should best have pleased their fancies. But they wish none of that; for, as Tertullian noteth,—‘Their workmanship riseth not by their own building, but by the overthrow of the truth.’ And again,—‘they undermine our works, that they may erect their own.’ But, indeed, if they would be gone to dwell in strange countries, yet they could not be permitted; for, as St. Augustine saith, ‘When God doth build his city, the devil will have another hard by to confront it;’ or, as another writeth, ‘where Christ erecteth his Church, the devil, in the same Churchyard, will have his Chapel.’ When Christ’s ministers do sow the good and pure seed of Truth, Unity, and Order, then the devil doth stir up *his* ministers, by ways

and means, secretly in corners, to cast abroad their cockle and darnel of falsehood, discord, and confusion" (p. 266.)⁶

But can all this really be directed against the *Presbyterian Form of Church Government in Scotland*? Dr. M'Crie shall answer the question: "When the Church was enjoying internal peace, and had the prospect of obtaining from the Government a redress of her grievances, she met with an unexpected attack from a foreign quarter. Open hostilities were at this time proclaimed by Dr. Bancroft, an aspiring ecclesiastic, in a Sermon which he preached before the Parliament, and which was immediately published. It is

⁶ The following remarks of Bancroft are as applicable to the nineteenth as to the sixteenth century: "Marry now, two or three years study is as good as twenty. It is wonderful to see, how some men get perfection. . . . One of four or five and twenty years old, if you anger him, will swear he knoweth more than all the ancient Fathers. And yet in very deed, they are so earnest and fierce, that either we must believe them, or else account their boldness to be, as it is, most intolerable. . . . Good Lord! if the Fathers before mentioned were now alive to see their dealings herein; how every boy, in a manner, doth take upon him (as though he only were learned, zealous, and wise) to controul, condemn, and to rage thus at his pleasure; surely, I suppose, they would wish, at the least, as Gregory Nazianzen sometime did, seeing, in his days, the like pride and sawcy malepertness of many: 'When I consider (saith he) the unbridled itch of tongues which reigneth at this time, and how men by their own voices, as it were, do make themselves Divines, and challenge the commendation of learning and wisdom, whom their will alone is able to make learned; I cannot choose but wish with all my heart, with the Prophet Jeremiah, that I may go and dwell in the wilderness, that so I might leave the society of men, and give myself only to contemplation.'"—*Sermon*, p. 285.

scarcely possible to conceive a more perfect specimen of the argument *ad invidiam*, than this oration exhibits. All the topics of declamation calculated to excite prejudice are carefully collected, and employed with no small art. Puritanism is the offspring of a spirit of pride, ambition, covetousness, and insubordination. Puritans are coupled with the worst heretics who had infested the Church in ancient or modern times. . . . All are warned to avoid such pests to society, and magistrates are called on to use their authority to restrain and punish them. Not contented with exposing the evils of Presbyterianism in the way of general argument, and with confuting such as maintained it in England, the author of the Sermon makes a direct and wilful attack on the Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland. The Reformer, whom the Scots held in veneration, is stigmatized as a man of contentious humour and perverse behaviour. And an odious picture, borrowed from the distorted representations of Adamson and Brown, is given of the proceedings of the Ministers and Church Courts in Scotland during their late dissensions with the Court. They took it upon them to alter the laws of the land without the consent of the King and Estates,—threatened them with excommunication,—filled the pulpits with seditious and treasonable doctrine,—utterly disclaimed the King's authority,—trode upon his sceptre,—laboured to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, 'such as neither the law of God nor of man could tole-

rate, which was *the mother of all faction, confusion, sedition, and rebellion*, and an introduction to anabaptism and popularity';—'instead of one Pope and some Lord Bishops in name, they had set up a thousand lordly tyrants,' who disclaimed the name: On these accounts the King had overthrown the Presbyteries; and although it might seem, from his recent conduct, that he had altered his views of them, yet this could not be the case, and he was to be considered as merely accommodating himself for a time to circumstances.⁷ Such was the way in which the chaplain of the Lord Chancellor of England excited the members of the High Court of Parliament to express their gratitude to Providence for the deliverance which they had just experienced from the Spanish Armada! And such was the reward which the preachers of Scotland received, for their unwearied efforts to preserve amity between the two kingdoms, and for the zeal with which they had aroused and persuaded their countrymen to make a common cause with England, during the most alarming danger with which she was ever threatened! It is easy to conceive how the ministers of the Church of Scotland must have felt. . . . They appointed a committee to write a letter to Elizabeth, complaining of the indignity which they had suffered, and to draw

⁷ "It may now be said, (for they dare say what they list,) that the King is of another mind; and that this Declaration was made when he had conceived some displeasure against them. For the King, he is not altered: *Ictus piscator sapit.*"—*Sermon*, p. 295.

up an answer to the railing accusations which had been brought against them. The letter and the answer were prepared ; but, on a calmer consideration of all circumstances, it was judged proper to suppress them, and to rest satisfied with a small publication by an individual, containing a protest against the rashness of the calumniator, and the reasons of their declining to enter upon a defence of their conduct" — (M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, v. i., pp. 304-309).

Notwithstanding, however, the 'calm consideration' of these Presbyterians, they used many hard words against the 'Chaplain Bancroft,' both in the "*Letter to the Queen*," and in the "*Brief Discoveries of the untruths and slanders against the true Government of the Church of Christ, contained in a Sermon preached the 8th of February, 1588, by D. Bancroft, and since that time set forth in print, with additions by the said author*," and also in "*D. Bancroft's Rashness and Railing against the Church of Scotland*," by Davidson. For example, in the *Letter to the Queen*, we read—"One Bancroft, (Chaplain, as he boldly affirmeth, to the Lord Chancellor,) with most impudent mouth, took upon him to traduce us, our Ministrie and whole Church, openly at St. Paul's Cross, on Sunday, the 9th of February last, in time of Parliament, in the most frequent Assembly of that Realm ; and, as a man altogether carried away with a mad fury against us, highly charged us as chief authors (as it were) of all the domestic unquietness and sedition that for a long time, through

the malice of Satan, hath been within the bounds of this our Commonwealth.” And again, “Who-soever he be that will defend and countenance any such a seditious firebrand as Bancroft is in that matter, he is no friend to the Gospel, nor favorer of the amitie between the two lands, but a sworn enemy to them both.”—(*The Woodrow Miscellany*, pp. 489, 520.) But, had the President of the Convocation of 1603-1606 changed his opinions? It would not appear so from his subsequent publications on the same subject, entitled “*A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*,” and, “*Dangerous Positions; or Scottish Genevating and English Scottizing for Discipline* ;” and also from the Canons of 1604, 1606, which distinctly recognise the *Divine Institution of Episcopacy*, and the *Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession*. In fact, Whitgift had recommended him to Cecil for the vacant See of London, because “*he was not of the Presbyterial faction*, and had always opposed himself against all sects and innovations.”—(*Strype’s Life of Whitgift*, vol. ii. p. 386.) And Collier tells us, speaking of Bancroft’s translation to the See of Canterbury in 1604, that “this Prelate governed with great vigour, and pressed a strict conformity to the Rubric and Canons, *without the least allowance for latitude and different persuasion*. In short, Bancroft’s unrelenting strictness gave a new face to religion; the Liturgy was more solemnly officiated; the Fasts and Festivals were better observed; the use of copes was revived; the surplice generally worn, and all

things in a manner recovered to the first settlement under Queen Elizabeth ;"—(*Ecc. His.*, vol. vii. p. 311) ; for all of which, and " for silencing or depriving three hundred Nonconformists, who were preaching ministers," he is roundly taken to task by Calderwood, in his *Altare Damascenum*. The Archbishop is, indeed, stated to have indirectly recognised the Orders of the Kirk of Scotland at the Consecration of the three Bishops in 1610 ; but, (to quote the language of Skinner,) " we have information from other hands (Heylin, Collier, &c.,) that Dr. Bancroft added a more convincing solution, and the only solution which could give satisfaction to a man of Ely's (Andrewes) strict principles, that, according to many examples in the primitive Church, the Episcopal Order included all below it, and consequently the regular conferring of it supplied every real or supposed defect."—(*Church History*, vol. ii. p. 252.) " As the learned Heylin (writes Collier) represents the matter, Bancroft went upon a much more defensible principle (than the recognition of Presbyterian Ordination) ; he argued, that there was no necessity that the Scotch Bishops should pass through the intermediate Orders of Deacon and Priest ; for that the Episcopal character might be fully conveyed at a single Consecration, and for this he cited some considerable precedents in the ancient Church," (vol. vii., p. 363) ; referring, probably, to those of St. Ambrose, Eusebius, and Nectarius, who were consecrated *per saltum*.⁸ This account is more

⁸ I must again demur to a statement which appears in the Bishop

in accordance with the opinions advanced in the Archbishop's Sermon, which was directed "against the true Government of the Church of Christ," as it existed in Scotland, than that given by Spottiswood : and I must again submit, that you "must adduce some proof of the fact, before you will convince those who are at all acquainted with the history of the times, and with the well known sentiments of Bancroft, and of other eminent members of Convocation, that the 55th of the Canons of 1604, collected by Bancroft himself, bids us pray for the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland, and recognises the validity of the Orders in the Kirk."

Turn we, lastly, to the Canons themselves, which, as Collier informs us, (*Eccl. History*, vol. vii., p. 310,) "*were collected by Bishop Bancroft out of the Articles, Injunctions, and Synodical Acts, passed and published in the reigns of King Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth.*" Could you really have read the 7th, 8th, and 9th Canons of 1604, before you penned the paragraphs, the correctness of which, I have called in question? The Scottish Presbyterians *recognised by the Canons* as members of a Sister Church, and *that*, a Branch of Christ's Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church! Why, my

of Manchester's recent Charge: "In her [the Church of England's] practice, a few years later, [1610, on] the same principles of recognition, Presbyterian Ordination was avowed and acted on. At the restoration of Episcopacy, the Scotch Prelates Designate were consecrated without Episcopal Ordination." The fact as to the Consecration is correctly stated, but the inference, I submit, is erroneous.

dear Sir, by these very Canons every member of the Kirk of Scotland, who held the principles laid down, over and over again, by “Holy Kirk,” was EXCOMMUNICATED, *ipso facto* ! I need scarcely inform one who has had the advantage of referring to “*The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*,” that in the 4th Session of the General Assemblie held at Dundee, in 1580, the following was enacted—

“Forsameikle as the office of a Bischop, as it is now vsit, and commounly takin within this realme, hes no sure warrand, auctoritie, nor good ground out of the [Book and] Scriptures of God ; but is brocht in by the folie and corruptions of [men’s] invention, to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God : the haill Assemblie of the Kirk, in ane voyce, after libertie givin to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing themselves in defending the said pretendit office, Finds and declares the samein pretendit office, vseit and termeit, as is above said, vnlauffull in the selfe, as haveand neither foundation, ground, nor warrant within the Word of God : and ordaines, that all sick persons as bruiks, or sall bruik heirafter the said office, salbe chargeit simpliciter to demitt, quyt and leave of the samein, as ane office quhervnto they are not callit be God ; and sicklyke to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the Sacraments, or vsing any way the office of pastors, quhill they receive *de novo* admission from the Generall Assemblie, vnder the paine of excommunication to be denunciit agains them ; quherin if they be found disobedient, or con-

traveine this act in any point, the sentence of excommunication, after dew admonitions, to be execute agains them"—(Pt. ii. p. 453). This was subsequently ratified in the Second Session of the General Assembly holden at Edinburgh in 1592. Again, in the Conference connected with the General Assembly holden at Montrose in 1600, it was maintained by the Kirk, that "The Anglican Episcopal dignities, offices, places, titles, and all Ecclesiastical Prelacies, are *flat repugnant to the Word of God*;" and that "all corruptions of these Bishopricks are damned and rejected."⁹ Now what say the Canons, enacted within three years of the above declaration?

Canon 7. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the government of the Church of England, under his Majesty, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and the rest that bear Office in the same, is Antichristian, or *repugnant to the Word of God*; let him be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, and so continue, until he repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors."

⁹ The members of the Kirk of Scotland never seem to have been very delicate in speaking of the English Prayer Book: thus, with regard to our *Communion Office*, the following language was adopted in Bancroft's days: "That it is *full of corruption, confusion, and profanation*; that it *contains at least five hundred errors*; that the orders therein prescribed are *carnal, beggarly, dung, dross, lousy, and anti-Christian*. They say we eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of our own, to make the poor silly souls believe they have an English *Mass*; and so put no difference betwixt truth and falsehood, betwixt Christ and anti-Christ, betwixt God and the devil!"—(See *Bancroft's Sermon*, p. 284.)

Canon 8. “Whosoever shall hereafter affirm or teach that the form and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, containeth anything in it that is repugnant to the Word of God; or that they who are made Bishops, Priests, or Deacons in that Form, are not lawfully made, nor ought to be accounted, either by themselves or by others, to be truly either Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, until they have some other calling to those Divine Offices: let him be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, not to be restored until he repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors.”

Canon 9. “Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the Communion of Saints, as it is approved by the Apostles’ rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new Brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are conformable to the Doctrine, Government, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, to be profane; and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession: let them be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, and not restored but by the Archbishop, after their repentance, and public revocation of such their wicked errors.”

Why, I verily believe that these Canons were directed *immediately*, though not solely, against that very Body, which we are told is recognised in the 55th of the same Code as a *Sister Church*, as a Branch of the *Holy Catholic Church of Christ*!—I must trespass upon you one moment longer, in order to direct your

attention to the 6th and 7th Canons, which were “passed by both Houses of Convocation,” as Dr. Cardwell tells us, (*Synodalia*, vol. i. p. 330,) “in the year 1606, in the Convocation which was first called in 1603,” (still, by adjournments, the same Convocation as that by which the 55th Canon was enacted, and still under the Presidency of Bancroft,) and in which sundry Canons and Constitutions were agreed to, “in domo inferiori Convocationis, in frequenti Synodo Cleri, et unanimi consensu,” “after several amendments had been made by the Upper House.” (Overall’s *Convocation Book*.) “The sum of the 6th Canon,” (to adopt the language of Bishop Overall, who was himself a member of Convocation, as Dean of St. Paul’s, and who was Prolocutor of the Lower House,) is as follows: “That the Form of Church Government, which was *ordained by Christ* in the New Testament, did consist upon divers degrees of Ministers, one above another; Apostles in pre-eminence and authority superior to the Evangelists, and the Evangelists superior to Pastors and Doctors: And that the Apostles, knowing themselves to be mortal, did, in their own days, (*by the direction of the Holy Ghost*,) as the numbers of Christians grew, *establish the said Form of Government in other persons*; appointing several Ministers in sundry cities, and *over them Bishops*; as also over such Bishops certain worthy persons, such as Titus was, who were afterwards termed Arch-Bishops; to whom they did commit so much of their Apostolical authority, as they held then

necessary, and was *to be continued for the Government of the Church.*”

How far these positions were maintained in the 6th Canon of 1606, the following extracts will demonstrate. “If any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that the Apostles had no further authority of Church Government committed unto them, after the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, than they had before His Passion ; or that there was not as great necessity of sundry degrees in the Ministry, whilst the Apostles lived, one to rule, another to be ruled, for the establishing and government of the Church, as there was whilst the Priesthood of Aaron endured : or that Christ Himself did not, after a sort, approve of divers degrees of Ministers, some to have pre-eminence over others, in that, having chosen to himself twelve Apostles, he did also elect seventy Disciples, who were neither superior nor equal to the Apostles, and were, therefore, their inferiors : *or that he did not very expressly, after his Ascension, appoint divers Orders and Degrees of Ministers, who had power and pre-eminence one over another,* Apostles over the Prophets and Evangelists, and the Evangelists over Pastors and Doctors : or that the authority of preaching, of administration of the Sacraments, and of Ecclesiastical Government, given to the Apostles, was not to be communicated by the Apostles unto others, as there should be good opportunity in that behalf : or that, because there were some personal prerogatives, belonging to the

Apostles, which they could not communicate unto others, therefore they had not power to communicate to some Ministers, as well their authority of government over other Ministers, as their authority to preach and administer the Sacraments: or that, in the authority of government so to be communicated unto others by the Apostles, there was not included *certain degrees to be in the Ministry*, some to rule and some to be ruled: . . . or that, when such men were to be placed in such cities, the Apostles did not make especial choice of them out of the number of their said coadjutors, and likewise out of the rest of the Ministry, *to execute those Episcopal duties, which did appertain to their callings*; or that, when they had so designed and chosen them to be Bishops, they did not communicate to them, as well *their Apostolical authority of ordaining of Ministers*, and power of the keys, as of preaching and administering the Sacraments: or that it was not the meaning of the Apostle St. Paul, that such persons as Timothy and Titus were, ought to be made Bishops in such cities and countries as were that province of Ephesus, and kingdom of Crete, to have the like authority and power from them in their several cities, with their suburbs, diocese, or province, that was committed to Timothy and Titus for the ruling of those Ministers and Churches under them: HE DOTTH GREATLY ERR."

The 7th Canon is still more explicit; the sum of it being as follows, (to quote Overall, whose admirable comment on this and the preceding

Canon, I may, I trust, without offence, recommend for your perusal ;)—“ *That the Churches and Godly Fathers, that were immediately after the Apostles’ times, and all the ancient Fathers since, did account the Form of Church Government, established by the Apostles, (of Priests and Ministers for more particular charges, of Bishops superior to the said Priests, and of Archbishops, to have the care and oversight of the said Bishops and Churches committed unto them,) not to have been ordained for their times only, but to be continued to the end of the world ; the same reasons exacting the continuance of it, which moved the Apostles (BY THE DIRECTION OF THE HOLY GHOST) first to erect it : (Convocation Book, p. 179.)* As Overall was Prolocutor of the Lower House when the Canons were agreed upon, I am tempted to give the following passages from the chapter which contains the data upon which the 7th Canon is based :—“ There can no one nation or country be named since the Apostles’ days, neither in times of persecution nor since, but, when it first received the Faith of Christ, it had thereupon both Bishops and Archbishops placed in it for the Government of the Churches that were then planted ; imitating therein, for their more certain direction, the Government of the Churches that were erected by the Apostles ;” “ and no one approved example, for the space of above 1,500 years can be shewed (for ought we find) to the contrary.” And, referring to the cases of Coluthus and Maximus, “ who, being only Presbyters, took upon them to make Priests,”

he says, "*howbeit such their ordinations were accounted vain, and utterly condemned as unlawful.*" Once more, "*If the Apostles had not provided for the continuance of their Apostolical authority in Bishops, who were to succeed them in the Government of the Church, but had left an equality in the Clergy, that every one might have proceeded in his own particular Church, after his own fashion, there would have been nothing in the Church but disorder, scandals, sects, schisms, and all manner of confusion ;*" (pp. 184, 186.) Such were the opinions of one who sanctioned the 55th Canon of 1604.

Proceed we with the 7th Canon. "If any man shall affirm, under colour of anything that is in the Scriptures, that it is not great presumption for men in these days to take upon them to know better, whether Timothy and Titus were Bishops, than the Churches and Godly Fathers did, which were planted and lived either in the Apostles' times, or presently after them, except they have some special revelations from God : . . . or that it is probable, or was possible for Timothy to have observed those rules that St. Paul gave him unto the coming of Christ, except, (as the Fathers expound some of them,) he meant to have them first observed by himself and other Bishops in that age, and that afterwards they should so likewise be observed by all Bishops for ever : or that the ancient Fathers, and Ecclesiastical Histories, when they record it to all posterity, that these men, and those men, were made, by the Apostles, Bishops of such and such places, are not to be held to be

of more credit that any other historiographers or writers: or that, when the ancient Fathers did collect out of the Scriptures and practice of the Apostles, *the continuance for ever of that form of Church government which was then in use*, they were not so thoroughly illuminated with the Holy Ghost as divers men of late have been: or that it was an idle course held by the primitive Churches and ancient Fathers, to keep the Catalogues of their Bishops, or to ground arguments, in some cases, upon their Succession, in that they were able to deduce their beginnings, either from the Apostles or from some Apostolical persons: or that the Form of Government, used in the Apostles' times, for the planting and ordering of Churches, was not, in many respects, as necessary to be continued in the Church afterwards: . . or that true and perfect order, grounded upon the very laws of nature and reason, and *established by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles' times*, was not fit for the Churches of God afterwards to embrace and observe: *or that any Church since the Apostles' time, till of late years, when it received the Gospel, had not likewise Archbishops and Bishops for the government of it: or that any since the Apostles' times, till of late days, was ever held to be a lawful minister of the Word and Sacraments, who was not ordained priest or minister, by the imposition of the hands of some Bishop: or that it is with any probability to be imagined that all the Churches of Christ, and ancient Fathers from the beginning, would ever have held it for an Apostolical rule, that none but*

Bishops had any authority to make Priests, had they not thought and judged that the same authority had been derived unto them, the said Bishops, from the same Apostolical Ordination that was committed unto Timothy and Titus, their predecessors : or that it doth proceed from any other than the wicked spirit, for any sort of men, what godly show soever they can pretend, to seek to discredit (as much as in them lieth) that Form of Church Government, which was established by the Apostles, and left by them to continue in the Church to the end of the world, under Archbishops and Bishops, such as were Timothy and Titus, and some others, then called to those offices by the said Apostles, and ever since held by the primitive Churches and all the ancient Fathers to be Apostolical functions ; or to term the same, or any part of it, to be Antichristian ;—HE DOTHT GREATLY ERR.”—(Cardwell’s *Synodalia*, vol. p. 364, 367.)

I am, of course, aware that these Canons, having never received the royal assent, (as “the King did not like a Convocation entering into such a theory of Politics,” as that which was discussed in the First Book, on Civil Government,) have no Synodical authority ; but, as “they were passed by both Houses of Convocation,” they are valuable exponents of the views of the members of this Assembly (which continued by adjournments from 1603 to 1610), upon the important question of Church Government. I doubt whether you had read these Canons when you formed the conclusion to

which I demur; or, perhaps you had been misled by the seductive charms of Mr. Macaulay, who tells us that "in the year 1603 the Province of Canterbury solemnly recognised the Church of Scotland, a Church in which Episcopal controul and Episcopal Ordination were then unknown, as a branch of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ."—(*History of England*, vol. i., p. 75.)

In conclusion, I need hardly add, that, with this accumulative evidence before me, the position which you have assumed appears to me to be not only untenable, but directly opposed to the clearest historical testimony; and to admit that the schismatical body in Scotland, styled the "Holy Kirk,"—which (as Bancroft expresses himself) "perverted the meaning of the Scriptures, for the maintenance and defence of false Doctrine, Heresy, and Schism," and which he likens to "the Devil's Chapel in the Churchyard in which Christ hath erected His Church,"—to admit, I say, that this body of Schismatics was recognised by the Convocation in 1604, as a Branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, would require a process of reasoning, to which, I confess, I have not yet attained.

And now, as the question (not, I admit, without its difficulty, from the anomalous position of the Church Catholic in Scotland at the period under discussion) has been fairly laid before the public, at I fear, an inconvenient length, I shall, I trust, not be deemed discourteous, should I fail to respond to

your rejoinder, (if one be deemed necessary,) unless some new light be thrown upon the subject, which I confess, I do not in the least anticipate.

Believe me,

Reverend and dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

E. C. HARINGTON.

The Close, Exeter, November 6th, 1851.

P. S. Since the above was written I have received a communication, in reply to a question which I proposed relative to your letter, from one whose name will carry, what mine cannot command, considerable weight in solving the difficulty before us, J. Stephen, Esq., the author of the elaborate "*History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the present time*," and of several other admirable works; and I rejoice to add, that most of my positions are supported by his authority. He writes: "In point of fact, Episcopacy *has never ceased* in Scotland from the days of St. Ninian, who first gathered the Church in the fifth century, to the present moment; for besides Knox's Titular Episcopacy, which included some of those canonically ordained, and which remained established from 1560 to 1610, the line of Bishops did not die out until 1603, when James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, died at Paris, legally possessed of his See." Again, as to the 55th Canon: "In March, 1603-4, the Convocation met, at which Bancroft, Bishop of

London, presided. Knowing, as he did, that there certainly was *de facto* a Titular Episcopacy existing in Scotland, and knowing also the King's firm determination to have these Titular Bishops canonically consecrated at the earliest possible moment, and the parochial Ministers afterwards truly ordained, no doubt he had the 55th Canon so framed as to pray for the grace of Reformation for the Church of Scotland as it then defectively stood ; and, by anticipation, for that Branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, when in reality she should be duly organised according to Christ's appointment. Therefore, the Canon neither does nor can refer to the Presbyterian Kirk, but to the Titular and real Episcopal Church of that country ; for whosoever may assert that the Presbyterian Kirk was the recognised form of Church Government in Scotland in 1603, I can *prove*, from the authority of contemporary authors, such as Spottiswood, Calderwood, Balfour, Heylin, Sage, and various others, that the Presbyterian Kirk *was not* the recognised Form of Church Government when the Canon was enacted."

APPENDIX.

THE following Letters, which have already appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, are now republished, with much additional matter bearing upon topics of immediate interest.

APPENDIX.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

LETTER I.

MORRISON AND ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL—EUTYCHIUS.

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to a leading article in the *Morning Herald* of the 3rd inst., written in defence of the positions laid down in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to a Mr. W. R. Gawthorn, a person who, in order to elicit an opinion from his Grace which might serve his own purpose, has been guilty of a miserable trick, unworthy of the character of a Christian or a gentleman.

The writer of the article in question has adduced two oft refuted authorities, viz., those of Morrison and Grindal, and of Eutychius, in favour of (I hardly know what, but I suppose) the validity of Presbyterian Ordination. Now what do these cases amount to? Let us examine the first.

Grindal, we are told, granted a licence to John Morrison, who was ordained in Scotland, to minister the Sacraments, &c., in the diocese of Canterbury; that is, the Archbishop (while under suspension, by-the-by) acted in direct opposition to the principles of the Church over which he had presided. But surely the truth is not affected by the vagaries of Archbishop Grindal. The Church of England had, long before Grindal's time, declared that—

“It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures

and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, bishops, priests, and deacons; which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto; and therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at present bishop, priest, or deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following."

Such was the plain language of the Church of England in the Preface to the Ordination Service; and such was the law of the land in the time of Archbishop Grindal: and I may add, that the Church has never, so far as I am at present informed, directly nor indirectly, recognized the validity of Presbyterian Ordination, not even in the clause of the 55th Canon, which is sometimes triumphantly referred to. Collier remarks, with regard to Morrison's licence, that,—

"It is pretty plain that Dr. Aubrey, the Vicar-General, was somewhat conscious of a strain upon the English Constitution, by inserting the words, 'quantum in nobis est, et de jure possumus, et quantum jura regni patiuntur.'"—(Vol. vi., p. 639.)

But, after all, is it clear *how* Morrison was ordained? Your contemporary has omitted certain important words which appear in the Archbishop's licence, "*per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus fueras.*" Now, the licence to Morrison was granted in 1582, and his ordination had taken place, according to that document, five years previously. But the *First Book of Discipline*, which was recognized by the Kirk from 1560 to 1581, did not admit imposition of hands in ordination, that ceremony having been restored by Andrew Melville, in the *Second Book of Discipline*, which was not formally ratified by the

Assembly until April 1581. I leave the solution in the hands of Grindal's admirer, only premising that the Acts of Assembly of 1578, will not assist him.

Turn we to Eutychius, whose testimony leads us "even to the first ages of the Church, reaching up to apostolic times." Who was Eutychius? A writer of the *tenth* century; a writer, as¹ Cave terms him, "nullius judicii, et parum probatæ fidei;" and of whose *Annales*² he tells us,—“In his occurrunt plurima anilibus fabulis simillima, quæ si non ex proprio cerebello finxerit, saltem ex futilibus ecclesiæ suæ monumentis hausit;” a writer upon whom, as Pearson³ has shewn, not the least dependence can be placed, when the fact did not happen in or near his own time; a writer whose historical errors Dr.⁴ Bowden has recapitulated in four consecutive pages; a writer whose misinterpretation of a passage in Jerome has entirely misled your contemporary; a writer whose statement is opposed to the voice of all antiquity, and whose blunders on the point in question have been fully exposed by Milbourn, in his celebrated *Legacy to the Church of England*, from which I extract the following passage:

“When and by whom (asks Milbourn) were those hundred bishops ordained, who met together some years before the first Council at Nice, to condemn the heresy of Arius? Who ordained those bishops of several dioceses, who are mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria

¹ *Historia Literaria*, Pars Prima, p. 580.

² *Ibid*, p. 72.

³ “Haud equidem ignoro quid hactenus viri docti de Annalibus Eutychianis senserint, eorumque judicium video ex Labbeo recte percipi posse, qui ad calcem Concilii Antiocheni hæc liberrime, ut solet, annotat: ‘Tam crassi porro tamque frequentes in rebus præsertim chronologicis errores Eutychianorum Annalium hoc apud eruditos lectores hactenus effecerunt, ut vix unius assis æstimentur, cum ab Socrate, Sozomeno, Evagrio, aliisque probatis Græcis Latinisque Scriptoribus dissentiant.’ Neque ego ab hac sententia multum dissentio.”—*Minor Works*, vol. ii., p. 435.

⁴ *Apostolical Origin of Episcopacy*, vol. i., p. 23.

himself? And what is the reason that all ancient writers speak of great numbers of bishops in that region from the beginning? Or that the fable of Demetrius being the first who ordained bishops in Egypt was unknown to all antiquity? And that the tradition of St. Mark ordaining Arianus his own successor at Alexandria, and settling several other churches in the same province, has prevailed everywhere, and is still believed, unless by a few novelists, who run into Mr. Selden's *Eutychius*; whose history deserves as much credit as Father Cressy's *Ecclesiastical Romance* among us, or the *Letters of the Jesuits* from China and Japan, which give us such wonderful accounts of their success in those parts?"—(vol. i., p. 165.)

Truly, the writer in your contemporary is welcome to Eutychius, John Morrison, and Archbishop Grindal; but unless he adduces some better authorities against the unanimous voice of the Church, from the first to the nineteenth century, in favour of Episcopacy, he will never succeed in establishing the validity of Presbyterian Ordination.

E. C. HARINGTON.

The Close, Exeter, Sept. 5th, 1851.

P. S. When will members of the Church of England be taught that they can refute the Papists only by adhering to *sound Church principles*? All other attempts have been, and ever will be, failures. The eminent anti-Papal controversialists in James II.'s reign were not Dissenters, nor did they argue on dissenting principles.

WHITTINGHAM AND TRAVERS.

(Extracted from "*The Reformers of the Anglican Church, and Mr. Macaulay's History of England.*")

—

"I have yet to learn, even after a careful perusal of "*OWEN'S Validity of the Dissenting Ministry, or, the Ordaining Power of Presbyters evinced from the New Testament and Church History*,"—I have yet to learn, that *the Church of England, either at the period of the Reformation, or in the days of Elizabeth, or at any other period, recognised, directly or indirectly, the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination.* Mr. Owen, indeed, says that, "in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Ordination by Presbyters was publickly allowed," and refers to the cases of *Whittingham*⁵ and *Travers* to

⁵ The 13th of Elizabeth being sometimes referred to, as bearing upon the case of Whittingham, the following remarks of Dr. Bowden upon that Statute may not be deemed unimportant.

"You observe, that 'an Act of Parliament was passed in the 13th year of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, to reform certain *disorders touching ministers of the Church*;' and that 'this Act was framed with an express view to admitting into the Church of *England*, those who had received Presbyterian ordination, in the foreign reformed churches, on their subscribing the articles of faith.' That there was an act passed in the 13th of *Elizabeth*, to reform certain disorders, &c. is true; but that it was with 'an express view of admitting into the church those who had received Presbyterian ordination,' does not appear at all from the act. You ought, Sir, to have given your readers that part of the act which relates to the present subject. It runs thus: Be it enacted,—"that every person, under the degree of a Bishop, which doth, or shall pretend to be a Priest, or Minister of God's holy word and sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late King, or now used in the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lady, *before the feast of the nativity of Christ next following*, shall, in the presence of the Bishop, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of religion—and shall bring from such Bishop, in writing under his seal authentic, a testimonial of such

prove his assertion; and these instances are still complacently quoted by every writer who is hostile to Episcopacy. Supposing the cases good, they would, in fact, not touch the point in question; but as they are, they are most unfortunate examples to adduce in favor of the recognition of Presbyterian Ordination; since Whittingham's "*orders were called in question by Archbishop Whitgift,*" and a commission was issued to report thereon;" which, but for his death, would have ended in his being "*deprived* (to quote

assent and subscription—upon pain that every such person, *which shall not, before the said feast, do as is appointed*, shall be (*ipso facto*) deprived."

"From this act it is evident, that the case of the foreign Presbyterian churches, and the validity of ordination by Presbyters, were not at all contemplated. There is not a syllable said about either. It speaks indeed of those who pretended to be Priests by an Ordinal different from that of King *Edward's*; but by that was principally, if not exclusively meant, such as were ordained by the Popish Ordinal. But what a valid ordination is, the act does not say. We must have recourse for that to the Preface of the Ordinal, which expressly makes Episcopal ordination the only lawful mode. The act does not say, that all who were ordained by Presbyters, or in any other manner, should, *upon subscription*, be allowed to hold livings in the church. That would have been a direct contradiction of the act passed in the reign of *Edward*; and, therefore, such an extension should not be given to it.

"Let it further be considered, that it was the avowed doctrine of the Church throughout the whole reign of *Elizabeth*, that Episcopal ordination was of divine appointment, and then it will be evident that the act in question could not have been designed to indulge, under the specified condition, those who had received no other orders but Presbyterian."—*Bowden's Letters to Miller*, vol. ii. p. 36.

"There is, in fact, no indication, that the ground of it (the 13th of *Elizabeth*) was to justify Mr. Whittingham's Ordination: but most probably the business was, that, whereas the Ministers of the Church of England had given security of themselves at their Ordination, which those who had been Ordained in the reigns of King *Henry VIII.*, or Queen *Mary*, or in the Lutheran Churches, had not; the latter might be obliged to do the like. And that the statute had only some such aim, is evident by the determination of its force upon so sudden a date as the following Christmas."—*Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 51, Ed., 1758.

Whitgift's language) *without special grace and dispensation* :” and Travers was actually “*inhibited by Archbishop Whitgift from preaching,*” the Archbishop “*objecting chiefly against him his foreign Ordination ; for “this was the Archbishop’s great reason for his disallowance of Travers, and his refusal to restore him to his ministry, viz., his Ordination at Antwerp, and his denying to receive the orders of the Ministry according to the English Book of Ordination.”*—See STRYPE’S *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. pp. 448 and 478; *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 167, 175. As this is a question of deep interest, I will give extracts from “*Mr. Travers’s reasons ; that his being made minister at Antwerp should not be sufficient cause of his restraint ; or, that he ought to be made minister again : with Archbishop Whitgift’s marginal animadversions thereupon.*”—*Travers* : “*Making of a minister is such an action, as being once lawfully done, ought not by the Word of God to be repeated. Aaron and the Priests in the old law were but once to be called and consecrated. Proved thus, Heb. v. 4, ‘No man taketh this honor to himself, but he that was called to it of God, as was Aaron ;’ and Levit. viii. 33, ‘Ye shal not depart from the door of the tabernacle of the congregation seven days, until the day of the consecration be at an end. For seven days shal he consecrate you.’*”

Whitgift’s Animad.—“*I think this to be true.*” *But Mr. Travers his schoolmasters think and practice otherwise ; as Danæus Isagog. lib. ii. c. 18.*”

Travers.—“*Pastors and teachers of the Church, in the New Testament, have in like manner, by the same word, their calling to their ministry but once given to them ; which sufficeth, and is not to be reiterated ; as may appear by the speech of the Holy Scripture, in al the rules and examples that concern the vocation. Of which sort are these ;—‘Appoint elders in every city,’ Tit. i. 5 ; ‘Look*

to yourselves, and al the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers,' Acts xx. 28; 'Lay hands hastily on no man; neither communicate with other men's faults,' 1 Tim. v. 22; 'Stir up the grace which is in thee, by the laying of my hands,' 1 Tim. iv. 14; 'Neglect not the grace which is in thee; which is given thee to prophesy, by laying on of the hands of the eldership,' 2 Tim. i. 6; 'They ordained them elders in every Church,' Acts xiv. 23."

Whitgift's Animad.—"These Scriptures prove not his purpose."

Travers.—"The reiterating in one dominion of any such action, as being once sufficiently don, ought not for ever to be repeated, (because it is don in the kingdom of another civil prince,) for it taketh from Christ his authority, given him of God in al places; as it is said, 'I will give thee the ends of the world for thine inheritance,' Psalm ii., 'and al nations to be possessed by thee.'"

Whitgift's Animad.—"And yet the French Churches practise otherwise; neither wil they admit any of our Ministers, ordained according to the laws of this Church, to exercise his function among them, without a new kind of calling according to their platform."

Travers.—"The universal and perpetual practice of al Christendom, in al places and in al ages, proveth the Ministers lawfully made in any Church of sound profession in faith, ought to be acknowledged such in any other."

Whitgift's Animad.—"Excepting always such Churches as allow of PRESBYTERY, and practise it."

Travers.—"In the primitive Church we read, when Polycarpus came out of the East country, whereof he was, being minister of the Church of Smyrna, to Rome, in the West; that with the good consent, and at the request of Victor, then pastor there, he dealt in the ministry, and administered the Lord's Supper."

Whitgift's Animad.—"This is true ; but Mr. Travers his case is far differing from it. For Polycarpus went not to Rome to be made minister ; but being ordained minister, according to the order of the Church wherein he lived, was suffered to execute his function at Rome. But Mr. Travers, misliking the order of his country, ran to be ordered elsewhere, by such as had no authority to ordain him, to the contempt of the ministry of this Church, and the manifest maintenance of Schism. And as well may Mr. Cartwright and his adherents now make ministers at Warwick, to serve in this Church of England, as he and Villiers might have done at Antwerp."

Travers.—"In this Church of England, many Scottish men and other, made ministers abroad, have been so acknowledged, (viz., to execute the office of the Priesthood,) and executed their ministry accordingly ; and yet do still amongst us."

Whitgift's Animad.—"I KNOW NONE SUCH: and yet their case is far differing from his."

Travers. "Afore Mr. Whittingham's case, there was never any question moved in this Church to the contrary. The question being moved about him, yet was neither the Word of God, nor the law of the land found to be against him. But notwithstanding that exception, he continued in his place and ministry after to his death."

Whitgift's Animad.—THIS IS UNTRUE. For if Mr. Whittingham had lived, he had been deprived without special grace and dispensation. Although his case and Mr. Travers's are nothing like. For he in time of persecution was ordained minister by those who had authority in the Church persecuted. But Mr. Travers, in the time of peace, refusing to be made minister at home, gaddeth into other countries to be ordained by such as had no authority, condemning thereby the kind of ordering ministers at home."

Travers.—"Popish priests, notwithstanding they were

made after another order, and that against the Word of God, yet to the 13th of the Queen's reign, they were suffered to deal, by virtue of their calling, with duties of the ministry, without any question moved of it.—Anno 13th Eliz.—When question was made of their calling, the Parliament appointed not that they should be ordered again, according to the form established in the first year of her Majesty's reign; but only that they should subscribe to the Articles concerning *Christian doctrine and faith*, agreed on in the Convocation, anno 1562; and so doing, enabled them to al duties and benefits of the ministry."

Whitgift's Animad.—"When the like act is made for his ministry, then may he alledge it. But THE LAWS OF THE REALM REQUIRE THAT SUCH AS ARE TO BE ALLOWED AS MINISTERS IN THIS CHURCH OF ENGLAND, SHOULD BE ORDERED BY A BISHOP, and subscribe to the Articles before him."

Travers.—"In the said book of Articles, the doctrin whereof is authorised by the said Parliament, it is thus set down in the 23rd Article: 'It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same.' 'And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation to cal and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.'"

Whitgift's Animad.—"This doth not justify his calling."

Travers.—"Last of al: The late Archbishop of Canterbury, being made privy and acquainted with this my calling in the ministry abroad, was contented I should preach in England. The Bishop of London was likewise contented I should preach at the Temple, which I have don now almost six years. And the present Archbishop

of Canterbury hath taken no exception against me, since his coming to this Province, to forbid me preaching in it until this time. Upon consideration of these reasons, I humbly pray to be suffered to procede, as I have don, in my place and ministry again."

Whitgift's Animad.—"This is to abuse our patience. He never allowed of your kind of calling; neither CAN HE ALLOW OF IT."—STRYPE'S *Life of Whitgift*, vol. iii. pp. 182-6, ed. 1822.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

LETTER II.

THE WITNESS OF ANGLICAN DIVINES FOR EPISCOPACY.

SIR,

Your contemporary, the *Morning Herald*, has attempted a reply (if the article in this day's paper may be so called) to my letter of the 5th instant, respecting Eutychius and John Morrison, or rather Archbishop Grindal, in which, instead of defending these favourite precedents, the writer has strung together a catena of authorities which seem to recognise the validity of Presbyterian Ordination in certain cases of necessity. I may, perhaps, in passing, be allowed to refer your readers to Dr. Bowden's admirable *Letters to Dr. Miller*, in the 17th of which, under the head of "Concessions of Episcopalians," they will find most of the authorities examined which are referred to by the writer in the *Herald*. Now, had your contemporary quadruplicated these authorities—which he might easily have done—he would not have touched the question at issue, which is this: whether the Church Catholic has not,

from the first to the nineteenth century, maintained the *Divine Institution of Episcopacy*, recognising no other system of Church polity? And whether the Church of England, as a portion of the Church Catholic, does not altogether exclude Ordination by Presbyters? This is the only point of the controversy which I care to maintain; and as regards this point, all that has been advanced by your contemporary is *nihil ad rem*.

The case of Morrison was, I presumed, adduced to shew that the Church of England *had*, through one of her Primates, sanctioned the Presbyterian discipline; and the authority of Eutychius was, I had imagined, advanced to prove, that the Church of Alexandria had actually been governed by a College of Presbyters for some centuries. If the object was merely to shew that two persons could be mentioned, between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries, who acknowledged the validity of Ordination by Presbyters, the writer has certainly been successful; but as regards the question before us, I have shewn that the cases of Morrison and Eutychius (the former of which has been triumphantly referred to by several dissenting journals during the past week) will not support the argument sought to be deduced from them, not only by the writer in the *Herald*, but by Owen, and Miller, and other Presbyterian authors. And I repeat that Archbishop Grindal, in granting a licence to Morrison, acted in opposition to the principles of his own Church, and that the licence in question was, as a legal document, no better than a piece of waste paper, inasmuch as it was in direct contravention to the Act of Uniformity; and, moreover, I repeat that the Church of England has never, directly nor indirectly, recognised the validity of Presbyterian Ordination.

And here the discussion might fairly close; but as the question is one of great moment, you will perhaps allow

me to trespass on your columns, while I reiterate the views of the Church of England on this important question. The words in the Preface to the Ordinal, in 1552, (which I quote in preference to the stronger language adopted at the Savoy Conference, in order to meet the case of Grindal,) were these :

“And therefore, to the intent these Orders should be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present bishop, priest, nor deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following.”

Now, in the “form hereafter following,” in 1552, occur, as at present, these words :

“Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of ministers in thy Church, mercifully behold this thy servant now called to the work and ministry of a bishop,” (priest, or deacon, as the case may be.)

Let any man compare these words with the following passages in the Preface, and he will be at no loss to learn the opinions of our Reformers on the Apostolical Succession and the Divine Institution of Episcopacy.

“It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that, from the Apostles’ time, there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, bishops, priests, and deacons ; which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man by his own private authority might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same ; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereto.”

Then follows the passage which I have given above.

“We see therefore (to quote the Bishop of Exeter’s Ordination Sermon in 1843), that our Church rejects the ministry of all who have not been thus [Episcopally] ordained, even though they come from foreign countries ; thus seeming to imply the absolute necessity of episcopal ordination to confer the ministerial character ; for, by the most universally admitted rule of Christian communion, all who are

constituted Christ's ministers in any one portion of his Church, carry with them their character and commission in every other into which they may migrate."—(p. 27.)

Nothing, of course, could be easier than to quote abundant passages from the writings of the great luminaries of our Church, in favour of the divine right of Episcopacy and of the Apostolical Succession; but a reference to the works of Cranmer,¹ Whitgift, Jewel, Rollock, Bancroft, Morton,² Bilson,³ Andrewes, Hall, Hammond,⁴ Hooker, Bramhall, Heylin,⁵ Mason,⁶ Cosin, Potter, Sanderson,⁷ Downname, Beveridge, Taylor, Barrow, Sage, Stillingfleet, Brett, Madox, Leslie, Dodwell, Hickes, Burscough, Milbourn, Bowden, and Daubeney, will more than suffice. The extracts subjoined bear more immediately upon the question before us.⁸

Archbishop Whitgift.

"In 1593, Whitgift, when promoted to the see of Canterbury, wrote a letter to Beza, in which he expostulates with him for intermeddling in the dispute between the Church and the Puritans. In

¹ See his *Sermon of the Authority of the Keys*, in which, as Dr. Hickes remarks, "Cranmer has derived the orders and mission of bishops and priests from Christ to the Apostles, and from them and others, and from them successively to others, unto the world's end."

² *The Episcopacy of the Church of England justified to be Apostolical, &c.*

³ *The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*; of which treatise Archdeacon Daubeney remarks, in his *Guide to the Church*, that "Bishop Bilson in his elaborate work has proved the apostolic succession to a demonstration; indeed, it may be said, that he has left nothing necessary to be written on the subject of Church government."—vol. ii., p. 55. See also *Inf.* p. 62.

⁴ *Of the Power of the Keys.*

⁵ *History of Episcopacy.*

⁶ *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, Book i.

⁷ "The Bishops are the lawful successors of the Apostles, and inheritors of their power."—*On Episcopacy*, Part iii., Sect. 11.

⁸ The above authorities will be found *passim* in the Notes to my *Sermons on Apostolical Succession*, Second Edition. I should add, that the Extracts given above did not appear in the original Letters to the *Morning Chronicle*.

that letter he says, ‘ *We make no doubt, but the Episcopal degree, which we bear, is an institution apostolic and divine ; and so hath always been held by a continual course of times, from the Apostles to this very age of ours.*’ Again, ‘ You may remember, learned Sir, the beginnings of that Episcopacy, which you make to be only of human institution, are referred by the Fathers, with one mouth, to the Apostles, as the Authors thereof ; and that the Bishops were appointed as successors of the Apostles ; especially in certain points of their function. And what Aaron was to his sons and to the Levites, this the bishops were to the priests and deacons ; and so esteemed of the Fathers to be by divine institution.’ ”—Bowden’s *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy Asserted*, vol. ii. p. 58.

Bishop Jewel.

“ We believe that there is one *Church* of God, and that not confined as it was heretofore to the Jewish people, in one angle or kingdom, but that it is *Catholic* and *Universal*, and so diffused or spread over the face of the whole earth ; that there is no nation which can justly complain that it is excluded, and cannot be admitted into the Church and People of God ; that this Church is the kingdom, the body, and spouse of Christ ; that Christ is the only Prince of this kingdom ; that there is in the Church *divers Orders of Ministers* ; that there are some who are *Deacons*, others who are *Presbyters*, and others who are *Bishops*, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religion is committed.” (*Apology*, p. 20.) “ We say that a Minister ought to have a lawful call, and be duly and orderly preferred in the Church of God, and that no man ought, at his own will and pleasure, to intrude into the sacred Ministry. So that a very great injury is done us by them, who so frequently affirm that nothing is done decently and in order with us, but all things are managed confusedly and disorderly, and that with us all that will are Priests, Teachers, and Interpreters.” (*Ibid*, p. 23.)

We may add that Bishop Jewel was also one of the disputants on the Protestant side, at a disputation in 1559, between the Papists and Protestants, at Westminster, when the latter maintained against the former, who were anxious to lower the Episcopal in favour of the Papal dignity, “ *that the Apostles’ authority is derived upon after ages, and conveyed to the Bishops their successors.*”

Dr. Rollock.

"I know it will be objected, that by this doctrine I condemn all the Churches that are governed after that [the Presbyterian] manner. Now, I condemn not the Churches, but the government. Some, perhaps, may reply, that since I make Episcopal government to be Christ's institution, I charge them with a very gross error. I answer, let them see to that; I cannot call evil good, nor good evil, unless I make myself liable to the curse pronounced; neither will anything excuse them except necessity; for both God's law and man's law doth dispense with it; but because there is no necessity, let men beware. *Ego liberavi animam meam.*"—*Episcopal Government instituted by Christ.*

Archbishop Bancroft.

"Unless I could prove my Ordination lawful out of the Scriptures, I would not be a Bishop four hours longer."—Fuller's *Church History*, Century 17, book 10, p. 12. (See the Archbishop's views of the Presbyterian Discipline at length, *supra*, pp. 19, 21, &c.)

"The Doctrine of the Church of England is pure and holy: The Government thereof, both in respect of her Majesty, and of our Bishops, is lawful and Godly: The Book of *Common Prayer* containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God."—(*Sermon*, p. 304.)

"If they alledge unto us the Authorities of *Fathers* and *Councils*, to prove the *equality* of *Ministers*, the authority of their *Lay-governors*, and the continuance of their *Presbyteries* since the Apostles' time; though therein they pervert them all most grossly, (and, I fear, of purpose to deceive you, my brethren, even against their own consciences, and contrary to the express meaning of the said *Fathers* and *Councils*, even in those places which they bring, and infinite others,) yet they will face out the matter with very strange boldness, and be more than offended that any should examine or seem to mistrust them. I could bring you divers examples hereof, but one of each sort shall suffice.

"To prove the *Equality*, which, they say, ought to be in the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, they alledge *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, &c.; Affirming that in those times, there was no difference betwixt a *Bishop* and a *Priest*, but that they had all *equal* authority within their own Parishes, and that whosoever was a *Bishop* was a *Priest*, and whosoever was a *Priest* (that is, a *Minister* of the Word and Sacraments) was a *Bishop*. Whereas in the whole course

of their writings the contrary is most manifest: never man besides themselves (to my understanding) did so expound them. The Ecclesiastical Histories report of those times otherwise, and within less than an hundred years after *Cyprian*, and either before or in *Ambrose's* days, it was condemned as an Heresy, for any to hold that opinion.”—(p. 309.)

“But of all other, in my opinion, the last example appertaining to this purpose is most notable. For the better understanding whereof, you must know that the Church of God, ever since the Apostles’ times, hath distributed the *Ecclesiastical Ministry* principally into these three parts, *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*; according as it is contained in the *Apology of the Church of England: Credimus, varios in ecclesia esse ordines Ministrorum: alios esse Diaconos, alios Presbyteros, alios Episcopos, quibus institutio populi et religionis cura et procuratio commissa est*: We believe that there be divers degrees of *Ministers* in the *Church*; whereof some be *Deacons*, some *Priests*, some *Bishops*; to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, and the charge and setting forth of Religion.

“This division our *New-Reformers*, with one consent, do allow, for the very platform of their desired government: But their exposition of the parts thereof is agreeable to that which is before observed of them; even contrary to the profession which hitherto we have made to all the world, and contrary to the Testimonies of all Antiquity.”—(pp. 310-11.)

“Shall men of such inconstancy lead you from the Truth, and make you embrace those things, which you know to have been condemned with one consent by all the ancient Fathers for Heresies?”—(p. 313.)

“‘*Beware (saith the Apostle) of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of Concision,*’ that is, of such as cut asunder the Church of God. ‘*If any man preach unto you any other Gospel, than that which you have received, let him be accursed. Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines; for it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace;*’ *Non convalescit planta quæ sæpe transfertur*: That plant never proveth, which oft is removed.”—p. 314.

“‘The time will come when they will not suffer wholesome Doctrine; but having their ears itching, shall, after their own lusts, get them an heap of teachers:’ 2 *Tim. iv.*”—(p. 315.)

Bishop Bilson.

"This is a certain rule to distinguish Bishops from Presbyters; the Presbyters were many in every Church, of whom the Presbytery consisted. Bishops were always singular; that is, one in a city, and no more, except another intruded, (which the Church of Christ counted a schism, and would never communicate with any such,) or else an helper were given in respect of extreme and feeble age; in which case, the power of the latter ceased in the presence of the former. And this singularity of one pastor in each place, descended from the Apostles and their Scholars in all the famous Churches of the world, by a perpetual chain of succession, and doth to this day continue, but where abomination or desolation, I mean heresy or violence, interrupt it. Of this there is so perfect record in all the stories and Fathers of the Church, that I much muse with what face men that have any taste of learning, can deny the vocation of Bishops came from the Apostles; for if their succession be apostolic, their function cannot choose but be likewise apostolic too; and that they succeeded the Apostles and Evangelists in their Churches and chairs, may inevitably be proved, if any Christian persons or Churches deserve to be credited.

"The second assured sign of Episcopal power, is imposition of hands to ordain Presbyters and Bishops; for as Pastors were to have some to assist them in their charge, which were Presbyters; so were they to have others to succeed them in their places, which were Bishops. And this right, by imposing hands to ordain Presbyters and Bishops in the Church of Christ, was at first derived from the Apostles unto Bishops, and not unto Presbyters; and hath for these fifteen hundred years without example or instance to the contrary, till this our age, remained in Bishops, and not in Presbyters."—Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, p. 247.

"If Presbyters by the word of God may ordain with imposing hands as well as Bishops, howsoever by the custom of the Church they be restrained or subjected under Bishops, they be all one in degree with Bishops, though not in dignity; for all other things, as Jerome avoucheth, are common unto them: but if that power be granted by God's law to Bishops and denied to *Presbyters*, then, struggle whiles you will, you shall find them in the end to be distinct and divers degrees. That Bishops may ordain, the Apostle's words to Timothy and Titus exactly prove. "Lay hands hastily on no man." "For this

cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain Presbyters in every city." You must now prove by the sacred Scriptures that *Presbyters* may ordain as well as Bishops; if not, they be distinct degrees, that have by God's law distinct powers and actions."—*Ibid*, p. 251.

Andrewes.

"We say again, it is *accipite*, not *assume*: *assumit qui nemine dante accipit*; he *assumes*, that takes that is not *given* him. But *nemo assumit honorem hunc*, 'This honour no man takes unto him,' or upon him, till it be given him. As *quod accipitur non habetur*, in the last so *quod accipitur, datur*, in this. And both these are against the *voluntaries* of our age, with their *taken-on callings*; that have no *mitto vos*; unsent, set out of themselves; no *accipite*, no *receiving*; take it up of their own accords; make themselves what they are; *sprinkle* their own *heads* with *water*; *lay their own hands on their own heads*; and so take that unto them which none ever gave them. They be *hypostles* (so doth St. Paul well term them, as it were the *mock-apostles*); and the term comes home to them, for they be *ὁποστολῆς*, *fili subtractionis*: right; work all to subtraction, to withdraw poor souls, to make them forsake the fellowship, (as even then the manner was). This brand the Apostle hath set on them, that we might know them, and avoid them."—*Sermon 9th, Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*.

Again, "Our Church doth hold there is a distinction between bishop and priest, and that *de jure divino*."—*Answer to Cardinal Perron, Opuscul*.

Bishop Hall.

"But, in the fourth place, the several acts, that were appropriated to the Bishops alone, by the universal consent of all times, do more than sufficiently evince their acknowledged superiority.

"Wherein, even those testimonies, which are wont to be alleged against us, do directly plead for us. Jerome himself, can say, *Excepta Ordinatione*; and Chrysostom, who is cited for *ὁ πολλὸν τὸ μέσον*, can yet add, *τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ*, "Only in laying on of hands, Bishops go beyond them.

"Neither is this any slight difference, or despicable privilege; but such as implies a manifest superiority, as Ambrose justly inferreth, and a clear distinction of Order.

"Hands were imposed in the Church of old, for more than one

purpose. In Absolution, for the penitent's reconciliation to God and the Church : in Confirmation, for the increase of grace upon the baptized : in Ordination, for the blessing and hallowing of the ordained.

"The first of these, as incident and annexed to the Holy Order of Priesthood, may be common to a presbyter, within his own compass ; but THE OTHER TWO HAVE BEEN EVER HELD SO INTRINSICAL TO EPISCOPACY, THAT I WOULD FAIN SEE WHERE IT CAN BE SHEWED, THAT ANY EXTREMITY OF NECESSITY WAS, BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CHRIST, EVER YET ACKNOWLEDGED FOR A WARRANT SUFFICIENT TO DIFFUSE THEM INTO OTHER HANDS. It was to Timothy and Titus, by the consent of all antiquity Bishops of their several Dioceses, and not to any ordinary presbyter, that St. Paul gives that charge of imposition of hands. That presbyter had been a monster among Christians that would have dared to usurp it ; and the Church of those first ages observed it so curiously, that, besides those strict laws which they made for the prevention of any such insolence, restraining even one kind of *Chorepiscopi*, "Rural Rishops," from this power, (for there was another sort, which were, in the nature and quality of suffragans, furnished with Episcopal right) they have left unto us memorable records of their severe proceedings against such presumptions.

"I may not forget two or three remarkable histories to this purpose.

"Colluthus, a presbyter of Alexandria, took upon him to ordain presbyters. For this, he was convented in the General Council before Hosius and other bishops : and, with deserved checks, remanded to keep within his own tether ; and a nullity pronounced of those his misordained.

"Ischiras, who pretended to be one of those his mis-made presbyters, was, in his administration of the blessed Sacrament, while he had the holy cup in his hand, violently opposed ; and that upon the instigation of Athanasius, by Macarius. He complains there of a sacrilegious assault : about a hundred bishops are assembled in Egypt : Ischiras, himself, is convented ; his ordination examined ; and he found to be no presbyter, because only ordained by a presbyter. He is sent away without remedy, with a divestiture from his pretended orders, and, together with all his fellows, turned down to the Laic form. The equity of the fact is so clear, saith this apologist for Athanasius, that no man ever thought it could be doubted of : a history, as our learned bishop well observes, so much the more considerable, for that it carries in it the universal consent of the whole

primitive Church, whose abridgement that holy council was; which was after repeated and seconded by the Synod of Alexandria.

"Much of the same kind is that commonly noted story of the Council of Seville. A Bishop who had sore eyes, being to ordain priests and deacons, laid his hands on them; but caused his chaplain, a Presbyter that stood by, to supply his eyes, by reading the words of their Ordination and Benediction. The Council questioned the fact; censured it of bold presumption and usurpation; and would have censured the man, if his death had not prevented them; and concluded, *Tales merito*, &c.: "Those men are worthy to be discarded, because they were wrongfully made."

"What need I press the history of Musæus and Eutichianus, whose Ordinations were also in this manner rescinded and nullified by the Council of Sardica? or that of the great Council of Constantinople concerning Maximus? or, out of Sozomen, the proceedings against Elpidius, Eustathius, Basilus, Eleusius, for their misordination of presbyters?

"This peculiar act was a thing so universally both granted to, and practised by, Bishops, that in vain shall we search through all antiquity, for an instance of any regular performance to the contrary.

"Neither can the opposites hope to find shelter under that noted text of St. Paul 'to Timothy: "*Neglect not the gift that is in thee, &c., by the imposition of hands of the Presbytery*," 1 Tim. iv. 14; when Calvin himself interprets the place, not of the men, but of the office; following herein Jerome, and Anselm, Haimo, Lyra, and others; referring it to the gift, not to the hands. Whose reason is also more strong than his authority: for, if Timothy were ordained by a Presbytery, then by more than one: but St. Paul, in another place, saith, that his hands (and no other) were imposed on Timothy; and, if more hands were required to this service, it had been as easy for the Apostles to have encharged it upon the Presbytery, as upon Timothy. Little did Calvin think of the double Presbytery of Tileno-mastix, when he gave this interpretation of St. Paul's *χειροτονία*. But, if either the Apostles then, or the Bishops since, have had other hands laid upon the ordained, together with theirs, as the rule and practice of the Church of England is; yet fain would I see where ever it can be read, that presbyters, without a Bishop, in a regular course imposed hands for Ordination."—*Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted*, Part ii., Sect. 15.

“If there can be better evidence under heaven for any matter of fact, (and in this cause, matter of fact so derived, evinceth matter of right,) let Episcopacy be for ever abandoned out of God’s Church, But, if these be, as they are, certain and irrefragable, alas! what strange fury possesseth the minds of ignorant unstable men, that they should thus headily desire and sue to shake off so sacred and well grounded an institution.”—*Humble Remonstrance, &c.*, vol. x., p. 280, Edit. 1837.

Hooker.

“Again, the power of *ordaining* both deacons and presbyters, the power to give the power of order unto others, *this also hath been always peculiar unto bishops. It hath not been heard of, that inferior presbyters were ever authorized to ordain.* And concerning ordination, so great force and dignity it hath, that whereas presbyters, by such power as they have received for administration of the Sacraments, are able only to beget children unto God, bishops having power to ordain, do by virtue thereof create fathers to the people of God, as Epiphanius fitly disputeth. There are which hold that between a bishop and a presbyter, touching the power of order, there is no difference. The reason of which conceit is, for that they see presbyters no less than bishops authorized to offer up the prayers of the Church, to preach the Gospel, to baptize, to administer the Holy Eucharist; but they consider not withal as they should, that the presbyter’s authority to do these things is derived from the bishop which doth ordain him thereunto; so that even in those things which are common unto both, yet the power of the one is as it were a certain light borrowed from the other’s lamp. The Apostles being bishops at large, ordained everywhere presbyters. Titus and Timothy having received episcopal power, as apostolic ambassadors or legates, the one in Greece, the other in Ephesus, they both did, by virtue thereof, likewise ordain, throughout all Churches, deacons and presbyters, within the circuits allotted unto them. As for bishops by restraint, their power this way incommunicable unto presbyters which of the ancients do not acknowledge?—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 207.

“Here it will, perhaps, be objected that the power of ordination, itself was not every where peculiar and proper unto Bishops, as may be seen by a Council of Carthage, which sheweth their church’s order to have been, that Presbyters should, together with the Bishop, lay hands upon the ordained. But the answer hereunto is easy; for doth

it hereupon follow, that the power of ordination was not principally and originally in the Bishop? Our Saviour hath said unto his Apostles, "With me ye shall sit and judge the twelve tribes of Israel;" yet we know that to Him alone it belongeth to judge the world, and that to Him all judgment is given. With us, even at this day, Presbyters are licensed to do as much as that Council speaketh of, if any be present. Yet will not any man thereby conclude that in this Church, others than Bishops are allowed to Ordain. The association of Presbyters is no sufficient proof that the power of Ordination is in them; but rather *that it never was in them we may hereby understand, for that no man is able to shew either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by Presbyters only, and his Ordination accounted lawful in any ancient part of the Church*; every where examples being found both of Deacons and Presbyters ordained by Bishops alone oftentimes, neither ever in that respect thought insufficient."—*Ibid*, p. 207-8.

"What need we to seek far for proofs that the Apostles, who began this order of regiment of bishops, did it not but by divine instinct, when without such direction things of far less weight and moment they attempted not?—*Ibid*, p. 204.

"Shall we think that James was made Bishop of Jerusalem, Evodius Bishop of the Church of Antioch, the Angels in the Churches of Asia Bishops, that Bishops everywhere were appointed to take away factions, contentions, and schisms, without some like divine instigation and direction of the Holy Ghost? Wherefore let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if anything in the Church's government, surely the first institution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God, the Holy Ghost was the author of it."—*Ibid*, p. 205.

"It was the general received persuasion of the ancient Christian world," says Hooker, "that *Ecclesia est in Episcopo*, the outward being of a Church consisted in the having of a Bishop; insomuch that they did not account it to be a Church which was not subject unto a Bishop."—See Dodwell on *Schism*, ch. 19, Edit. 1679, and Jackson's *Dissertation on Episcopacy*.

Archbishop Bramhall.

In his *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, Bramhall replies to an objection advanced by his Romish adversary thus:

“What my thoughts are of those whom he terms *Puritans and Independents*, they will not much regard, nor doth it concern the cause in question. Many mushrome-sects may be sprung up lately in the world which I know not, and posterity will know them much less, like those misshapen creatures which were produced out of the slime of *Nilus* by the heat of the sun, which perished soon after they were generated for want of fit organs. Therefore I pass by them, to that which is more material. If the Church of England have joined in Sacraments and publick prayers with schismatics, let him shew it out of her Liturgy, or out of her Articles, or out of her Canons and Constitutions, for by these she speaks unto us. Or let him shew that any genuine son of hers, by her injunction, or direction, or approbation, did ever communicate with schismatics; or that her principles are such as do justify or warrant schism, or lead men into a communion with schismatics: otherwise than thus a National Church cannot communicate with schismatics. If to make Canons and Constitutions against schismatics, be to cherish them; If to punish their conventicles and clandestine meetings, be to frequent them; If to oblige all her sons who enter into Holy Orders, or are admitted to care of souls, to have no communion with them, be to communicate with them; then the Church of *England* is guilty of communicating with schismatics; or otherwise not.”—(Page 154, Edit. 1677.)

“Whosoever, (he again remarks,) doth wilfully break the line of *Apostolical Succession*, which is the very nerves and sinews of Ecclesiastical Unity and Communion, both with the present Church, and with the Catholic Symbolical Church of all successive ages; he is a schismatic, (*quá talis*,) whether he be guilty of heretical pravity, or not.”—(*Just Vindication*, p. 62.)

Again, “I acknowledge that Episcopacy was comprehended in the Apostolic office, *tanquam trigonus in tetragono*, and that the distinction was made by the Apostles, with the approbation of Christ; that the Angels of the seven Churches in the *Revelation*, were seven Bishops; that it is the most silly ridiculous thing in the world, to calumniate that for a Papal Innovation, which was established in the Church before there was a Pope at *Rome*; which hath been received and approved in all ages, since the very cradle of Christianity, by all sorts of Christians, *Europeans, Africans, Asiaticks, Indians*, many of which never had any intercourse with *Rome*, nor scarcely ever heard of the name of *Rome*. If *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*, be not a sufficient plea, I know not what is.—(*Ibid*, page 164.)

Then follow the two paragraphs which, in a recent letter to the *Morning Herald*, were partially quoted by Dr. Cumming; who, by the way, in stringing together passages which have no connection with each other, and in omitting sentences which would elucidate the author's meaning, has done grievous injustice (though, I believe, most unintentionally) to Bramhall, and other writers. In these passages the Archbishop would decline "excluding from all hope of salvation," or "condemning all as schismatics for want of Episcopacy, who want it out of invincible necessity;" for, as he says in another place, "it is charity to judge well of others, and piety to look well to ourselves." To which sentiment I most cordially respond. But how far Bramhall sympathized with that body to which Dr. Cumming belongs, may be learnt from the passage which *immediately follows* those quoted by the Dr.

"*Thirdly.* There are others, who have neither the same desires nor the same esteem of Episcopacy, but condemn it as an Anti-christian innovation and a rag of Popery, (which we know has been done by the Kirk of Scotland). I conceive this to be *most gross schism materially*. It is ten times more schismatical to desert, nay, to take away, (so much as lies in them,) the whole order of Bishops, than to subtract obedience from one lawful Bishop. All that can be said to mitigate this fault is, that they do it ignorantly, as they have been mistaught and misinformed. And I hope that many of them are free from obstinacy, and hold the truth implicitly in the preparation of their minds, being ready to receive it when God shall reveal it to them. How far this may excuse (not the crime, but) their persons from formal schism, either *a toto* or *a tanto*, I determine not, but leave them to stand or fall before their own master."—*Ibid*, p. 164.

Again, in his *Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline*, he writes :

"If the Disciplinarians in *Scotland* could rest contented to dote upon their own inventions, and magnify at home that *Diana* which themselves have canonized, I should leave them to the best schoolmistress, that is, experience, to feel where their shoe wrings them, and to

purchase repentance. What have I to do with the regulation of Foreign Churches, to burn mine own fingers with snuffing other men's candles? Let them stand or fall to their own master. But to see those very men, who plead so vehemently against all kinds of tyranny, attempt to protrude their own dreams, not only upon their fellow subjects, but upon their sovereign himself, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, contrary to all laws of God and man; yea, to compel Foreign Churches to dance after their pipe, to worship that counterfeit image which they feign to have fallen down from *Jupiter*, and by force of arms to turn their neighbours out of a possession of fourteen hundred years, to make room for their Trojan horse of Ecclesiastical Discipline, (a practice never justified in the world, but either by the Turk or by the Pope,) this puts us upon the defensive part: they must not think that other men are so cowed or grown so tame, as to stand still blowing their noses, whilst they bridle them, and ride them at their pleasure. It is time to let the world see that this discipline, which they so much adore, is the very quintessence of refined Popery, or a greater tyranny than ever *Rome* brought forth, inconsistent with all forms of civil government, destructive to all sorts of policy, a rack to the conscience, the heaviest pressure that can fall upon a people, and so much more dangerous, because, by the specious pretence of a *Divine Institution*, it takes away the sight, but not the burden of slavery. Have patience, reader, and I shall discover unto thee more pride and arrogance, through the holes of a threadbare coat, than was ever found under a Cardinal's Cap or a Triple Crown. All this I undertake to demonstrate, not by some *extraordinary practices justified only by the pretence of invincible necessity* (a weak patrociny for General Doctrine,) nor by the single opinions of some capricious fellows, but by their Books of Discipline, by the Acts of their General and Provincial Assemblies, by the concurrent votes and writings of their commissioners.—(*Works*, p. 493.)

I am aware that Bramhall is complacently referred to by those, who much wish to convince themselves that the Divines of the Church of England recognised the validity of Presbyterian Ordination, though I have never been able to ascertain accurately the reason for claiming the Archbishop as an authority in their favour: it may, however, refer to his proceedings upon being translated from the

Bishopric of Derry to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh, being thus made Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland. I must confess that the circumstances referred to impress me most strongly with the conviction, that the Primate altogether disallowed the validity of Presbyterian orders ; but the reader shall judge for himself, from the relation of the Archbishop's proceedings as given in his Life ; only let him premise, that the period referred to was that of 1660-1, immediately upon the restoration of Charles II.

"Presently after this, each betaking himself to his own proper charge, the Primate went down into the country to visit his Diocese ; where we cannot suppose, but he found great disorder among the servants, some smiting their fellows, in the so long absence of the Lord ; many imbibing very strong prejudices from their education, in an evil time, both against his person and the doctrine and discipline of the Church ; but by lenity and reproof, by argument and persuasion, by long-suffering and doctrine, he gained upon them, even beyond his own hopes. He used to say, 'Men must have some time to return to their wits, that had been so long out of them ;' knowing, (as he observed in one of his speeches in Parliament, of Civil Government,) that *res facile redeunt in pristinum statum*. I shall give but one instance, (but it is a memorable one,) of his Grace's prudence in turning the edge of the most popular objection of that time against conformity. When the Benefices were called at the visitation, several appeared, and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late Powers. He told them they were no legal titles, but, in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them, by Institution and Induction ; which they humbly acknowledged, and intreated his Lordship so to do. But, desiring to see their *Letters of Orders*, some had no other but their Certificates of Ordination by some Presbyterian Classes, which he told them did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Whereupon the question immediately arose, '*Are we not Ministers of the Gospel?*' To which his Grace answered, that that was not the question, at least he desired, for peace sake, of which he hopes they were Ministers too, that that might not be the question for that time. I dispute not, said he, the value of your Ordination, nor those acts you have exercised by virtue

of it, what you are, or might do here when there was no law, or in other Churches abroad: but we are now to consider ourselves as a *National Church*, limited by law, which, among other things, takes chief care to prescribe about *Ordination*. . . . By this means he gained such as were learned and sober; and for the rest, it was not much matter. Old governors do not much care about disputing, nor old generals for fighting; the less blood is shed, the more glorious is the conquest; when the war is civil, the less the ensigns are stained and torn, the nobler is the victory.—Just as I was about to close up this particular, I received full assurance of all I offered in it; which, for the reader's sake, I thought fit to add, being the very words which his Grace caused to be inserted into the *Letters* of one Mr. Edward Parkinson, whom he ordained at that time, and from whom I had them by my Reverend Brother and Neighbour, the Lord Bishop of Killalow. ‘*Non annihilantes priores Ordines (SI QUOS HABUIT,) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes; multo minus omnes Ordines sacros Ecclesiarum Forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio Judici relinquimus, sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius deficit, per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, et providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus Ordinatione, aut actus suos Presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur: in cujus rei testimonium.*’ By this prudence and moderation he greatly softened the spirit of opposition, and got effectually doubled the point he aimed at.”

But still, be it remembered, Bramhall actually “*re-ordained*” those who had “*received the imposition of the hands of Presbyters only*,” thereby, to quote the objection of the Non-conformists themselves, “*virtually disowning the former ordination of their Ministers*,” which, as they allege, “is not only a light thing, but a heavy sin.” But I shall take the liberty of introducing to the reader another case, which is not so frequently adduced as the last, and which occurred a very short time previous to Bramhall’s translation to Armagh.

“One Micklethwait was by Dr. Walker presented to his Lordship, (when Bishop of Derry,) for resolution in that case which afterwards

troubled many, viz., *Presbyterial Ordination*, which he had received when young, and not then skilled in Antiquity; with which the more he was acquainted, the more he was concerned. The Bishop of Derry was not willing to enter into it, till he had advised with the Bishops at London, to whom he propounded the case; and after their return, he proceeded to satisfy his conscience, by giving him *Episcopal Ordination*."

Let any one read the *Ordination Service*, and ask himself, whether he believes that Archbishop Bramhall, and "the Bishops at London," would sanction so solemn a mockery as that of pretending to "*receive into the holy office of Priesthood*," a man who had already been admitted into the Office, and had had the Ministerial Commission conveyed to him by Presbyterian Ordination? Especially when he bears in mind, that the rule of the Church is, *Ordinatio non est reiteranda*, and that the reiteration of Ordination, as of Baptism, has ever been regarded as Sacrilege.

Bishop Cosin.

"You shall not find that I ever said Presbyters had any power of rightful Ordination in the judgment of antiquity; nay, you shall find the contrary, and that I greatly blame them, saying, *they will never be able to answer it, for presuming to take a power upon them, which was never given nor committed to them*; and that nothing but a case of necessity, (*reserving their wonted desire of Bishops, where they are by no means to be had nor permitted,*) can excuse them. I know it is the interest of the Pope and the Jesuits, with other of the like faction, to cry down the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy; and, as I never was, so, by the grace of God, I shall never be of that faction. But the question only is, whether there be such an absolute necessity and precept in that *Jus Divinum*, in all places, and at all times, as, where it cannot be put in practice, there, in such a case of necessity, the ordination of a Presbyter by a College of Presbyters, (*though altogether against the ancient and Apostolical Canons, for which they are to answer,*) shall be utterly void and invalid to all effects whatsoever."—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 448.

Archbishop Potter.

"Since the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters has been proved

to have been of Divine appointment, it necessarily follows, that the power of Ordination, which is the chief mark of this distinction, was reserved to the Bishops by the same appointment. Whence Acrius was reckoned among the Heretics of this age, chiefly because he gave Presbyters power to ordain, and consequently made them equal to Bishops; which Epiphanius imputes to his ignorance of the Scriptures; and proves hence, as from an undoubted principle, that Bishops and Presbyters were not of the same Order, because Presbyters had not power to ordain. . . . If Presbyters had been believed to be invested with this power of Ordination, there had been no need for Novatian, who set himself up to be Bishop of Rome against Cornelius, to send to the remote parts of Italy for some obscure and ignorant Bishops, whom he made drunk, and then prevailed with them to ordain him: he might with more ease and reputation have received Episcopal Orders from some of the Roman Presbyters, who favoured his pretensions to the Episcopal chair. And the method which he was forced to take, would of itself give us a strong presumption, that in this age, (and that is in the middle of the third century,) it was the general opinion that Presbyters have not authority to confer Orders, though we had no farther proof of it. But the opinion of the Primitive Church in this matter will be put beyond dispute, if we compare the judgment concerning Ischyra, who was ordained by one Colluthus, a mere Presbyter, with that about the Presbyters ordained by Meletius, a schismatical Bishop. The latter, having been ordained by one who had the Episcopal character, were received as Presbyters, without being re-ordained; whereas Ischyra, having received his orders from one who had not power to give them, was reckoned as a mere layman."

"Thus it appears from the Scriptures, the nature of the Episcopal Office, and the sense and practice of the Primitive Church, that *none but Bishops have authority to ordain Ministers in the Church.*"—*A Discourse of Church Government*, pp. 284-5.)

Bishop Downame.

"We prove that the Apostles had the right of Ordaining;—that this right was from them derived to their substitutes, and to their successors; to their substitutes, as to *Timothy* in Ephesus, and *Titus* in Crete, to *Mark* at Alexandria, to *Polycarpus* at Smyrna, to *Evodius* at Antioch, to *Linus* at Rome, &c.; to their successors, as to *Simon* the son of Cleophas, the successor of *St. James* at Jerusalem, &c.; that from these substitutes and first successors of the Apostles, the same

was derived to their successors, which, without all doubt, were the Bishops of the several Churches. And hereunto we may add the general consent of the Fathers and Councils ; many of them affirming and confirming ; not one, I say *not one*, denying the superiority of Bishops in Ordaining ; the perpetual practice of all true Christian Churches, *not one* approved instance to be given to the contrary ; and yet he (the refuter) shameth not to avouch the Bishop's right in ordaining to be but usurpation.—As touching Presbyters, that they have right to ordain, we see no warrant in the Word, but rather the contrary ; no testimony of Fathers, no decree of Councils for it, but many testimonies and decrees against it ; no approved example to warrant it ; how then could he say the Presbyters have as good right to ordain as Bishops ?—But, because he shall not carry the matter without proofs, this I will offer him ; that *if he can bring any one pregnant testimony or example out of the Scriptures, any approved authority or example out of the ancient Fathers, Councils, or Histories of the Chureh, proving that the Presbyters had, by and of themselves, an ordinary power or right to ordain Ministers, I mean Presbyters and Deacons, I will promise to subscribe to his assertion. But if he cannot do this, as I know he cannot, then let him for shame give place unto the Truth.*”—(Bishop Downname's *Defence*, book iii. ch. iv. sect. 18.)

Bishop Beveridge.

“To explain this more fully to you, it will be necessary to instance in the several parts of the Apostolical office, and to shew how Christ, according to his promise, is always present, by His Holy Spirit, at the performance of them. Now the first and principal part of this office is the Ordaining others into it, and giving them power to Ordain others, and so successively, to the end of the world ; which is necessarily supposed in the promise itself, as that without which it could never be fulfilled.”

“The first, therefore, that were ordained into this office, were ordained by Christ Himself.”—(*Theological Works*, vol. i., p. 9, Edit. 1844.)

“Hence the Apostles, being thus ordained and instructed by our Lord, took special care to transfer the same Spirit to others which they had received from Him. But this they could not do after the same manner, as Christ had done it to them, even by breathing upon them ; for that way was peculiar to Christ, from whom the Spirit proceedeth. Wherefore, they, being doubtless directed thereto by the same Spirit,

transmitted it to others by laying their hands upon them, which was the old way that had been used in the Church before ; for so Moses communicated the Spirit of wisdom to Joshua, thereby constituting him his successor in the government of Israel, even by laying his hands upon him. Thus Paul and Barnabas were ordained by the special appointment of the Holy Ghost Himself ; for it is said, that they, having “fasted and prayed, laid their hands upon them,” and so sent them out ; who, thereupon, are said in the next verse to be sent by the Holy Ghost ; it being now conferred upon them by the imposition of hands. Thus St. Paul communicated *χάρισμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as he calls it, the gift of the Spirit, unto Timothy. And wheresoever we read that the Apostles ordained any, they still did it after this manner, even by laying their hands upon them ; and that too whether they ordained them into their whole office, or else into any part of it.”—(*Ibid*, p. 10.)

Thus, therefore, it is, that the Apostolical office hath been handed down from one to another, ever since the Apostles’ days to our time, and so will be to the end of the world, Christ himself being continually present at such imposition of hands ; thereby transferring the same Spirit which He had first breathed into His Apostles, upon others successively after them, as really as He was present with the Apostles themselves when he first breathed it into them. Insomuch, that they who are thus ordained are said to be made Bishops by the Holy Ghost Himself, as well as the Apostles were. By which means the Holy Catholic Church always hath been, and still is, truly Apostolical, as it is called in the Nicene Creed. And the several parts of the Apostolical office are now as effectually performed by their successors, and others ordained under them, as they were while the Apostles themselves lived. For it was not the persons of the Apostles, but their office, influenced and assisted by the Spirit of God, that made the Sacraments they administered to be valid, and their preaching of the Gospel so prevalent upon those that heard it.”—(*Ibid*, p. 11.)

“Thank God that you have such a Clergy among you, as is ordained according to Christ’s own institution, and endowed with the same Spirit which He breathed into His Holy Apostles, handed down from them to us, by a continued and uninterrupted Succession ; which is the great glory of our Church, and that which you can never sufficiently thank God for : as, considering that by this means you have the Word and Sacraments so truly and powerfully administered

among you, that nothing but the extreme neglect of yourselves can hinder any of you from being happy for ever.”—(*Ibid*, p. 43.)

Bishop Taylor.

“For to clear the distinction of Order, it is evident in antiquity, that bishops had a power of imposing hands, for collating of orders, *which presbyters have not*. What was done in this affair in the times of the Apostles I have already explicated; but now the enquiry is, what the Church did in pursuance of the practice and tradition apostolical? The first and second canons of the Apostles command, that two or three bishops should ordain a bishop, and one bishop should ordain a priest and a deacon. *A presbyter is not authorized to ordain; a bishop is*. St. Dionysius affirms, *Sacerdotem non posse initiari, nisi per invocationes episcopales*, and acknowledges no ordainer but a bishop. *No more did the Church ever*; insomuch that when Novatus, the father of the old puritans, did *ambire episcopatum*, he was fain to go to the utmost parts of Italy, and seduce or entreat some bishops to impose hands on him, as Cornelius witnesses in his epistle to Fabianus, in Eusebius. To this we may add, as so many witnesses, all those ordinations made by the bishops of Rome, mentioned in the pontifical book of Damasus, Platina, and others; *Habitis de more sacris ordinibus Decembris mense, presbyteros decem, diaconos duos, &c. creat S. Clemens: Anacletus presbyteros quinque, diaconos tres, episcopos diversis in locis sex numero creavit*; and so in descent, for all the bishops of that succession, for many ages together.”—(*Episcopacy Asserted*, Sect. xxxii.)

“But will not necessity excuse them who could not have orders from orthodox Bishops? Shall we either sin against our consciences, by subscribing to heretical and false resolutions ‘in materiâ fidei,’ or else lose the being of a church for want of episcopal ordinations? Indeed, if the case were just thus, it was very hard with good people of the transmarine churches; but I have here two things to consider.”

“2. I consider that necessity may excuse a personal delinquency; but I never heard that necessity did build a church. Indeed, no man is forced, for his own particular, to commit a sin; for if it be absolutely a case of necessity, the action ceaseth to be a sin; but indeed, if God means to build a church in any place, he will do it by means proportionable to that end; that is, by putting them into a possibility of doing and acquiring those things, which himself hath required, of

necessity, to the constitution of a church.' So that, supposing that ordination by a Bishop is necessary for the vocation of priests and deacons, as I have proved it is, and therefore, for the founding or perpetuating of a church, either God hath given to all churches opportunity and possibility of such ordinations, and then, necessity of the contrary is but pretence and mockery; or if he hath not given such possibility, then there is no church there to be either built or continued, but the candlestick is presently removed."—(*Ibid*, Sect. xxxii.)

"I hope it will so happen to us, that it will be verified here, what was once said of the Catholics, under the fury of Justina; 'Sed tanta fuit,' &c.; if it were put to our choice, rather to die than lose the sacred orders and offices of episcopacy, without which no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the sacrament, no absolution, no rite or sacrament, legitimately can be performed, in order to eternity."—(*Ibid*, Sect. xxxii.)

"If the canons and sanctions apostolical; if the decrees of eight famous councils in Christendom, of Ancyra, of Antioch, of Sardis, of Alexandria, two of Constantinople, the Arausican council, and that of Hispalis; if the constant successive acts of the famous martyr-bishops of Rome making ordinations; if the testimony of the whole pontifical book; if the dogmatical resolution of so many Fathers, St. Denis, St. Cornelius, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Epiphanius, St. Austin, and divers others, all appropriating ordinations to the Bishop's hand; *if the constant voice of Christendom, declaring ordination made by presbyters to be null and void, in the nature of the thing*; and never any act of ordination by a non-bishop approved by any council, decretal, or single suffrage of any famous man in Christendom; if that ordinations of bishops were always made, and they ever done by bishops, and no pretence of priests joining with them in their consecrations, and after all this it was declared heresy to communicate the power of giving Orders to presbyters, either alone or in conjunction with bishops, as it was in the case of Aerius; if all this, that is, if whatsoever can be imagined, be sufficient to make faith in this particular,—then it is evident, that the power and order of bishops is greater than the power and order of presbyters, to wit, in this great particular of Ordination, and that by this loud voice and united vote of Christendom."—(*Ibid*, Sect. xxxii.)

"We have seen what Episcopacy is in itself; now, from the same principles, let us see what it is to us; and, first, antiquity taught

us it was simply *necessary, even to the being and constitution of a Church*: that runs high, but we must follow our leaders. St. Ignatius is express in this question; ‘Qui intra altare est, mundus est, quare et obtemperat episcopo et sacerdotibus. Qui vero foris est, hic is est, qui sine episcopo, sacerdote, et diacono, quicquam agit, et ejusmodi inquinatam habet conscientiam, et infideli deterior est:’—He that is within the altar, that is, within the communion of the Church, he is pure, for he obeys the bishop and the priests; but he that is without, that is, does anything without his bishop and the clergy, he hath a filthy conscience, and is worse than an infidel.”—(*Ibid*, Sect. xlv.)

“The pride and peevish haughtiness of some factious people, (again he writes,) that condemn their bishops, is the cause of all heresy and schism. . . . The sum is this—the Bishop is the band and ligature of the Church’s unity, and separation from the Bishop is *διχονομίας συμβολον*, as Theodoret’s expression is, ‘a symbol of faction,’ and he that separates is a schismatic.

“But how if the Bishop himself be a heretic or schismatic? May we not then separate? Yes, if he be judged so by a synod of Bishops; but then he is sure to be deposed too; and then, in these cases, no separation from a Bishop. For till he be declared so, his communion is not to be forsaken by the subjects of his diocese, lest they, by so doing, become their judge’s judge; and when he is declared so, no need of withdrawing from obedience to the Bishop, for the heretic or schismatic must be no longer Bishop. But let the case be what it will, no separation from a Bishop, ‘ut sic,’ can be lawful; and yet, if there were a thousand cases, in which it were lawful to separate from a Bishop, yet in no case is it lawful to separate from episcopacy; that is the quintessence and spirit of schism, and a direct overthrow to Christianity, and a confronting of a Divine Institution.”—(*Ibid*, Sect. xlvi.)

“I sum this up with the saying of St. Clement, the disciple of St. Peter, ‘Si autem vobis episcopis non obedierint omnes presbyteri, &c., tribus, et linguæ non obtemperaverint, non solum infames, sed extorres à regno Dei, et consortio fidelium, ac à limitibus sancti Dei ecclesiæ alieni erunt;’—All priests, and clergymen, and people, and nations, and languages that do not obey their Bishop, shall be shut forth of the communion of Holy Church here, and of heaven hereafter. It runs high, but I cannot help it; I do but translate Ruffinus; as he before translated St. Clement.”—(*Ibid*, Sect. xlvii.)

Dr. Barrow.

"If any man" (says Dr. Barrow) "be so dully or so affectedly ignorant as not to see the reason of the case, (the exercise of episcopal ordination and jurisdiction,) and the dangerous consequences of rejecting this ancient form of discipline; if any man be so overweeningly presumptuous as to question the faith of all history, or to disavow those monuments and that tradition, upon the testimony whereof even the truth and certainty of our religion, and all its sacred oracles do rely; if any be so personally contentious as to oppose the custom and current practice of the Churches through all ages down to the last age; so self-conceitedly arrogant as to condemn or slight the judgment and practice of all the Fathers, (together also with the opinion of the later most grave divines who have judged episcopal presidency needful, or expedient, where practicable,) so peevishly refractory as to thwart the settled order of the Church into which he was baptized, together with the law of the country into which he was born;—upon such a person we may look as one utterly invincible and intractable: so weak a judgment and so strong a will, who can hope by reason to convert?"—(*Of Obedience to our Spiritual Guides and Governors*, vol. iii., Sermon 24.)

Bishop Sage. (*Scotch.*)

Bishop Sage thus writes to Mr. Meldrum.—" ' Ordination (you say) is but a formality, a circumstance, a mode; ' 'Tis not necessary; ' and the same you say of "*uninterrupted succession.*" Sir, to find you so frankly granting my first two propositions, so often mentioned, and withal talking so concerning *ordination* and *succession*, I confess surprises me. How easy were it to prove the *necessity* of *ordination* from the Holy Scriptures? Your friends of the *Provincial Assembly* of London, in their *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, have proved it pretty fully. At present I think it is enough to refer you to them. Only in a few words, let me shew that all the reason in the world pleads for it. What can be more evident than that we cannot be obliged in conscience to *own* any for our *spiritual governors*, and pay them suitable regards of obedience or submission, if they have not our Lord's *commission to govern us*? Whosoever pretends to act as a magistrate in any temporal kingdom, without the king's *commission*, is reckoned an *usurper*, and *invader* of the *royal prerogative*, and as such is obnoxious to the laws. Pray, shall the peace, and the order, and the establishment of temporal kingdoms make *regular commissions* so

necessary; and shall not the peace, the order, the establishment, the unity, the preservation, all the weighty interests of our Lord's kingdom here on earth do it?—If the standing of all other societies requires that *subordinate governors* should have authentic commissions from the *supreme*, the *head*, how much more must the standing of the Church require it? Church governors are *God's representatives*; they *preach* in His name; they make *covenants* and append *seals* to them in His name; in His name they *receive into* and *thrust out* of the communion of His Church. In a word, in His name they must *do every thing*, if they would do it *warrantably*. But how can they do *any thing* in His name? How can they represent Him any manner of way? How can they in any sense be called His *ambassadors*, His *proxies*, His *vicegerents*, without His *commission*? And now he gives no commissions *immediately*. How then can they have His commission, without receiving it from those He has enabled to give commissions to *act in His name*? Now, as I take it, to grant such commissions is to *ordain*; and to receive them is to be *ordained*. And whatsoever proves the *necessity* of *ordination* does likewise conclude the as great *necessity* of an *uninterrupted succession* of persons empowered to *ordain*, authorized by our Lord to give commissions to act in His name. For if such a *succession* is once *interrupted*, how shall it begin again? How shall commissions be had? Who is authorized to give them? There is a *necessity* of having them, and they are not to be expected *immediately* from heaven. Nay more, you shall not have travelled far in this road of thinking and reckoning on the great interests of the Church, and the concerns of souls, when you shall clearly see that few things can be more necessary than that all possible care be taken that *ordinations* be performed *regularly* and *canonically*.”—(*Reasonableness of a Toleration of those of the Episcopal Persuasion*, p. 208.)

“From these and many more such Canons producible, (again writes Bishop Sage,) 'tis evident as light that, during all those centuries, (I may say during the first fifteen,) ordinations performed without bishops were never reputed valid. I dare confidently say you cannot produce *one* instance to the contrary. I can produce divers which were so performed, and therefore most solemnly condemned and repudiated.”—(*Ibid*, p. 176.)

Bishop Stillingfleet.

“The universal consent of the Church being proved, there is as

great reason to believe the Apostolical Succession to be of Divine Institution, as the Canon of Scripture, or the observation of the Lord's day."—(*Ordination Sermon*, preached in 1684.)

"Now it cannot but seem unequal, not to allow the same force where there is the same evidence; and therefore our Church hath wisely and truly determined, that, 'since the Apostles' times, there have been three Orders, of bishops, priests, and deacons,' and, in a regular well-constituted Church, are to continue to the world's end.—*Ibid.*

It is hardly necessary to add that Stillingfleet wrote the *Irenicum*, (a work which is frequently referred to by the opponents of Episcopacy,) when only 24 years of age; that he subsequently confessed "there are many things in it, if he were to write again, he would not say; some which shew his youth and want of due consideration; others, which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the Dissenting parties to the Church of England;" and that he maintains the Divine Right of Episcopacy in many of his subsequent works.—See *Several Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fanatick Chaplain*, p. 148; *The Unreasonableness of Separation*, part iii.; And *Ecclesiastical Cases*, vol. 1.

Dr. Brett.

"The Presbyterian Government can by no means be allowable, or indeed any other Church-Government than the Episcopal, there being no footsteps of any other government in or after the Apostles' days 'till the times of Reformation; and then Presbytery was first established at *Geneva* by *Calvin*, more thro' necessity than choice; and this was the first best plea they had for it, as *Mr. Hooker* has shewed in his Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. I shall therefore proceed to shew that, as we gather from divers passages of Scripture that there were two distinct Orders of the Clergy, one to preach and administer the sacraments, the other to govern and ordain the ministers, so also that these two Orders have continued, apparently distinct, from the Apostles' days downwards. I name only these two Orders at present, because I purpose to treat of the Deacons hereafter by themselves; they being apparently distinguished from these two, and inferior to both."—(*Account of Church Government*, p. 73.)

"And after all, can it be thought reasonable, or indeed lawful, for the *Church of England* to lay aside this *Primitive Order of Bishops*? Or so far to comply with the *Presbyterians*, or other *Dissenters*, as to allow their ordinations to be valid? This would be to act contrary to

a plain *Apostolical Institution*, and the constant practice of the whole *Catholick Church* in all ages and all places, from the first establishment of Christianity to the times of the Reformation.”—(*Ibid*, p. 116.)

“But for my own part I am inclined to think that there are some truths which are always seasonable; I mean such truths as are always of consequence to preserve the honour and welfare of the Church of Christ; of which nature I conceive are these following, *viz.*, that Episcopacy is of Divine Right; that the College of Presbyters are the Bishop’s Council; that to separate from our orthodox Bishops is schismatical; that schism is a damnable sin.”—(*Ibid*, p. 451.)

Bishop Madox.

“Nothing, sure, but the impossibility of supporting his scheme, and proving the Parity of Presbyters and Bishops any *other way*, could have put Mr. N. upon *this* method of attempting it. He had indeed undertaken a difficult task, and must, therefore, have great allowances in the execution of it. The *sense* and *practice* of the whole *Christian Church* for fifteen hundred years, in a *Form* of Church Government, so *early*, so *universally*, so *constantly* received, were great obstacles. No instances of Presbyters executing the *distinguishing* Offices of a Bishop, no example of any man’s being a Bishop one day, and reduced to a mere Presbyter the next, as must have been the case, had a Bishop, as is sometimes alleged, been *no more* than a *Chairman*, a Moderator, or *temporary President* of a Presbytery. No instances of *many* Bishops in places where there were *many* Priests; on the contrary, we always find *one* particular person mentioned as *the* Bishop, and *sole* Bishop of one particular City; even *where* there were *many* Presbyters.”—(*Vindication of the Government, &c. of the Church of England*, p. 63.)

Charles Leslie.

“This Succession is preserved and derived only in the Bishops; as the continuance of any society is deduced in the succession of the chief governors of the society, not of the inferior officers. Thus, in kingdoms we reckon by the succession of the kings, not of sheriffs or constables; and in corporations, by the succession of the mayors or other chief officers, not of the inferior bailiffs or sergeants: so the succession of the Churches is computed in the succession of the Bishops, who are the chief governors of the Churches, and not of Presbyters, who are but inferior officers under the Bishops.

“And in this, the matter of fact is as clear and evident as the succession of any kings or corporations in the world.”—*Works*, vol. vii. p. 102.

Henry Dodwell.

“*I do not know how to excuse these persons from presumption, in presuming to act in His name, without any power received from Him to do so; to make promises, and enter into obligations, wherein they will concern Him as a party, and to think to oblige Him, without any leave received from Him. Nor can they really pretend themselves forced to use such means by any necessity whatsoever. They may indeed be reduced to a necessity of wanting the Ordinances, and they have reason to believe themselves actually reduced to that necessity, when they cannot have them without the sin of usurpation. But no necessity can oblige them to venture on the guilt of that, or any other sin, that they may obtain them. And though such a necessity as this is, when they cannot procure the sacraments by any compliances whatsoever, much less by un sinful ones, may make their case in equity relievable without the sacraments, if they do observe the moral duties of religion; yet the presuming to assume an authority, without leave to do so, is so far from gaining them the legal advantage of sacraments so administered, as that it is the most likely way to forfeit their title to the equity of it, when they use sinful means of coming by it. I have elsewhere observed the example of Saul to this purpose, who had certainly fared better, if, in the absence of Samuel, he had only made use of those moral duties, which even laicks may use without danger of usurpation, than he did by presuming to offer sacrifice without a lawful authority to do so.*”—(*Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government proved Schismatical*, p. 421.)

“*No other ministers have this authority of administering the Sacraments, but only they who receive their Orders in the Episcopal communion. This I shall endeavour to prove by these degrees:—1. That the authority of administering the Sacraments must be derived from God. 2. That though it be derived from Him, yet it is not so derived without the mediation of those men to whom it was at first committed. 3. That it cannot be so derived from those men to whom it was at first committed, without a continued succession of persons orderly receiving authority from those who had authority to give it them, from those first times of the Apostles to ours at present. 4. That this authority is to be expected nowhere now but in the Episcopal*

Communion. . . . The consequent whereof will be, that all *Ordinations*, and all *administrations of the Sacraments*, derived from any *multitudes or persons*, on account of their *general right of governing themselves*, without an *express donation from God*, are not only *irregular* but *invalid*, and such as can neither, in conscience, oblige any subjects to submit to them, nor encourage any, who are otherwise willing to submit, to expect any benefit from them."—(*Ibid*, pp. 424-5.)

Dr. Hickes.

"It grieves me always, when I consider to what difficulty the ministers of the *Presbyterian Churches Abroad* have been put, to answer the questions about their mission; and what shifts and evasions their defenders among us have also been put to, in their attempts to defend it. And therefore I must say it again, the greatest and truest charity to the Reformed Churches, and the whole Reformation, is to exhort them to take the same mission that we have retained, as the only true and indisputable mission of the Holy Catholic Church. I think the nature of Christian charity obliges us, upon Catholic principles, to *write them up to our Church*, and not, as the manner of some hath been, to *write our Church down to them*."—(*Preface to the Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted*, p. 50.)

"If, then, the Apostolical or Episcopal form was ordained by Christ, for the perpetual and unalterable polity of His Church, as all Christianity in all ages believed for fifteen hundred years, then let all the clergy write for it, expecting the protection of their great Lord here, and their reward from him hereafter, when they must give an account of their stewardship, and the authority he hath committed to them for the government of his people."—(*Preface*, &c., p. 48.)

Robert Burscough.

"Among the Innovators, I doubt, we shall find the second sort of your teachers, which I have mentioned, and these are they who claim a title to the *Ministry*, as being ordained by Presbyters."—(*Discourse of Schism*, p. 96.)

"We do not find in *Scripture*, that to mere *Presbyters* any such authority was ever committed; nor are there any footsteps of it in antiquity. But if they must be thought to have quitted it presently after the *Apostles' days*, there were never men that, at such a vast distance of place, so universally, and all on a sudden, conspired to degrade themselves, and to yield up their rights tamely, without any complaint. Yet with so much artifice must they be imagined to have

betrayed their trust and covered their shame, that no discovery was made of it for fifteen hundred years. We hear of no claim of any such power made by any *Presbyters* before the *fourth century*, when *Aerius*, and others, opposed *Episcopacy*: But they were expelled from the *Churches*, and could no where gain an establishment; nor are they of such a character as may give reputation to any cause.

"Yet, if mere *Presbyters* might constitute others of their own character, it doth not follow that they could ordain *Timothy*, who was a *Bishop*, and had jurisdiction over them, as I have shewed in another place. They could not give what they never had, nor communicate a power which they had never received. Thus the *Fathers* argue in the case. And on another occasion, *Salmasius* himself asserts, that such reasoning is good concerning the conveyance of an authority which is of *divine institution*, as that is, which is now in question."—*Ibid*, pp. 98, 100.

"It is to be observed, that *St. Paul* himself ordained *Timothy*, and says to him on that occasion, '*I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.*' And if he condescended to call to his assistance some inferior officers for the greater solemnity of the action, it does not follow that they could do it of themselves without him; and much less, that they could do it in opposition to him, or any other that should be in the same station."—*Ibid*, 101.

"I have now enquired what title your pastors have to the Ministry; whether they pretend to it, as being ordained by *Presbyters*, or by the people; and can find nothing of validity in it. If they can demonstrate it to be good, let them produce their strong reasons for it. But if no just defence can be made of it, then, according to the doctrine of their brethren, expressed in the last section, they '*mock God, to serve their own turns: they profane the sacred function, and make a trifle of the sin: they are the troublers of the people, and the subverters of souls: they are plain impostors and usurpers of the broad seals of heaven: they are the disturbers of all right, and the Phaetons that burn up the spiritual world: they intrude themselves into a trust, even the highest trust, which was not committed to them; and therefore are to be reckoned amongst those that are branded as profligately wicked, and guilty of impudent falsification.*'

"If this sounds harsh, I hope you will remember that it is the language of your brethren; and if your pastors would make fit reflections on it, I might hope that they would not esteem me their

enemy for dealing plainly with them, but rather be thankful for my endeavours to *save them with fear*, and by a faithful representation of their condition to bring them to repentance. I doubt many of them are hindered from this by their numerous followers; and therefore charity does the more constrain me to warn you, not to be partakers with them any longer in dividing the Church; not to assist or encourage them in giving such deep wounds, as they do, to the Body of Christ.

"There may be other cases of schism which are perplexed and difficult, but yours is not of that number. For to sum up all,

1. You have forsaken a Church, to which, by your own confession, your conformity was lawful. You have abandoned the whole Episcopal Communion, and thereby, in effect, you renounced all right to the Ministry and Sacraments.

2. You have not only deserted those who, by your own acknowledgments, are lawful pastors, but, to their great disturbance, and a farther breach of unity, you have brought within their line, and in opposition to them, other guides of your own choosing.

3. These, for the most part, are such as had no Episcopal, or real Ordination. So that you have exceeded the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, and *Meletians*, who had their proper Bishops; and these, upon their repentance of their irregularities, were received by the Church into the same station which they possessed before the time of their separation. But no part of the ancient Church ever admitted of a pastor of your way. None ever approved your *Presbyterian* and *popular Ordinations*. When one of the former sort did first appear, it was condemned as null and void, by the third Council of *Alexandria*. And the other, till of late, was never heard of in the *Christian* world.

"Thus have I laid before you a just account of your state, as you are divided from us; and to clear it, I have given you the true character of your preachers; I mean, as they are such, and bear their part in the schism. It is only on this occasion that I have meddled with them, and now exhort you, with all earnestness, to *depart from the tents of those men, lest ye be consumed in their sins*."—(*Ibid*, pp. 109, 112.)

Luke Milbourn.

"Our original proposition was, that none ought to take upon them to teach or govern the Church of God, but such as are *lawfully called* to that weighty work. And having proved that proposition already,

by several reasons, for a further confirmation of the same truth, we must enquire,

“*Secondly*. What those *Officers* were, who were Commissioned by our Saviour and his Apostles to teach and govern the Church. And we cannot answer this question in better words than those of our holy Mother, the Church of *England*, in her Preface to the Book of Ordination: ‘It is evident to all men, (says she,) diligently reading holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these three Orders of ministers in *Christ’s* Church, *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*.’

“And our Church asserts farther, according to our proposition, that ‘These Offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and were also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto.’ Of these three Orders or degrees of teaching and governing Officers in the Church, we meet with frequent and distinct mention in Scripture, and of no more, as we shall prove hereafter.”—(*Legacy to the Church of England*, pp. 59, 60.)

“We must first take notice of those Church Officers who are of the highest Order; and those are *Bishops*, to whose office neither heretics nor schismatics of older days ever made any objections. And, indeed, they would have passed for little less than madmen, in those days, who should have denied the Divine Original of the government of the Church by Bishops.”—(p. 65.)

“We have thus far proved the Order of Bishops superior to that of Presbyters, from the beginning; and, I must confess, I have never seen anything yet, in the writings of our most learned adversaries, which has amounted to more than mere cavilling and sophistry against such Bishops.”—(p. 78.)

“If, in spite of all our charity and tenderness for them, the censure should fall heavily upon our brethren of the Reformation, we cannot yet renounce those truths, of which we have the clearest evidence in the world, for their sakes. That old saying, ‘I love *Plato*, and I love *Socrates*, but I love Truth better than either of them,’ ought to take place here.”—(pp. 285-6.)

Dr. Bowden.

Dr. Bowden, in his *Apostolic Origin of Episcopacy*, remarks, “It

may be observed, that those who assert the Divine Institution of Episcopacy, must necessarily be supposed to maintain, that a Church which rejects Episcopacy, or cannot possibly obtain it, (which is placing it upon the most favourable ground,) is, *quoad hoc*, imperfect and unsound. For if Episcopacy rests upon Divine Institution, then a Presbyterian Church, which wants Episcopacy, wants a Divine Institution; and, consequently, in a very important point must be defective."

Archdeacon Daubeny.

"The Commission to administer the Sacraments of the Church was originally delivered by our Saviour to His Apostles, accompanied with a power to invest others with the same important office. From this Divine fountain all authority in this case must be derived.

"From whence it has followed, that a regular reception of the Divine Commission, through the channel appointed to convey it, has been a circumstance which, in every age of the Church, from the times of the Apostles down to the present day, has been considered *essential* to the validity of the ministerial office."—*Appendix to Daubeny's Guide to the Church*, p. 260, &c.

Archbishop Laud.

"This I will say, and abide by it, that the calling of Bishops is *jure divino*, by Divine Right."—(*On Church Ritual*, p. 347.)

To whose testimony we may add that of the author of *Εικων Βασιλικη*.

"As for examples and practice of the Church, or testimonies of histories, they (the Presbyterians) are wholly destitute; wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not *the least rivulet* for any other."—(p. 145.)

Extracts from *The Beauty of the Church of England*, &c.

"Here then, let us consider and beware of the fatal progress of error. Calvin and the Reformers with him, set up Presbyterian government, as they pretended by necessity; but still they kept up and possessed the highest regard to the Episcopal character and authority. But those who pretend to follow their example, have utterly abdicated the whole Order of Episcopacy as Anti-Christian, and an insupportable grievance; while at the same time they would seem to pay the greatest reverence to these Reformers, and ought to pay much

more to the authority of the first and purest ages of Christianity; whose Fathers spoke all the high things before quoted, in behalf of Episcopacy.

“And, therefore, if these can be answered, so may all that can possibly be produced, or framed in words.

“And there is no remedy left to the Presbyterians, and other Dissenters from Episcopacy, but to deny all these by wholesale, to throw off all antiquity, as well in the first ages of Christianity, even that wherein the Apostles themselves lived and taught, as well as all ages since; and to stand upon a new foundation of their own invention.

“But how absurd and vile is it for them to argue against, and deny a matter of fact so proved, and an institution so universally admitted and received for Divine, by the universal consent, testimony, and joint authority, of all the holy Bishops, Saints, and Martyrs, and by the whole Christian Church in all ages and places; as if all Christians, from Christ to this present time, had been all deluded fools, and our *English Dissenters* the only wise men in matters of religion that ever were in the world, and knew the sense and meaning of the Scripture, and the practice of the Apostles, better than those who lived in the Apostles’ times, and transmitted those sacred oracles to us.

“But this shews the desperateness of their cause, and the impregnable bulwark of Episcopacy, which stands upon so many clear and authentic evidences, as can never be overthrown, but by such topics as must render Christianity itself precarious.”—(*Ibid.* p. 323.)

“And here I cannot forbear observing, how much we of the Church of *England* are bound to acknowledge the goodness, and to praise, magnify, and adore the name of the most High God, in that we are born and bred, and still live in a Church, wherein all the means of Grace are as truly and effectually administered to the salvation of souls, as they were by the Apostles themselves. For the Bishops and Pastors of our Church have derived their Commission by an uninterrupted succession, and imposition of hands, begun by the Apostles, and have been continued and preserved entire in our Church through all ages, from the Apostles’ days to this present time; and so are truly and properly their lawful successors.”—(*Ibid.* p. 326.)

“As for the pretence that the succession of Bishops has been broke, this is morally impossible; because it has been a received doctrine in every age of the Church, from the Apostles’ days to the present time, that no Ordination was valid but that of Bishops. This doctrine has been a constant guard upon the Episcopal Succession. For seeing it

was universally believed that Bishops alone could ordain, it was morally impossible, that any persons could be received as Bishops, who had not been so ordained.

“Now is it not morally impossible, that in our Church any one should be made a Bishop without Episcopal Ordination? Is there any possibility of forging orders, or gaining a Bishoprick by any other means? No, it is morally impossible; because it is an acknowledged doctrine amongst us, that a Bishop can only be ordained by Bishops.

“Now as this doctrine must necessarily prevent any one being a Bishop without Episcopal Ordination in our age, so it must have the same effect in every other age as well as ours; and consequently it is as reasonable to believe, that the Succession of Bishops was not broke in any age since the Apostles, as that it was not broke in our own kingdom within these forty years: for the same doctrine which preserves it forty years, may as well preserve it forty hundred years, if it was equally believed in all that space of time.

“If, then, an authority to administer the Word and Sacraments, can no otherwise be had, than by an uninterrupted succession of men from Christ empowered to qualify others, then I desire to be informed how any layman, or number of laymen, considered as such, can any more make a Priest, or Commission a person to officiate in Christ’s name as such, than they can enlarge the means of Grace, or add a new Sacrament for the conveyance of spiritual advantages.”—(*Ibid*, p. 327.)

“And therefore, whosoever suppresses, despises, usurps, and endeavours to take away this Divine Ordinance, opposes Christianity itself, and consequently can be no Christian, but a perfect sinner.

“And it may as well be affirmed, that no Gospel shall be preached, no Sacraments administered, no peace and order maintained, nor any discipline exercised in the Church, which are things of everlasting necessity, and must be preserved through all ages to the world’s end, as to affirm, that there has not, or shall not be a constant succession of officers, by whom these things shall be done.

“For if there be no uninterrupted succession, then there are no authorized Ministers from Christ; if no such ministers, then no Christian Sacraments; if no Christian Sacraments, then no Christian Covenant; and if no Christian Covenant, then no Christian Church, according to the Order of Christ.

“So that it is an ancient, Catholic, and a substantial truth, and evident, both from Scripture and ecclesiastical history, that there never was any Christian Church, true Ordinations, or Christian Sacraments,

without Episcopacy ; no one instance can be produced in proof that there was, from the Apostles' days to this present time ; except some upstart sects, which have risen of late, may be called Churches, who take upon them to thrust out teachers into the world without Episcopal Orders, to the great disturbance of the Church, and the peril of men's souls : Whose preaching, therefore, has been justly reckoned no other than the prating of seducers and false teachers, their baptisms no better than common washings, and their ordinations of no more force, than sending any upon an ordinary errand.

" If, therefore, we would continue in covenant with Christ, and receive the Grace and benefits of His Ordinances, we must receive them through such hands as He has authorised for that purpose, to the end we may be qualified to partake of the blessings of them. For as a true Priest cannot benefit us by administering a false Sacrament ; so a true Sacrament is nothing, when it is administered by a false uncommissioned minister."—(*Ibid*, p. 330.)

" If these are matters of fact, and the real truth of the case, (as they certainly are,) what is the reason this truth must be so carefully suppressed ? Is it because the doctrine is of a light and trivial nature, and affects the condition of no one, whether it be true or false ? This, indeed, would be a plausible reason for such a manner of proceeding. But this, it seems, is not the reason. No, the doctrine is of too great importance to be published ; and great numbers of men are so deeply concerned in the consequences of it, that it must not be believed. It unchurches, it is said, the Kirk of *Scotland*, all our Dissenters at home, and most of the Protestant Churches abroad ; and therefore the principle cannot be good, as being attended with a consequence so evil. But if where there are no Bishops, there are no Priests, and if, (as is universally acknowledged,) where there are no Priests there is no Church, then the Protestant Churches, either here or elsewhere, that are destitute of Bishops, are in reality no Churches, however they may be improperly dignified by that title. But does the Order of Bishops cease to be a Divine Institution merely upon this account ? and must the necessity of Episcopal Ordination be given up, purely to compliment those who have wilfully abandoned it, and presumptuously despise it ? Alas ! the positive Institutions of the Gospel do not become unnecessary because great numbers are involved in the mischiefs which attend a disobedience to them ; nor is a doctrine ever the less true, although it were the interest of the whole world to have it false. If these doctrines are really founded upon the divine

law, then, indeed, it is plain and certain matter of fact, that all those persons I have been now speaking of are effectually unchurched. And this, indeed, is a very great mischief. But then, they only must answer for it, with all the sad and terrible consequences that follow from the want of a valid ministry and valid sacraments, who have been themselves the occasions of it. *It is not the Divine Institutions that unchurches them, but their own wilful disobedience to them. And those doctrines are not false because they are unchurched, but they are unchurched because these doctrines are true.*

“But truth must not be obstructed, that evil consequences may not be run into; for if it must, then the whole Christian Dispensation must be taken away as hurtful, by reason of the sad consequences of it to wilful, slothful, and wicked men; which is abominable, vile, and base, to the last degree, once to believe or imagine that it may.

“And, therefore, let consequences be never so terrible, men must look to themselves, and endeavour to escape them. Truth is not less *truth*, for any mischievous consequences that men involve themselves in by departing from, or not coming up to it. Truth is immutable, and standeth firm for ever, let consequences be what they will; and 'tis only by this test that all doctrines may be tried, and 'tis by this we can safely determine.

“So that the best way to avoid ill consequences, is closely to follow the holy institutions of our Lord and Master, and not by false refinings to set ourselves up as wiser than He.

“Since, then, the power, the mission, the authority of the ministry, is constituted and commanded by God for a perpetual ordinance; since it is enjoined by Him, whom all things in heaven and earth obey; since the religion of Christ cannot be duly propagated and effectually supported without a constant succession of Bishops and Priests; since it is appointed to be for ever observed in the Church; since it has been sealed with the blood of the best men, the Christian martyrs! confirmed by the unanimous consent of Fathers and Councils; since those who usurp and oppose this ministry, oppose religion itself, and act in disobedience and rebellion against the laws of God, and have been constantly condemned by the Church in all ages; will any man, after this, dare to vilify this divine institution? Will any man in his senses pronounce an institution so given, and so ratified by God Himself, unmeaning and unimportant? Can we imagine that it was asserted by the most learned men, of the most early ages of Christianity, without knowledge? or obeyed by the most holy, even unto

death, without conscience? or revered by the whole Church of God, without reason? And shall we, after all this, condemn and lay aside this divine institution, because latitudinarians, libertines, and insolent and obstinate schismatics and enthusiasts despise it? Shall their false opinions, and prejudices, and secular interest, weigh against God's authority and the inspirations of his Holy Spirit, against the unanimous consent and joint authority of Apostles and Martyrs, Fathers and Councils, and the whole Church of God in all ages of Christianity! God forbid! Woe! eternal woe be to him that fighteth against God; that striveth with his Maker, that labours to cancel the righteous acts of his eternal decrees.

"Whatever, therefore, is appointed by the instigation and artifice of human policy, in order to change, new model, and abrogate the sacred hierarchy, to disturb, violate, and destroy this positive Institution of God, is impiety, is sacrilege, is rebellion against heaven, is an invasion and infringement upon Christ's own authority.—(*Beauty of the Church of England*, pp. 332-5.)

Peter Du Moulin.

The following remarks on the Scotch Schism, by the son of an eminent French Protestant Minister, will be read with interest.

Peter Du Moulin the younger, in a letter to a "Scotchman of the Covenant," 1639-40, thus writes: "Whereas in one of your petitions to his Majestie you are confident that *your neighbour Churches will approve all your proceedings*; your neighbour Churches of France have solemnly disapproved all your proceedings, and herein given good satisfaction to his Majestie: For it was ever farre from our wishes that your conformitie with the Reformed Churches of France should be misapplied as a pretence of your expulsi^on of your Bishops, much lesse a president for you to take armes against your gracious Sovereigne. Wherefore I will endeavour to remove that false colour set upon the violent counsels of the Covenant, and shew to the world that for your differences with Episcopall authoritie, which are now broken into a quarrell, you had neither president nor encouragement from us."—p. 2.

"The French, indeed, have no Bishops; but they never put down Bishops, nor induced others to put down Bishops: And you know that our Saviour puts a difference between *breaking of commandments, and teaching men so*. Now to have Bishops is a *commandment*, and not of the least; for it is an Apostolicall Order. Suppose, then, that the

French *breake it, yet they doe not teach men so.* And I will endeavour to shew you that they teach men otherwise; and that it is necessitie, not choice, that keepeth them from Episcopall Order. But the Scots *break that commandment, and teach men so;* and represent the Antichrist in no other habit than a Rochet and a Miter.”—(p. 6.)

“I wish for your own good, that the Churches of Scotland would yeeld to Bishops as much power as Calvin doth, even the power of censures, and of presenting and ordaining priests. . . . It is not the use, but the abuse of Bishops, that Calvin and the Reformed Churches of France reject.”—(p. 12, 13.)

“My Reverend Father, Doctor Du Moulin, in his *Buckler of the Faith*, is altogether for *Episcopacie*, and proveth the antiquitie of it, and that it began a yeere after our Saviour’s death; and sheweth how the Apostles were the founders of that Order.”—(p. 16.) “In the conclusion, hee craveth a favourable construction of all that the Reformed Divines of these Churches wrote against Bishops: *If sometimes* (saith he) we speake against the authoritie of Bishops, we condemn not Episcopall Order in it selfe, but speake onely of the corruption which the Church of Rome hath brought into the *Episcopacie*, making it a temporall principallitie, depending upon the Papall throne.”—(p. 18)

He then gives seven reasons why the French Reformed Churches have no Bishops, and says, “Of all these reasons there is none that can serve your turne: wherefore our want of Bishops cannot be a president for your putting down of Bishops;” (p. 27) and adds, “the truth is, neither you nor they have a settled discipline.” (p. 28)

In conclusion, I would remark, in the language of Thomas’s admirable *Answer to Owen*, (which is strongly recommended by Dr. Hickes,) that, “though Bishops Jewel, Morton, and Bilson, with many more Protestants, are cited in favour of our (Presbyterian) Author, we reply, that few remarks had been found among our *English* Divines, to favour the Pleader’s cause,” (referring to Owen’s *Plea*,) “had not their tenderness to their Protestant Brethren abroad, made them drop some expressions, which this author, and others at the time, make use of to prove their

settled judgments. But it is by no means fair to catch at an occasional word here and there, (men's charity sometimes carrying them beyond the strictness of their judgments, especially in doubtful times,) and set that to confront their well settled judgments and practice. . . . Our Church, ever since the Reformation, had three Forms of Ordination, one for *Deacons*, another for *Priests*, and a third for *Bishops*, as the *Preface* before them plainly mentions. All our Divines give their assent and consent to these Orders. Yet some *charitable expressions*, uttered by some of our Divines heretofore, in favour of the Reformers beyond the Sea, must now be thrown in their teeth, to make them a different Church of England from the present."—(Page 98. See, also, some valuable remarks on the 13th *Eliz.*, c. 12, pp. 101, 104.)

E. C. HARINGTON.

The Close, Exeter, Sept. 13th, 1851.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

LETTER III.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE SCOTCH
BISHOPS IN 1610.

SIR,

No sooner is the case of Morrison disposed of, than other instances are advanced, to prove that "Presbyterian Orders have been admitted" by the Bishops of our Church, and that they have acted upon such admissions. We are informed, by a writer in the *Morning Herald*, that "in 1610, when three Scotch Presbyters came to London for Consecration, Bishop Andrewes raised the question of their ordination; whereupon Archbishop Bancroft maintained the validity of Presbyterian ordination when Bishops could not be had, 'otherwise it might be doubtful if there were any lawful vocation in most of the reformed Churches.' The rest applauded, Ely acquiesced, and by their Consecration Presbyterian orders were admitted."

This statement is, I am aware, made on the authority of Spottiswood; but if historical truth had been aimed at, it should have been stated that Heylin and other writers give a very different solution of the difficulty which occurred:—"As the learned Heylin (writes Collier) represents the matter, Bancroft went upon a much more defensible principle (than the recognition of Presbyterian Ordination); he argued there was no necessity the Scotch Bishops should pass through the intermediate orders of Deacon and Priest; for that the Episcopal character might be fully conveyed at a single Consecration; and for this he cited some considerable precedents in the ancient Church."—(*Eccl. History*, vol. vii., p. 363.) "We have information from other hands, (writes Skinner,) that Dr.

Bancroft added a more convincing solution, and the only solution which could give satisfaction to a man of Ely's (Andrewes) strict principles, that, according to many examples in the Primitive Church, the Episcopal Order included all below it, and consequently the regular conferring of it supplied every real or supposed defect."—(*Ch. Hist.* vol. ii., p, 252.) Carwithen, and other writers, upon the authority of Neale, etc., ascribe the above opinion to Abbot:—"Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, required that, before the Consecration, the Scottish Prelates should be ordained priests: . . . Abbot, Bishop of London, was of opinion that there was no necessity of passing through the inferior orders of Deacon and Priest, but that the Episcopal character might be conveyed at once. The difficulty was settled according to the suggestion of Abbot, and the three Scottish Prelates were accordingly consecrated in the Chapel of London House." The cases referred to by Bancroft, or Abbot, are those of St. Ambrose, Eusebius, and Nectarius. This places the question in a very different light; and, as regards the assertion in the *Herald*, it assuredly would require very strong testimony to prove that Dr. Bancroft, who preached the celebrated Sermon at St. Paul's Cross in 1588, (which so irritated the Scotch Presbyterians that they petitioned the Queen to dismiss him from his chaplaincy,) had admitted the validity of Presbyterian orders in 1610! In that sermon Bancroft asserted, that "it is most manifest that there hath been a diverse government from this (the Presbyterian) used in the Church, ever since the Apostles' times." And, again, he says, "A very strange matter, if it were true, that Christ should erect a form of government (by Presbyters) for the ruling of his Church, to continue from his departure out of the world until his coming again, and that the same should never be once thought of or put in practice,

for the space of fifteen hundred years !”—(See *Letter, supra*, pp. 19, 28.)

It is interesting to observe that Malcolm Laing, a Presbyterian writer, concurs in the solution which is given above of the difficulty which occurred at the Consecration in question. “As the Scottish Prelates, (writes Laing,) were not yet adopted into the apostolical order, three of their number were summoned to Court to receive Consecration. Their Ordination even to the Priesthood was questioned ; but the objection was overruled, lest their former Presbyterian vocation should appear invalid ; the subordinate order of Priesthood *was included*, or supposed to be included, *in the Episcopal*; and *was supplied*, if defective, by the regular *Consecration* of these Scottish Bishops.”—(*History of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 66.) And again, in speaking of the Consecration of the four Prelates in 1662, he says—“The danger which had threatened the extinction of English Episcopacy during the usurpation, had not inspired moderation. At the Consecration of Spottiswood, the subordinate orders of priesthood had been *conferred* or *supplied* by the Episcopal character; but Sharpe and Leighton were required, before they could be consecrated, to submit to Episcopal Ordination, as Deacons and Priests.”—(*Ibid*, vol. iv., p. 22.) Unless, therefore, the writer in the *Herald* can throw any new light upon the subject, I shall conclude, that the admission of Presbyterian orders, by the Bishops who consecrated the Scottish Prelates, is still *to be proved*.

E. C. HARINGTON.

The Close, Exeter, Sept. 18, 1851.

EXETER :

PRINTED BY W. & H. POLLARD, NORTH STREET.

.MDCCCLL.

A FEW WORDS

IN

ANSWER TO THE REV. W. GOODE'S REPLY

TO

Archdeacon Churton & Chancellor Harington,

ON THE LV. CANON, &c.:

BY E. C. HARINGTON, A. M.,

CHANCELLOR OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF EXETER.

"These things are not mere trifles, they are worth maintaining, they are worth contending for."—Bishop MEDLEY *On Episcopacy, &c.*

LONDON: F. & J. RIVINGTON.

EXETER: A. HOLDEN, H. J. WALLIS, J. SPREAT.

PLYMOUTH: R. LIDSTONE.

MDCCCLII.

1870

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1870

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1870

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

A FEW WORDS,

&c.

“*A Letter to the Archdeacon of Totnes on the Necessity of Episcopal Ordination, by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter,*”—in which his Lordship treats most fully on the 19th and 23rd Articles, the Preface to the Ordinal, &c., &c., with reference to certain Replies by his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury,—renders it quite unnecessary for me to enter at all upon the subject of *Presbyterian Ordination*, and the many questions connected therewith, in relation to the Church of England. My object in the following pages will be to endeavour simply to throw light upon one or two points in my Pamphlet *On the LV. Canon*, &c., upon which Mr. Goode has commented, and respecting which, therefore, additional information may not be uninteresting. I will study the utmost brevity.

At page 15, (for I leave the reply to the first thirteen pages, to the far more able and practised pen of Archdeacon Churton,) Mr. Goode refers to my extracts from Bancroft's Sermon, which, he says, were “intended to shew the absurdity of supposing

Bancroft to have recognised a *Presbyterian Community* as a Church." Now I must beg to remark, that this is not quite a correct statement. The question was, as to the meaning of a certain clause in the LV. Canon, whether it relates to the *Kirk of Scotland*, or not. Bancroft was President of the Convocation when the Canon was enacted. His opinions, therefore, respecting the *Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland*, are of the utmost importance in solving the difficulty. And with his testimony before us, contained in the "ten pages devoted to extracts" from his Sermon, I repeat that it would be "absurd" to suppose that he recognised the *Kirk of Scotland* as a branch of *Christ's Holy Catholic Church*; whatever might have been his opinion of "Presbyterian Communities" in general.

But we are told, upon the testimony of Spottiswoode, that Bancroft did acknowledge the validity of the Scottish Orders in 1610; and that, as Spottiswoode was "himself one of the three Bishops then consecrated," we "may as well deny the value of almost all the records of history we possess," as reject his testimony, or oppose to it "Heylin's unsupported assertions." But may I ask, Why? The reader of Mr. Goode's Reply might, indeed, hastily infer that Spottiswoode *was present* when the discussion referred to took place, and that, consequently, to deny his statement would be to question his veracity. But the fact appears to be, that the question arose and was settled, sometime between

the middle of September, when Spottiswoode arrived in England, and the 21st of October, when the Consecration took place.—(*History, &c.*, p. 514.) “A question *in the meantime*,” (writes Spottiswoode,) *i. e.*, between “the midst of September,” and “the 21st of October,” “was moved by Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, touching the Consecration of Scottish Bishops,” &c.; but it would not appear to have been discussed at all at the time of the Consecration, as Archbishop Bancroft, “who was by,” was not on the Commission; and we are left to conjecture as to the testimony upon which Spottiswoode makes his statement. Such a statement being, moreover, directly at variance with the well known views of Andrewes and Bancroft, I am induced to look for information elsewhere; and I find it in Heylin, whose account of the transaction is clear and express. “That this (the Episcopal) character (writes Heylin) might be indelibly imprinted on them, his Majesty issues a Commission, under the Great Seal of England, to the Bishops of London, Ely, Wells, and Rochester, whereby they were required to proceed to the Consecration of the said three Bishops, according to the rules of the English Ordination; which was by them performed with all due solemnity, in the Chapel of the Bishop of London’s House, near the Church of St. Paul’s, October 21st, 1610. But first a scruple had been moved by the Bishop of Ely, (Andrewes,) concern-

ing the capacity of the persons nominated for receiving Episcopal Consecration, in regard that none of them had formally been ordained Priests; which scruple *was removed by Archbishop Bancroft*, alledging that there was no such necessity of receiving the Order of Priesthood, but that Episcopal Consecrations might be given without it; as might have been exemplified in the cases of Ambrose and Nectarius, of which the first was made Archbishop of Milan, and the other Patriarch of Constantinople, without receiving any intermediate orders, whether of Priest, Deacon, or any other (if there were any other) at that time in the Church.”—(*History of the Presbyterians*, p. 387.)

But whence did Heylin obtain his information? The question is easily answered. Bishop Andrewes died in 1626, and Archbishop Abbot in 1633. Now, in 1631 Heylin was Prebendary of Westminster, and was at that time a controversialist of some note; and having been intimately connected with the ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, through Laud, (then Bishop of London,) would naturally inform himself on the point in question. I therefore, without “denying the value of almost all the records of history we possess,” prefer the testimony of Heylin to that of Spottiswoode; especially as the latter manifested considerable jealousy in favour of “the Church of Scotland.” (See Bishop of Exeter’s *Letter*, &c., p. 64.)

At page 17, Mr. Goode says, “*Seven more pages*

are then occupied with extracts from the Canons of 1606, &c. . . . but *cui bono*? . . . Let Chancellor Harington ask himself the question, whether Archdeacon Mason or Bishop Cosin would not have cordially assented to those Canons, and then let him remember what both of them have said of the Ministry of certain Non-Episcopal Churches." But, with deference to Mr. Goode, that is not the question. The question is, what would Mason and Cosin have thought about the *Kirk of Scotland*? And whether, holding, as they did, the opinions expressed in the Canons of 1606, they would have recognised the Presbyterian body in *Scotland* as a branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church?

With regard to Archdeacon Mason, I refer without hesitation to "the avowed principles" which are advocated "in all his genuine works"; and I would direct the reader's attention to the following passage from "*The Translator's Preface*" to Mason's "*Vindication of the Church of England*," touching the author of the "*Defence of the Validity of the Ordination of the Ministers of the Reformed Churches beyond Seas*," which has been ascribed to Mason, and to which Mr. Goode has referred. The Translator, having given "divers reasons why he looked upon that piece as *spurious*," (pp. 55, 58,) adds, "Other instances might be produced, to shew that the principles laid down in this '*Defence of the Ordination of the Protestant Ministers beyond Seas*,' (and that, too, not by way

of concession, or argument *ad hominem* only, but of a professed disputation for the lawfulness of their calling,) are *directly contrary to Mason's avowed principles in all his genuine works*. From whence I make no scruple to pass this censure upon it, *that it is none of his*, but published in his name by a time-server, to serve the turn of a faction, (after his death,¹) by Mason's well-established reputation. . . . From all which I conclude, that it would be *absurd*, [*Lindsay's* expression, not mine,] and inconsistent in our author, Mason, or any other orthodox divine, (who asserts the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, as he does) to undertake a professed *Vindication of the Validity of their Ordi-*

¹ "There are divers reasons for which I cannot but look upon this piece as *spurious*. As 1st, with respect to *the time of its appearance in the world*, viz. *twenty years after our Author's death*; and that too when a restless and unruly faction were using all manner of means to overturn the Church of England and her Ministry; one of which was to set up the Constitution of the *Reformed Churches abroad* (though *but of yesterday*) in opposition to that ancient and excellent one of ours. 2nd. With respect to its *Editor*, viz. *John Duree*, a Scotsman, and a Preacher; though whether he had taken *Orders* according to the Form of the Church of England, which (it seemed) *he always scrupled*, it doth not appear. However he was a great pretender towards making a *reconciliation between the Calvinists and Lutherans beyond the Seas*; but so far from being a friend to *the Church of England*, that *he sided with the Presbyterians* when they became prevalent in 1641, was one of the zealous Preachers before that *rebellious Parliament*, and by them, amongst other employments, made one of their *pious Assembly of Divines*, to reform away the *Church of England* (Root and Branch) as they themselves reformed the State," &c.—*Preface*, p. 55.

nations, without Bishops ; at least, since their want of them proceeds not from *necessity*, but from a fixed *opposition* to that sacred Order, and an utter *aversion* to all who hold it to be of *Divine Institution*."

Bishop Cosin having been also referred to, shall speak for himself: "You shall *not find that I ever said Presbyters had any power of rightful Ordination* in the judgment of antiquity; nay, you shall find the contrary, and that I greatly blame them, saying, *they will never be able to answer it for presuming to take a power upon them which was never given nor committed to them* ; and that nothing but a case of NECESSITY, (*reserving their wonted desire of Bishops*, where they are by no means to be had nor permitted,) can excuse them."—(*Works*, vol. iv., p. 448.) Now I have yet to learn, that either John Knox or Andrew Melville could claim the plea of *necessity* for "abolishing Prelacy," and establishing the "Presbyterian Platform ;" or that the Assembly held at Dundee, in 1580, was *necessitated* to call "*the office of a Bishop unlawful in itself*;" or that at Montrose, in 1600, to maintain that "*the Anglican Episcopal Dignities, and all Ecclesiastical Prelacies, are flat repugnant to the Word of God*," and "*all corruptions of these Bishopricks DAMNED and REJECTED*;" or that (to quote the language of Calderwood) they were required to "protest that they *detested and abhorred Episcopal Government, which was damned*, not only by doctrine in pulpits,

but also by *Acts of Assemblies* and Articles of the Book of Policy.”—(*History*, p. 96.) Surely Mr. Goode must at once see that this is an answer to his question, “Will Chancellor Harington tell us, why they should recognise a German Ecclesiastical Community as a Church, (as even Bishop Cosin did, and communicated with it rather than with Rome,) and repudiate the Presbyterian Scotch Kirk?”

When, again, Mr. Goode remarks, “That when all these persons were recognising and cherishing as true Churches of Christ the Foreign Reformed Churches that were under a Presbyterian Form of Government, it is to me incomprehensible (I will not use Chancellor Harington’s phrase *absurd*, lest he might dislike the rebound of his own term,) how it can be urged as impossible that they should recognise the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as a true Church, and pray² for it,” it would appear to me that Mr. Goode has himself advanced a valid reason

² The sentiments contained in the following passage in the Bishop of Exeter’s *Letter*, &c. (pp. 61, 62,) were as applicable to the Kirk of Scotland in 1604, as at the present time, and perhaps more so. “It has been said, that our Church does not refuse the Scottish Presbyterians the benefits of her prayers, because they may vary from us in their own constitution and forms. Undoubtedly not. I am quite ready to pray for all persons who own this (the *Extirpation* of Popery, *Prelacy*—that is, Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Déans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical officers depending on that Hierarchy, &c.) to be their duty, and pledge themselves to discharge it—I will pray for them among “our enemies,

why such a distinction might have been made, when he says elsewhere, (p. 29,) speaking on another point, "I must again repeat; that the question is, not the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, which I hold as strongly as Chancellor Harington can do; but, whether *the Foreign Reformed Churches, considering the peculiar circumstances in which they have been placed*, do or do not possess a valid Ministry." Now as the only "peculiar circumstance" attaching to the Kirk of Scotland in the 16th century was, that she was unhappily under the influence of some rabid Presbyterians, termed "Reformers," by whom, as Calderwood delights to tell us, "Prelacy, and all Anglican Episcopal Dignities were declared flat repugnant to the Word of God," and consequently were "damned and rejected," I may, without controverting the principle implied, (though I do not admit it,) or advancing any thing very "incomprehensible," be permitted to question the validity of the Ministrations in *the Kirk of Scotland*.

I must, notwithstanding Mr. Goode's playful remarks, (p. 16,) claim the "excommunication" clause in the Canons. I would submit, that the members of the Kirk of Scotland, who affirmed that "the government of the Church of England," &c., "was

persecutors, and slanderers, and that it may please God to turn their hearts;" but I will not pray for them as a religious body—still less as a Church—least of all, as the Church of Scotland, thus excluding the true branch of Christ's Church planted by the Grace of God in that land, though not established there by the laws of man."

anti-Christian and repugnant to the Word of God," were "excommunicated" by the Convocation of 1604; if, in no other sense, at least in that which attached to the "excommunication" of Polycrates, and the Asian Bishops, by Victor, or of St. Cyprian, and the African Bishops, by Stephen, &c.; a sentence which, in those early days, before the "development" of the Papal system, simply meant, (to adopt the language of Mosheim,) "pronouncing a party *unworthy of communion*, and had reference solely to the Church by which the sentence had been passed." Thus "Victor, exasperated by the resolute answer of the Asiatic Bishops, broke communion with them, pronounced them unworthy of the name of brethren, and excluded them from all fellowship with the Church of Rome." And thus, again, "Stephen excommunicated the African Bishops," that is, "broke communion with them, and excluded them from the Communion of the Church of Rome."³—(*Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p. 188, and 256.)

"That the Church which is really intended in the Canon (writes the Bishop of Exeter, *Letter*, &c. p. 58) must be in communion with that which thus recognises it in her prayers to be a Church, I need not say; nor that there can be only one Church, with which we can be in communion in one country." But clearly the *Presbyterian Kirk*, which declared

³ Mr. Goode says—"you cannot turn a man out of your house who never was in it." This I will not dispute; but I would submit, that you can *prevent* bad characters from *coming in*.

that “the Government of the Church by *Bishops* was *anti-christian, and repugnant to the Word of God*,” and therefore directly contravened the principles enunciated in the Canons in question, could not be recognised by the 55th Canon as *in communion with the Church of England*.—And thus, elsewhere, (p. 61) his Lordship adds, “but it has been said, in the same Episcopal Charge, from which I have already cited, (that of the Bishop of Manchester,) that our Church does not refuse the Scottish Presbyterians the benefits of her prayers, because they may vary from us in their own constitution and forms. Undoubtedly not; we will always pray for them individually, that they may enjoy the blessings of the Church of Christ,—*but not for their community as a Branch of that Church; for such, while we are faithful to our own principles, we can never consider it to be.* To pray for it as such, would be in truth to pray for the destruction of our own Church, for it is the avowed principle of that Presbyterian body to labor to that end.” (See *Note Sup.*, page 10.)—It will also bear upon this point to remark, that King James had laid it down in the *Basilicon Doron*, that “*all who preached against Bishops (in Scotland) should be rigorously punished :*” and I may also add the following passage from the Bishop’s *Letter*, (p. 59,) as tending indirectly to elucidate this immediate question. “In connexion with this Bidding Prayer, there is a matter which the soberer portion of the party, with whom

we are dealing, may think worth consideration. Be it doubtful, or not, what is the meaning of the phrase 'the Church of Scotland' in the 55th Canon, there can be no doubt at all that the '*Realm of Scotland*' is meant, (for it is expressly named,) in the 1st Canon. That Canon is entitled 'The King's Supremacy over the Church of *England* in Causes Ecclesiastical to be maintained.' But though such is the title, the body of the canon points not less *specially* to the Realm of *Scotland* than to that of *England*: both are mentioned in the very same terms. 'The King's power within his realms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and all other his dominions and countries, is the highest power under God;' and the second Canon claims for our Kings the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly Kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian Emperors in the primitive Church. This is expressed generally, without any exception of Church or country whatsoever; and if the concluding words of that Canon may seem to favour an opinion that *England* only was contemplated, yet this is only seeming. For the 1st Article of the Declaration in the 36th Canon is in the following most comprehensive terms: 'The King's Majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other his Highness's *dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical causes as temporal.*' 'But why do I speak of other Canons? The

55th itself—the very prayer which it prescribes—says the same thing, if possible, still more plainly : ‘ Our Sovereign Lord James, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, *supreme Governor in these his realms*, over all persons, *in all causes ecclesiastical*, as well as temporal. Therefore Mr. Macaulay, and all who may have availed themselves of the ingenious suggestion that ‘ the Church of Scotland was in 1603, *as now*, Presbyterian,’ must be prepared to accept, as a corollary, that the Queen’s Majesty is supreme in all causes ecclesiastical or spiritual within the limits of the ‘ Holy Kirk.’ ” And we may add, “ that in 1610, though the Church of Scotland was then just the same as it was in 1603, ‘ the King,’ upon the Consecration of his new Bishops, ‘ did institute a High Commission in Scotland, for the ordering of causes ecclesiastical.’ ”—(p. 60.)

Proceed we to page 20, where Mr. Goode gives his solution of the clause in Morrison’s Licence.⁴ “ Mr. Harington (he writes) seems entirely to have forgotten, that the First Book of Discipline never had the sanction of the law, and therefore was never enforced.” I was well aware that the First Book of Discipline had not been sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, but I was not aware that it had

⁴ My remark respecting Archbishop Grindal seems to have given some offence. But in justification I may add, that the reader will find many more “ vagaries ” of the Archbishop mentioned by Dr. Bowden, in his *Letters to Dr. Miller*, vol. ii. pp. 45, 49.

“never been enforced,” as “it had the authority of the executive power in Scotland,” and “was sanctioned by the Church.”—(Cook’s *Hist. of Ref.*, vol. iii., p. 37.) I find in the *Preface* to this First Book, in the *Pardovan Collections*, that, when “the Commission had completed their task, on 29th May, 1560, the ‘*Book of Policy*,’ or ‘*First Book of Discipline*,’ was submitted to the *General Assembly*, by whom it was approved; and though not formally ratified⁵ by the Privy Council, it was subscribed⁶ by a great portion of the members. The First Book of Discipline, therefore, though then sanctioned by the Church, was never formally and fully approved by the civil authorities;” (p. 45,) but I have yet to learn that, having been “sanctioned by the Church,” it was “never enforced,” because it lacked *Parliamentary* authority. On the contrary, my conviction is that, (to quote the language of an able writer in the *British Critic*,) “*Even Presbyterian Ordination was suspended in the Kirk for*

⁵ Scot, however, tells us, that “it was subscribed by sundry of the Lords, (in 1560,) and ratified by Act of Counsell upon the 17th day of January following.”—*Apologetical Narration*, p. 4.

⁶ “They subscribed, however, (writes Dr. Cook,) not in their individual capacity solely, for the above Declaration is entitled *An Act of Secret Council*; and hence the Book of Discipline had the authority of the *Executive power in Scotland*.”—*History of the Reformation in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 37.

At the end of the First Book of Discipline in the *Pardovan Collections* is the following: “Thus far out of the Buik of Discipline quhilk was subscriyvit be the Kirk and Lordis.”—(p. 120.)

nearly a quarter of a century." Irvine, (a Presbyterian writer,) in his *Historical Preface*, &c., says, "If the Church of Scotland be a true Church of God, it is so in despite of *hereditary Ordination*, to which it gave no heed, and even went so far as to set aside the imposition of hands also. This, however, was restored by the Second Book of Discipline, set forth some twenty years after." (p. 108.) Dr. Cook, speaking of the mode of admission into the Ministry under the First Book of Discipline, says, "The Reformers approved of no ceremonies, they *even discontinued the practice of the imposition of hands*;" (*Hist. of Ref.*, vol. ii. p. 392;) and, when referring to the restoration of "the imposition of the hands of the eldership," in the Second Book, he adds, in a note—"In the First Book of Discipline, imposition of hands in Ordination was laid aside," (*Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 285,) but does not add one word respecting the decision of the Kirk not being "enforced;" and, if my memory fails me not, a passage stating directly the reverse occurs, either in his *History of the Church*, or of *the Reformation in Scotland*; though, as I cannot at this moment give the reference, it is perhaps scarcely fair to allude to it. Dr. Bryce seems to labour under the same impression, with regard to the suspension of the imposition of hands. In his *Letter to the Bishops, &c. of the Church of England*, when treating of the low estimate in which the rite of Ordination has ever been held by the Kirk of Scotland, he says, "In the

First Book of Discipline, which, although not acknowledged as a standard of our Church, was drawn up by Knox himself, and is still received as high authority by many, it is expressly declared, in the matter of settling ministers, that ‘other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister to serve the Church, we CANNOT APPROVE (*sic* in Bryce) ; for, albeit the Apostles used imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge *not necessary*’ (*sic*). *After a lapse of twenty-one years*, and, it is said, at the earnest entreaty of King James, and, in order to gratify his Majesty, *the Reformed Church of Scotland consented to the Form of Ordination now in use*, as one ‘not necessary,’ as in your Church it is esteemed, but as proper and becoming.”—(*Appendix to Speech on the Strathbogie Case*, p. 52.) And Stephen tells us, that “Calvin and Knox, and other followers, despised and rejected all Ordination ;” and that “Knox accordingly brushed away the venerable Apostolical rule of the Imposition of Hands as an unnecessary ceremony.”—(*Hist.*, &c. vol. i. p. 121.) I have therefore yet to learn the meaning of the words “*juxta laudabilem Ecclesiæ Scotiæ reformatæ formam et ritum ad sacros ordines et sacrosanctum Ministerium per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus fueras*,” as applied to Morrison. The words “omitted” by me, and quoted by Mr. Goode, rather increase than diminish the difficulty.

At page 21, Mr. Goode refers to some very brief prefatory remarks of mine, connected with an important extract from Strype, on the cases of Whittingham and Travers, and implies that there must be some mistake, in connecting Whitgift's name with the Commission issued against Whittingham. I cannot plead "a slip of the pen" as an excuse for the supposed blunder, for, in fact, I intended to assert precisely what is there stated, viz. that "Whittingham's Orders were called in question by Archbishop Whitgift," and "that a commission was [more correctly, *had been*] issued to report thereon," that is, on the character of his Orders, though not, of course, as the consequence of *Whitgift's* objection; and that the issuing such commission "would have ended in his being deprived (to quote the language of Whitgift) without special grace and dispensation." The passage which, as the inverted commas indicate, is composed of a series of quotations, is, I admit, somewhat obscure, and might easily mislead Mr. Goode; "*Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*;" but the facts are, I believe, strictly correct.

Mr. Goode adds, that "Whittingham's case is, to say the least of it, rather against Mr. Harington than in his favor." "*Rather against*" me! Why it is one of the choicest and most favorite examples adduced by Presbyterian writers in proof of the recognition by the Church of England of the validity of Ordination by Presbyters, and has been quoted

as such from the time of Owen to the present period, and by fifty writers during the past three months. But why is the case “rather *against*” me? Because Archbishop Sandys had stated in his Letter to the Lord Treasurer, that Whittingham “had not received his Ministry in that Church (of Geneva), or by any authority or order from that Church, *so far as yet can appear*,” (April 1579,) and therefore the objection of the Archbishop was, that he (Whittingham) had not been ordained according to the order of *the Genevan or any Church*, and had not, in fact, received any sort of Ordination; “and, consequently, that it would seem likely, from the account of the matter thus given, that Archbishop Sandys would have been satisfied if he had had regular Genevan Orders.” Whether “Archbishop Sandys would have been satisfied,” or not, may be a matter for discussion; though the opinions of the Archbishop are to me self-apparent, notwithstanding his somewhat cautious Letter to the Lord Treasurer; arising, doubtless, from his “seeing the hand of the Puritans in all this trouble given him, by their suggestions unto their friends at Court,” by which he “had received great wrong;” and from his unwillingness to alarm the Lord Treasurer, who, in the previous year, had been seriously warned by the Lord President, (a “favourer of the Puritans,”) “what flame this spark (the non-recognition of Genevan Orders) was like to breed, if it should kindle.” But what, in fact, was the question at

issue upon which the recognition of Whittingham's Orders depended, and the legitimate settlement of which, I submit, could alone have "satisfied" the Archbishop? Strype tells us, (*Annals*, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 168,) that a Commission was issued in 1576, "for the hearing and determining divers matters complained of against Mr. Whittingham, the Dean of that Church, (of Durham). One whereof among others, seemed to be about that Dean's Orders; it being thought not lawful for him to hold that Deanery, in respect of his defect therein; and worthy of deprivation, *because his Ministry was not warranted BY THE LAW OF THE LAND*, being ordained by a few lay persons in a house at Geneva." The first Commission was a failure, (chiefly by reason of the opposition by the Dean of York,) and another Commission was issued in 1578. These Commissioners were authorised to "require and see the Letters for their Orders," &c. "of the Dean," &c.; and, "if they found any of them not sufficient on that behalf, to dismiss them from their offices and benefices. This was the paragraph that touched the Dean."—(*Ibid*, p. 169.) According to the "*Memorandum*" of the Chancellor of the Archbishop, "the objection was, it was affirmed, that he (Whittingham) was *neither Dean nor Minister*, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF THIS REALM, but a mere layman." Whittingham "confesseth that he is neither Dean nor Minister, *according to the order and law of this realm*," but "denies

that he is a mere layman," as "he was ordered in Queen Mary's time in Geneva, according to the Form there used," (p. 70;) and even the Lord President, who was "a favourer of Puritans," in his private Letter to the Lord Treasurer, writes—"Against the Dean *this matter was first certificated, and most especially urged*, that he WAS NOT MADE MINISTER ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF THIS REALM, but is *merè laicus*, and so to be deprived." The Dean's reply to this article was, that "he was able to prove his vocation to be such and the same, that all the Ministers in Geneva used to have." The Dean's death, in June, 1579, "prevented the Commission proceeding further with him;" but *Whitgift's Animadversions on Travers's Reasons*, (written in the year 1586,) throw considerable light upon the question. Travers, who had been ordained by a Presbytery at Antwerp, urged, like the modern Presbyterians, the cases of Whittingham and others, to prove that "there was never any question moved in this Church of England" against "*Scottish men and other, made Ministers abroad*" being acknowledged, "so as to execute the office of the Priesthood," and therefore that his Orders should be recognised as valid. Whitgift replies, "I KNOW NONE SUCH." And to the assertion of Travers, that, "When the question (of Whittingham's Orders) was moved about him, yet was neither the Word of God, nor the law of the land found to be against him; but, notwithstanding that exception, he continued in his place

and Ministry after to his death ;” Whitgift makes answer—“ THIS IS UNTRUE :” *For if Mr. Whittingham had lived, he had been deprived without special grace and dispensation.*” But does Whitgift assert this, because the Dean “ had not, in fact, received *any sort of Ordination?* Just the contrary ; for he expressly states in the same paragraph, that Whittingham “ was, in time of persecution, *ordained Minister by those who had authority in the Church persecuted.*” And yet “ he would have been *deprived without special grace and dispensation.*” Why ? Evidently on the grounds “ first certificated and most expressly urged against him, that he *was not made Minister according to the laws of this realm, but was a merè laicus*, and so to be deprived.” How far Whitgift recognised, in the testimony of the Universal Church, a record against Presbyterian Ordination, may be learnt from his *Animadversion* on the following *Reason* urged by Travers : “ The universal and perpetual practice of all Christendom, (writes Travers,) in all places and in all ages, proveth the Ministers lawfully made in any Church of sound profession in faith, ought to be acknowledged such in any other.” To which Whitgift rejoins—“ EXCEPTING ALWAYS *such Churches AS ALLOW OF PRESBYTERY, and practice it.*”—(*Life of Whitgift*, vol. iii. pp. 182-6, *Ed.* 1822.) I cannot therefore subscribe to the statement, that “ Archbishop Sandys would have been satisfied,” as one of the Commissioners of 1576, and 1578, “ if Whittingham had had re-

gular Genevan Orders.” And so far from admitting that the case of the Dean of Durham is “rather against” me, I must claim it, (though at the expense of my opponents,) as strongly corroborating the position, “that *the Church of England has never, directly nor indirectly, recognised the validity of Presbyterian Ordination.*” If I am told that the cases of Morrison, Whittingham, &c. “do not touch the question,” let me suggest that henceforth they (and I may add *the clause in the 55th Canon*) do not form the prominent materials in any defence of the recognition by the Church of England of Presbyterian Ordination.

I had almost forgotten to refer to a question which Mr. Goode has left for my “consideration.” “How it was, if Archbishop Whitgift was right, the additions came to be made to the Preface, (to the Ordinal,) and words touching the matter inserted in the New Act of Uniformity at the Restoration? To what purpose?”—My reply is obvious, *viz.* for the purpose of preventing the possibility of a doubt, or cavil being raised by any subsequent Whittingham, or Travers, or Morrison, as to the views which the Church of England held on the necessity of Episcopal Ordination. The remarks of the Bishop of Exeter on the Preface, (pp. 27, 33,) render another word on the subject superfluous: but I have subjoined a portion of the Preface of 1552, and of that of 1662, that my readers may judge for themselves as to the character and extent of the

alterations.⁷ I would only add, that the Collects in “the Form hereafter following,” in both Books,

7 1552.

THE PREFACE.

“It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles’ time there hath been these Order of Ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore, to the intent these Orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in this Church of England, *it is requisite that no man, (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the Form hereafter following.*”—(See an admirable Tract on *The Episcopal Form of Church Government*, §c. (p. 35) by the Rev. John Medley, Truro, (1835;) now Bishop of Fredericton.

1662.

THE PREFACE.

“It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles’ time, there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of *England*; no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of *England*, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration, or Ordination.

contain the important clause, "*Almighty God, who, by thy Holy Spirit, hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church;*" and that the "divers Orders" so "appointed" by "God," are specified in the several Services to be those of *Bishop, Priest, and Deacon.*

As the "*Letter*" of the Bishop of Exeter "*to the Archdeacon of Totnes*" will be in every body's hands, it is unnecessary for me to refer to his Lordship's remarks on the "paradox," involved in the assertion, "that the 55th Canon of the Synod of 1603, requiring us in the Bidding Prayer to pray 'for the Church of Scotland,' means thereby the Presbyterian Establishment in that country," (p. 57); but I confess that, in concluding this part of the subject, I give the following extract with no slight degree of satisfaction: "Now that all this, (and more of the sort might be cited *ad nauseam*,) together with the King's naming Titular Bishops and Archbishops, and proclaiming his full purpose of re-establishing them in Scotland, would not satisfy a Judge sitting in Westminster Hall that the Kirk was already legally abolished, we should all admit; but *that this Kirk should be 'the very Church of Scotland,' designated by the Canon as the object of our prayers, is too gross for an ordinary understanding to digest.*"—(*Letter*, p. 58.)⁸

⁸ Mr. Goode will pardon me for observing, that his professed simplification of the question (p. 14) really obscures the subject to a very great extent. *The question is not*—"What was the form of

I proceed, lastly, to page 24, where Mr. Goode refers to my "*Letter*" entitled, *The Witness of Anglican Divines for Episcopacy*. Mr. Goode will forgive me for smiling at his alacrity in defending the Archbishop of Canterbury. He seems to think that every one who supports the *Divine Right of Episcopacy* is aiming a blow at the Archbishop, and that such a person cannot have any other object in view than to attack his Grace's "*Letter*" to Mr. Gawthorn. The question involved in that "*Letter*" is, I suppose, "*the real point at issue*," "*the point in question*," "*the great question*," referred to so frequently by Mr. Goode. Now I must beg to remark, that I have neither directly nor indirectly alluded to the Archbishop's *Letter*, by way of refutation: nay, I may add, that I carefully abstained from any such allusion; and that the *Letter* in question would, irrespective of remarks from other quarters, not have elicited from me one word in reply. My first communication to the *Morning Chronicle* had reference solely to certain historical statements which appeared in the *Morning Herald*, touching Morrison, Whittingham, Travers, &c., and tending to shew, by example, that the Church of England *had* recognised Presbyterian Ordination;

Church-government in Scotland in 1604?"—but, *what was the Church contemplated by the 55th Canon?* The former question is a mere ingredient in the enquiry: and I contend that the latter, *the question* in dispute, cannot be satisfactorily and fully answered, without duly considering the *several points* referred to in my "*Letter*."

the very point against which I had previously contended; and the Catena, subsequently given, was intended to disprove the position assumed, that the Anglican Divines regarded Parity and Episcopacy as based on equal authority.

If Mr. Goode will take the trouble to refer to certain Leading Articles, and "Letters," which appeared in the *Herald* in September last, (and which Mr. Goode tells us he has not seen,) he will find that the writers were *very far* from acknowledging "the doctrine of the Succession, as held by our Church," and which Mr. Goode has "summed up in these two points: 1st, That as the power of Ordination and general superintendence of the Church, including the clergy, was committed by the Apostles to the Presidents of the Churches, such as Timothy and Titus, only, and was not entrusted to mere Presbyters, so this power could only be properly exercised by those who succeeded such Presidents in their Presidency; and that, consequently, all Ordinations, not performed by such a Prelate of the Church, are irregular, and not according to the rule left with the Church by the Apostles, and therefore, under ordinary circumstances, inadmissible. And, 2nd, That the only regular mode of admission to the Episcopal office is by Episcopal Consecration."—(*The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*, vol. ii., p. 72.)

The Catena given in the *Morning Herald* by

Dr. Cumming, and elsewhere by other writers, appeared to me to have this one object only in view, *viz.* to shew that our Divines regarded Episcopacy as a matter of indifference, and that so far from acknowledging "that the only regular mode of admission to the Episcopal Office, (I quote Mr. Goode's language,) is by Episcopal Consecration," and "that all Ordinations not performed by (such) a Prelate of the Church were irregular, and not according to the rule left with the Church by the Apostles," they regarded Ordinations by Presbyters as equally "regular" and equally "admissible." Against this position my Catena was directed, as enlarged in my late Pamphlet; and, I contend that it is precisely *ad rem*. Mr. Goode will, however, observe by a note, that this Catena did not appear in the original Letter in the *Morning Chronicle* of September 13th, but was added to meet objections and arguments subsequently advanced; which, I confess, may cause a little confusion.

The question, the *res*, between me and my opponents was this, "Whether the Church Catholic has not, from the first to the nineteenth century, maintained the Divine Institution of Episcopacy, recognizing no other system of Church Polity? And whether the Church of England, as a portion of the Church Catholic, does not altogether exclude, and *has not always excluded*, Ordination by Presbyters?"

My opponents referred to Eutychius, Morrison, Whittingham, the LV. Canon, &c., to disprove my position, and endeavoured to support their own by the testimony of our Divines. Now, as the above cases have been adduced, without hesitation, by the opponents of Episcopacy, for upwards of two centuries, I deemed them of sufficient importance to claim a few words in refutation ; contending, as I do, “ that the Church of England has never, directly nor indirectly, acknowledged Presbyterian Ordination ;” and I was also anxious to prove, that the Anglican Divines, notwithstanding sundry “ charitable expressions” with regard to cases of *necessity*, all held, most clearly and indisputably, the Divine Institution of Episcopacy.

This was “*the question*” before me, “the *real question* at issue” between me and the writers in the *Herald*, &c. ; and though it might have been desirable to have “grappled with” Mr. Goode’s “real question,” namely, the subject contained in the Archbishop’s Letter, still that was foreign to my immediate purpose, as my Letters abundantly prove.⁹ With regard to the case of “necessity,” as applicable to the Foreign Churches in the sixteenth century, (for of course the Kirk of Scotland neither can, nor does she desire to, claim such a plea, as she

⁹ Upon this immediate point, I may direct the reader’s attention to a Pamphlet, which is now in the Press, entitled “*The Observer Observed, or, The Church of England Vindicated: a Letter to the Rev. W. Goode, M.A., by the Rev. W. B. Flower, &c.*”

proceeds upon the *sinfulness of Prelacy*, and the Apostolical Institution of *Parity*,) I must confess, that I entirely agree with the “*furiosi scriptores*,” Brett, Leslie, Dodwell, Hickes, and the “small personage” (!) Archdeacon Burscough; and the opinion which I have held for upwards of twenty-five years, I still hold, though I have perused (and, I should add, have read many parts with much pleasure,) pp. 60-110, vol. ii., of Mr. Goode’s *Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*. “*I never heard* (to quote the language of Bishop Taylor) *that NECESSITY DID BUILD A CHURCH;*” and, moreover, (as Mr. Goode justly puts it,) “*I am not sure that even the case of necessity could be fully made out for those Churches in what they did, and certainly it did not last long;*” (*Divine Rule, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 90;) and believing, with Bishop Hall, that “*CONFIRMATION AND ORDINATION HAVE BEEN EVER HELD INTRINSICAL TO EPISCOPACY, I WOULD FAIN (with that Bishop) SEE WHERE IT CAN BE SHEWED, THAT ANY EXTREMITY OF NECESSITY WAS, BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CHRIST, EVER YET ACKNOWLEDGED FOR A WARRANT SUFFICIENT TO DIFFUSE THEM INTO OTHER HANDS.*”—(*Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted*, pt. ii., sect. 15.) The *onus probandi* certainly rests with our opponents.¹

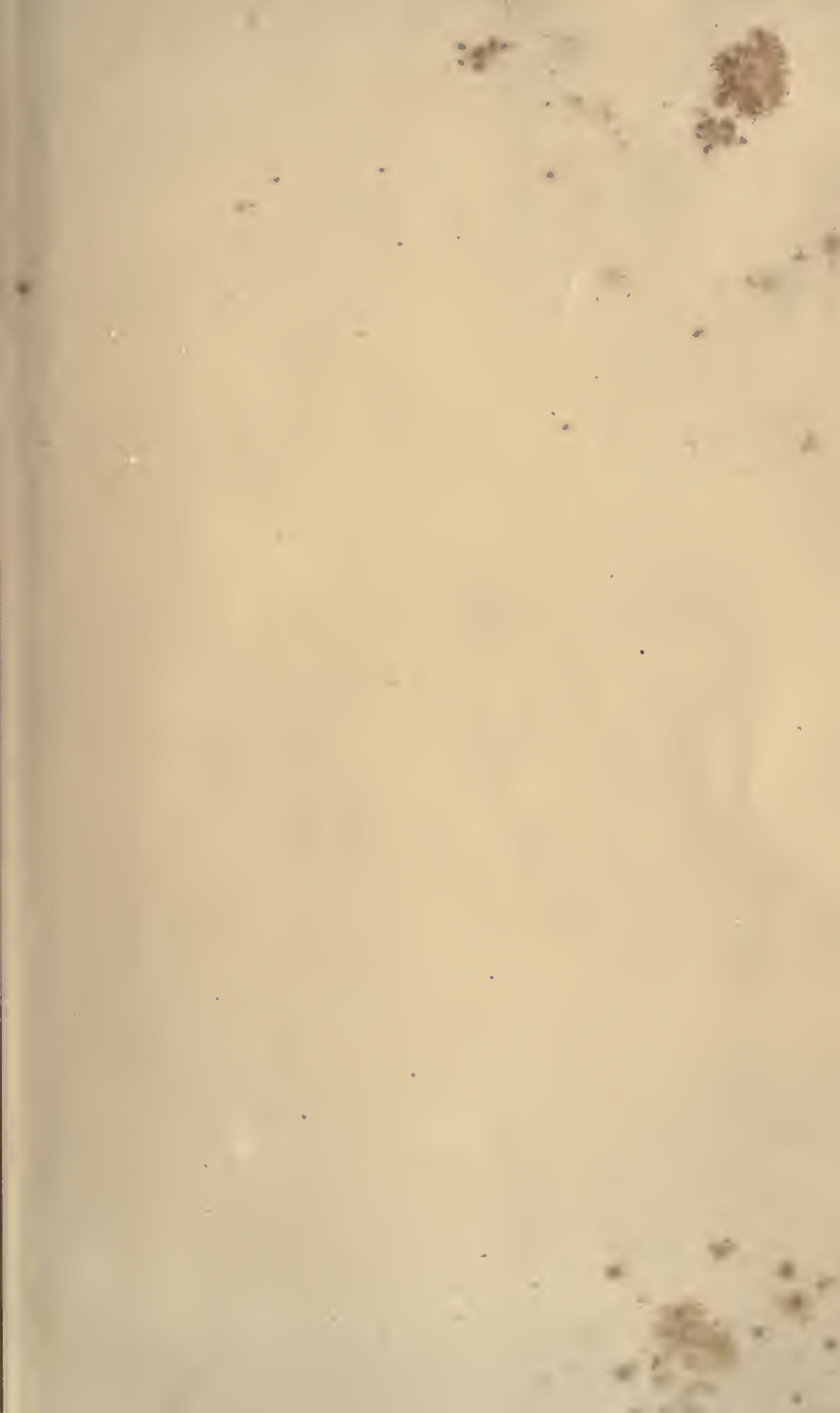
¹ The following *Challenge to Dissenters* by the late *Bishop Copleston*, seems applicable to the case before us. “Can any single authority be produced for a departure from the rule of the Church—for a violation of its Unity—for a choice of leaders by whose names

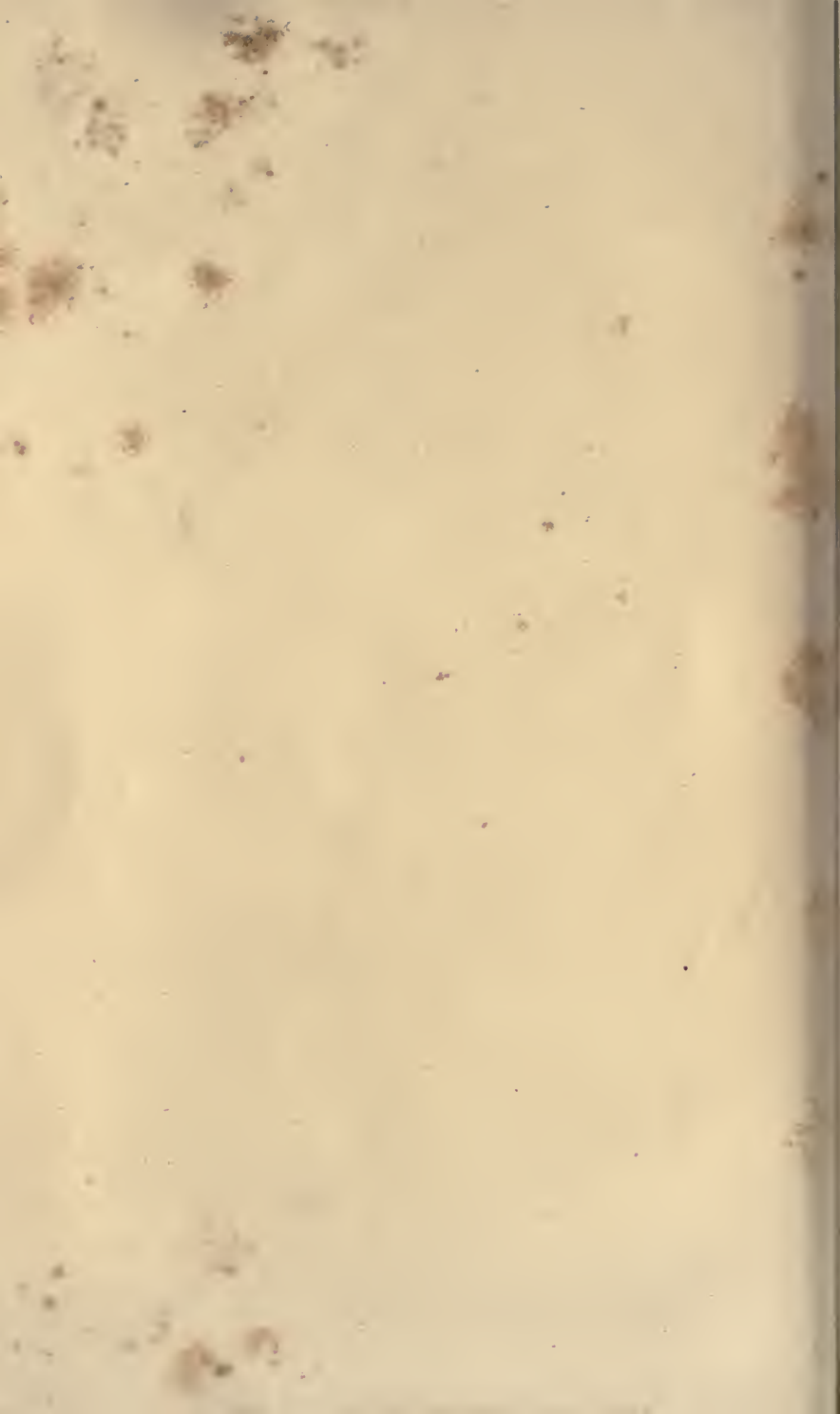
All the other points contained in Mr. Goode's Reply, I cheerfully leave to the "candid reader," (if such there be,) with the understanding, however, that he will prove his candour by *fairly* reading *both sides* of the question.

The Close, Exeter, January 26th, 1852.

the several portions of Christ's disciples should be distinguished? This is *my* challenge to the dissenters of the present day. As Bishop Jewel openly declared to the Romanists, that he would subscribe to their creed, if they could produce one single authority, from Scripture or Antiquity, for any of the false doctrines which they held,—so do I now say to the dissenters from the English Church, of whatsoever denomination, that *if they can produce Scriptural Proof, or one authority from the Fathers of the Church, during the first three hundred years, for self-constituted Teachers—for renunciation of EPISCOPAL RULE AND ORDER—for falling into sects, each with its peculiar title and its favoured leader,—I will cease to complain of them for disturbing the peace and harmony of Christ's Church*; I will admit that they are *not* disobeying the last dying injunction of their Saviour, when He prayed intensely for the Unity of His Church; that they are *not* fulfilling His sad prophecy of the discord and strife which, through the agency of Satan, would spring out of the very Gospel of love; that they are *not* rudely trampling down his vineyard and opening its fences to the inroad of the common enemy. But until this authority is produced, I must continue to raise my voice in my Master's service against all those who resist His Word."—*On False Liberty*.

The reader will find some admirable remarks on "the very important question,—*What are the Orders which unepiscopally-ordained ministers are recognised as having received?*"—in the Bishop of Exeter's *Letter*, &c. (p. 66.)





BX
5037
.H3

HARINGTON
THE SUCCESSION OF
BISHOPS IN THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND UNBROKEN

118424

DATE	ISSUED TO

BX
5037
.H3

